YANNIS HAMILAKIS

THE NATION AND ITS RUINS

Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece

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To my parents
Στους γονείς μου

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Preface

This book investigates the links and associations of classical antiquity in general, classical antiquities in particular, archaeology, and national imagination. It is a book that answers a series of interrelated questions, such as: Why does national imagination need material traces from the past? How do these traces operate in the everlasting process of imagining the nation? How do antiquities contribute to the dreaming of the national *topos* and the production of its materiality? How does archaeology as the official device of western modernity produce the materiality of the nation? How do different social actors (from the nation-state, to intellectuals, to various diverse social groups, including the 'others' of the nation) deploy antiquity in general and material antiquities in particular, in constructing their own versions of national imagination and in pursuing various agendas at the same time? What can we learn from this exploration, not only about archaeology and antiquity but also about the nation and its work, especially in contexts that have received less attention? This book is thus about the production of the topological dream of the nation through the deployment of antiquities. To put it in another way, it is about the materialization and objectification of the national imagination and memory.

My locus in exploring these questions will be Greece. The very mention of the word 'Greece' evokes for most people, especially in the western word, classical antiquity, temples and marbles, ancient battles, and the origins of democracy. Yet my focus here is not classical antiquity itself, nor Hellenism as understood by most western scholars (the idealization of classical antiquity in western Europe from the eighteenth century onwards; cf. Morris 1994), but a different set of Hellenisms: the neo-Hellenism of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, imported into Greece, and mostly what I called *Indigenous Hellenism*—the appropriation of western Hellenism by local societies in Greece in the mid to late nineteenth century and its recasting as a novel, syncretic, and quasi-religious form of imagining time and place, past and present, of producing

and reproducing national identities (see Sigalas 2001 for the meanings and uses of the term Hellenism in Greece; cf. also Koumbourlis 1998). This is a book that invites classicists, archaeologists, historians, and anthropologists to consider a particular recasting of Hellenism, a reconfiguration which, apart from its importance in its own right, can contribute to the understanding of the broader phenomenon of Hellenism as one of the most pervasive western intellectual and social phenomena. Anthropologists have for some time now drawn attention to the value of exploring in depth the ways in which people in Greece dealt with the weight of classical tradition; they have also pointed to the paradox of the centrality of the classical past in the western imagination on the one hand, and the relative marginality of the modern nation-state of Greece in the modern geopolitical nexus on the other (e.g. Herzfeld 1987). This discourse has produced many valuable insights, but the lack of detailed attention to both the social (and sensory/sensuous) role of the material traces of classical antiquity as well as to the disciplinary processes that produced its materiality had to be addressed (cf. Porter 2003). This is one of the aims of this book. It will be shown in this study that material antiquities have, since the late eighteenth century, played a fundamental role in the lives of people in Greece, perhaps more so than in many other modern nation-states. In addressing in detail a series of case-studies, in bringing up and attending to endless episodes involving archaeologists, state officials, politicians, intellectuals, people from various groups and in a diversity of contexts, this book offers the opportunity to study the materiality, time, and processes of national imagining in detail; to observe the mutual constitution of objects and people (cf. Miller 2005 for recent discussions); and to reflect on modernity and its imaginary and material production, especially in the European periphery. As such, it contributes to the writing of alternative histories of modernity and its devices, histories that fully account for the diversity, multiplicity, and complexity of its forms.

I will need to say a word or two on my own intellectual and personal archaeology; this will help explain my choice of the topic, justify the theoretical approach taken, and illuminate the methods used. It is my contention that any study of this kind, any attempt to understand the nation and its fragments (literally and

metaphorically), avoiding at the same time political pitfalls, is possible only from a position of reflexivity.

I came to this topic almost by accident. I was trained as an archaeologist, first at the University of Crete and then at the University of Sheffield, England. Since 1996, I have taught archaeology and anthropology at universities in Britain, and have researched, in addition to this topic, aspects of prehistoric Aegean societies focusing on food consumption and the consuming body, memory and its political economy, and the bodily senses. It was mostly my undergraduate years that shaped my interest in archaeology and the nation. The curriculum at the time was designed (or shaped by default) within the German tradition of classical archaeology, a traditional art-history-oriented discourse, (one that has now been heavily critiqued within classics, e.g. Morris 1994), and one that was directly linked to the processes of European identity as well as to processes of Greek national imagination (cf. Hamilakis 2000c). My dissatisfaction with this paradigm stemmed partly from my own early politicization (which distrusted both the elitist connotations of this paradigm, and its national ideological correlates), and partly from an understanding that it cannot satisfactorily explain the material and social world of the past. An early, and largely naïve, interest in trying to expose the nationalist 'uses' of the past in Greece, led to haphazard research on the topic, more like a part-time hobby at the margins of the serious scholarship I was conducting. It was the spatial and social distance from Greece itself from 1988 onwards and the exposure to the then active and fierce debates on the nature of archaeological work, and the meanings of the past, that helped me articulate my arguments and situate them in relation to the social context of archaeology in Greece. Without meaning to suggest that the critique of the nation is not possible from 'inside', that distance was essential in escaping the naturalization of the national imagination, but also in placing the Greek context in comparative perspective, and in relation to other national projects.

The first paper on the topic (co-authored with Eleana Yalouri) in 1993 at a session on theory in Greek archaeology, held as part of the Theoretical Archaeology Group meeting at Durham, England (Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996), was a key moment in forming an early framework. Since then, the project took on a life of its own,

and resulted in many more papers and presentations, and more, and more extensive (and intensive), work, along with my other work on Greek prehistory and archaeological theory. This book offers me the opportunity to develop my argument fully, to revisit old material and to discuss new evidence and data in detail. As will be explained more fully in the Introduction and in the subsequent chapters, I have come to believe, partly as a result of the reception that my earlier work received on various occasions (and, at times, in contradiction to some of my earlier writings on the subject), that this topic can only be adequately addressed if it is positioned within the discourse of post-colonial studies, and only when the interplay between colonialism and nationalism is fully explored. Moreover, and again in revising some of my earlier ideas on the topic, this study reflects my current conviction that the discourse on the 'uses of the past', and on the instrumental and strategic nature of the deployment of antiquity by various groups, can only *partly* explain the complexity of such phenomena. This book demonstrates both the potential of this approach but also its limitations. I show here that antiquities and material traces from the past are often seen ontologically as subjects rather than objects, fellow members of the national family; the study of this relationship, therefore, demands a different approach and exploratory framework. In short, the parallel narrative in this book is the story of an evolving disciplinary and scholarly approach, a dynamic discourse that has developed as a result of the interplay between the world of ideas and the social and political lives and encounters of the author.

Acknowledgements

I can recall the exact moment of the conception of this book. It was March 1996, I was then based at the University of Wales Lampeter, and had just given an offprint of an article on antiquity in modern Greece to my colleague there, Andrew Fleming. A couple of mornings afterwards, at a coffee break, Andrew came up to me to tell me how much he enjoyed the article; he also said that the topic would make an interesting and important book, and that I should consider writing it. Until that moment, I had not contemplated such a project, and saw this research as a sideline to my main research on prehistory and on archaeological theory. Andrew's encouragement (as well as the indirect encouragement of other colleagues and friends) was crucial in embarking on this project. I owe him, therefore, my sincere thanks. A number of other colleagues and institutions should be thanked for believing in and supporting this work in various ways. Serious research on this topic started during my sabbatical from the University of Wales in the autumn of 1998, which I spent in London, and in the spring of 1999, which I spent at Princeton, as a Mary Seeger O'Boyle post-doctoral fellow in the Program of Hellenic Studies. In London, Peter Ucko offered institutional hospitality at University College London, and Philip Carabott did everything he could to facilitate my research at the King's College archives and libraries. At Princeton, Dimitri Gondicas, with his customary passion and care, took a keen interest in this project and provided advice and help in many ways. The staff at Firestone Library were extremely helpful, beyond the call of duty. In 2003 another research fellowship, the Margo Tytus Fellowship at the Department of Classics of the University of Cincinnati, allow me to use the excellent library of the department, especially in the field of modern Greek, to write most of the book. The library staff and faculty members, Getzel Cohen and Barbara Burrell amongst others, must be thanked for facilitating my stay at Cincinnati, and the lively group of post-graduates of the department took good care of me, organizing the many enjoyable drinking sessions, absolutely essential in coping with the very long days in the library.

But it was the warm hospitality of Shari Stocker and Jack Davis which must receive special mention. Jack in particular showed a keen interest in this project and was always willing to discuss various matters with me, and share his expertise and experience on all matters to do with Greek archaeology. He was also a keen supporter of this book and a source of advice and ideas until the very end. The staff at the archives of the University of Cincinnati provided help and access to their material.

In the academic year 2005–2006 I had the opportunity to be a visiting scholar at the Getty Research Institute (GRI), Los Angeles. While working on another project, I also had the chance to revise this book and rethink some of the ideas. All colleagues and friends at the GRI were immensely helpful, but I owe to Ken Lapatin and Claire Lyons particular thanks. The University of Wales at Lampeter and the University of Southampton, my academic homes from 1996 to 2000, and since 2000, respectively, have allowed me the space and the time to continue this research, and my colleagues and students have listened to some of the arguments and have provided feedback. My PhD students working on related topics, Ioanna Antoniadou, Nota Pantzou, Lena Stephanou, and Nicolas Zorzin deserve special thanks. In Greece, a number of institutions facilitated this research: the American School of Classical Studies in Athens (especially its library and archives, and their support staff), the Gennadion Library, and the Archives of Modern Social History (ASKI) are perhaps the most prominent. At ASKI, Vangelis Karamanolakis was always keen to help with all enquiries, often at the last minute. Audiences in several academic seminars and conferences worldwide, far too many to mention, listened to some of the ideas in this book and helped me shape and reshape the final outcome.

Several colleagues read and commented on whole drafts or parts of drafts of this book (or its earlier reincarnations), and I owe them immense gratitude: Stratis Bournazos, Keith Brown, Philip Carabott, Jack Davis, Michael Herzfeld, Andonis Liakos, Neni Panourgia, John Papadopoulos, Neal Ascher Silberman, Alain Schnapp, Charles Stewart, and David Sutton. Several referees also provided constructive criticism and advice, and the series editors of Classical Presences have been immensely supportive. I owe special thanks to Jim Porter in that respect. Eleana Yalouri was my first collaborator in the broader project upon which

this book is based, and she shared with me ideas and thoughts, discussions, and arguments over the years. Karoline von Oppen has spent long hours in discussions with me, and she was often my first reader and listener for many of these ideas. I also owe her the title of this book, although I doubt that she will thank me for mentioning this.... Other people who have helped me in various ways (with feedback, encouragement, copies of their work, assistance with technical matters, and so on) during the long gestation of this book are: Aglaia Giannakopoulou, Kerry Harris, Fani Mallouhou-Tufano, Aris Tsouknidas, Gonda van Steen, and Andy Vowles. To organizations, publishers, and individuals who generously granted permission to reproduce illustrations, many thanks. The staff at Oxford University Press (especially Hilary O'Shea and Bethan Lee) have been extremely helpful and understanding, right from the start.

My greatest debt, however, goes to my fellow interlocutors, be it my Greek students at the University of Wales Lampeter and the University of Southampton, the archaeological colleagues in Greece, the survivors from the incarceration camps of the Greek Civil War, or other ordinary people with whom I had the chance and the opportunity to exchange conversations that are linked, one way or another, to the topic of this book. I very much hope that they will sense in this book my deep love and affection for the place and its people, past and present, 'natives' to the land or recent 'immigrants'.

Chapter 6 is a revised version of a paper first published in the *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* (20, 2002), and reproduced here with the permission of the Johns Hopkins University Press; Chapter 7 started its life as a much shorter paper (now radically expanded and revised) published in *World Archaeology* (**31**(2), 1999). Some short passages in this book have first appeared in other publications by the author, and they are referenced appropriately. All translations from Greek are mine, unless stated otherwise.

Contents

Preface vii
Acknowledgements xi
List of Figures xvii
Note on Transliteration xxi

1. Memories Cast in Marble: Introduction 1
2. The 'Soldiers', the 'Priests', and the 'Hospitals for Contagious Diseases': the Producers of Archaeological Matter-realities 35
3. From Western to Indigenous Hellenism: Antiquity, Archaeology, and the Invention of Modern Greece 57
4. The Archaeologist as Shaman: the Sensory National Archaeology of Manolis Andronikos 125
5. Spartan Visions: Antiquity and the Metaxas Dictatorship 169
6. The Other Parthenon: Antiquity and National Memory at the Concentration Camp 205
7. Nostalgia for the Whole: the Parthenon (or Elgin) Marbles 243
8. The Nation in Ruins? Conclusions 287

References 303
Index 339

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List of Figures

Fig. 1.1 The official mascots of the 2004 Athens Olympics. 2

Fig. 1.2 A representation of a head of a Cycladic figurine from the opening ceremony of the 2004 Athens Olympics. From *Eleftherotypia*, 22 August 2004, reproduced with permission. 3

Fig. 1.3 A group of performers impersonating the Caryatids from the Erechtheion on the Acropolis, during the opening ceremony of the 2004 Athens Olympics. From *Eleftherotypia*, 22 August 2004, reproduced with permission. 4

Fig. 1.4 Impersonation of a figure from the 'Prince of the Lilies' Bronze Age ('Minoan') wall painting from Knossos, during the opening ceremony of the 2004 Athens Olympics. From *Kathimerini*, 22 August 2004. 5

Fig. 1.5 Photograph of the Coca-Cola advert published in 1992 in the Italian newspaper, *Corriere della Sera*. From *Eleftherotypia*, 14 August 1992, reproduced with permission. 6

Fig. 2.1 The art installation by D. Alitheinos, at the foothill of the Acropolis, part of the 'Athens by Art' exhibition which accompanied the 2004 Athens Olympics (author's photograph). 42

Fig. 2.2 The protest sign installed by the creator of the installation (depicted in Fig. 2.1) at its base (author's photograph). 43

Fig. 3.1 An eighteenth century representation of the Parthenon and the surrounding buildings on the Athenian Acropolis. Illustration by W. Pars, from Stuart, J. and Revett, N. 1787, *The Antiquities of Athens*, Vol. 2, plate 1. 89

Fig. 3.2 Photograph by Bonfils showing the Propylaia of the Athenian Acropolis with the medieval Tower, a few years before its demolition. Felix Bonfils Photographs Collection. Manuscripts Division. Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. Princeton University Library. Reproduced with permission. 90

Fig. 3.3 Photograph by Bonfils showing the Parthenon. Felix Bonfils Photographs Collection. Manuscripts Division. Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. Princeton University Library. Reproduced with permission. 91

Fig. 3.4 Photograph by Bonfils of the Temple of Athena Nike on the Athenian Acropolis. Felix Bonfils Photographs Collection. Manuscripts Division. Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. Princeton University Library. Reproduced with permission. 94

Fig. 3.5 Photograph by Bonfils showing the 'Gate of Athena Archegetis' (Roman Agora). Felix Bonfils Photographs Collection. Manuscripts Division. Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. Princeton University Library. Reproduced with permission. 95

Fig. 3.6 Photograph by Bonfils showing the Temple of Zeus Olympios and the Athenian Acropolis in the background. Felix Bonfils Photographs Collection. Manuscripts Division. Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. Princeton University Library. Reproduced with permission. 96

Fig. 3.7 Photograph by Bonfils showing the Theatre of Herodes Atticus, on the foothill of the Athenian Acropolis. Felix Bonfils Photographs Collection. Manuscripts Division. Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. Princeton University Library. Reproduced with permission. 97

Fig. 3.8 A cannon on the Athenian Acropolis (author's photograph, 2000). 98

Fig. 3.9 A classical architectural fragment from the Erechtheion on the Athenian Acropolis, with an inscription in Ottoman Turkish (author's photograph, 2000). 99

Fig. 4.1 A bronze statue of Manolis Andronikos at the Museum of Thessaloniki (author's photograph, 2002). 127

Fig. 4.2 A caricature of Manolis Andronikos by the cartoonist Spyros Ornerakis, published in the Greek newspaper, *Ta Nea*. Reproduced with permission from the artist. 128

Fig. 4.3 A Greek postage stamp depicting Manolis Andronikos among finds from the Vergina tomb. Reproduced with permission by ELTA, the Greek postal service. 129

Fig. 4.4 Art work depicting Manolis Andronikos and published in the left-wing magazine, *To Andi*, in 1992, immediately after his death. Reproduced with permission from the editor of *Andi*, Hristos Papoutsakis. 130

Fig. 4.5 A Greek flag (far left) decorated with the 'Vergina star or sun', along with another one featuring only the star in a blue background at a Vergina tourist shop close to the 'royal tombs' (author's photograph, 2002). 132

Fig. 4.6 Overall view of the crypt-museum at Vergina. From Kottaridi (2003, pp. 6–7). 154

Fig. 4.7 The entrance of the crypt-museum at Vergina (author's photo 2002). 155

Fig. 4.8 A bronze statue of Philip II, erected at Thessaloniki (author's photograph, 2002). 158

Fig. 5.1 A cover from the magazine (*Neolaia*) of Metaxas's Youth Organization, EON (issue 29, April 1940). 180

Fig. 5.2 Members of EON attending a speech in front the Erechtheion on the Acropolis. From *Neolaia*, issue 28, April 1940. 182

Fig. 5.3 Members of EON at a ceremony in front of the Temple of Zeus Olympios. From *Neolaia*, back cover of issue 28, April 1940. 183

Fig. 5.4 Female members of EON pose at the theatre of Herodes Atticus: the caption reads: 'From the Spiritual Games of EON in the theatre of Herodes Atticus'. From *Neolaia*, issue 35, June 1940. 184

Fig. 5.5 Members of the cast of the play 'Penthesileia'. From *Neolaia*, issue 44, August 1939. 184

Fig. 5.6 Cover of *Neolaia*, depicting youth dressed up in supposedly ancient Greek costume (issue 49, September 1940). 187

Fig. 5.7 Cover of *Neolaia*, depicting EON members in contemplative pose in front of the Erechtheion on the Acropolis (issue 5, November 1938). 188

Fig. 5.8 Back cover of *Neolaia*, depicting EON members in front of the Parthenon, on the Acropolis (issue 3, October 1938). 189

Fig. 5.9 Cover of *Neolaia*, depicting an EON ceremony at Panathinaïkon Stadium (issue 32, May 1939). 190

Fig. 6.1 The front cover of the second issue of the magazine of Makronisos *Skapanefs* (10 August 1947). Archives of Modern Social History (ASKI). Reproduced with permission. 216

Fig. 6.2 Monuments built by inmates at Makronisos, depicting representations of ancient Greek soldiers. From *Eleftherotypia (Epsilon)*, 24 August 2003. Reproduced with permission. 218

Fig. 6.3 A replica of an ancient Greek theatre at the Third Battalion of Makronisos. From Bournazos and Sakellaropoulos (2000). Reproduced with permission from the publisher. 218

Fig. 6.4 Replica of the Parthenon, at the Second Battalion (BETO) of Makronisos. From ICOMOS (1991). Reproduced with permission from ICOMOS—Greek branch. 219

Fig. 6.5 Photo of one of the camps during an official gathering. Genikon Epiteleion Stratou (1949). 219

Fig. 6.6 Inmates at Makronisos building small replicas of the Parthenon. Genikon Epiteleion Stratou (1949). 220

Fig. 6.7 Inmates at the Third Battalion of Makronisos performing an ancient Greek play. From the personal archive of Nikos Margaris, kept at the Archives of Modern Social History (ASKI). Reproduced with permission. 227

Fig. 6.8 Cartoon by S. Derveniotis, posted on the website of Indymedia-Athens in spring 2005. The cartoon comments on the widespread installation of CCTV cameras in Athens. 234

Fig. 6.9 Commemorative visit to Makronisos, 23 May 2004 (author's photograph). 239

Fig.6.10 Commemorative visit to Makronisos, 23 May 2004: restored bakery of the First Battalion and remnants of a church (author's photograph). 239

Fig.6.11 Ceremony for the inauguration of the memorial at Makronisos, 23 May 2004 (author's photograph). 240

Fig. 7.1 A student demonstration for the restitution of the Parthenon marbles, outside the British Museum, 5 December 1997. Photograph courtesy of the Lampeter Hellenic Society. 245

Fig. 7.2 Sculptures from the Parthenon in the British Museum (a) (photograph courtesy of the British Museum), and a copy at the Acropolis Metro station, Athens (b) (author's photograph, 2002). 247

Fig. 7.3 Greek demonstrators leave flowers on the sculptures, a few days after the death of Melina Mercouri. From *Eleftherotypia*, 11 March 1994. Reproduced with permission. 255

Fig. 7.4 Marble statue of Mercouri near the Acropolis in Athens (author's photograph, 2004). 257

Fig. 7.5 Marble relief by the sculptor S. Triandis, showing Mercouri with the Parthenon in the background, outside the Archaeological Museum of Lamia (author's photograph, 2002). 258

Fig. 7.6 A photographic portrait of Mercouri with the Parthenon in the background, at the Athens Metro, Acropolis station (author's photograph, 2002). 259

Fig. 7.7 Cartoon by D. Kamenos, published in the Athens daily *Eleftherotypia*, a few days after Mercouri's death. Reproduced with permission from the artist. 260

Note on Transliteration

Transliteration from the Greek to the Latin alphabet has been a topic of disagreement and debate amongst scholars; it is, indeed, far from being a technical matter and it relates directly to the politics of language, written and spoken. Many anthropologists argue for a phonetic system, understandably, as they wish to convey in text, as much as possible, the sounds of language. Philologists and historians argue for an etymological system, close to the historical trajectory of the written form of language. Others opt for a combination of the two. The argument for the first system also invokes a position that empowers non-elites, and is pitted against officialdom and the national intellectuals who are often keen to propagate and demonstrate purity and linguistic continuity (often the unstated motivations of some of the proponents of the second system). Given the arguments in this book, I am sympathetic to this position, but on the other hand I am dealing primarily with written rather than oral sources here. Besides, I am in agreement with others who have pointed out that in Greece the appearance of written language matters, hence the attempts by several Greek people today to use, when communicating on the Internet with the Latin alphabet, letters and symbols that appear similar to the Greek (cf. Papailias 2005: xi–xii). A phonetic system often produces a written text that is utterly alien to both Greek and non-Greek readers. I have thus decided to adopt a compromise system that hopefully addresses both concerns. I also use accents when a Latin spelling can potentially create confusion. Standard personal and place names are maintained, either in their anglicized form (e.g. Athens, rather than Athina), or in their standard and commonly used transliterated one. In authors' names, the spelling adopted by themselves in their English language publications (when known) is maintained. The system I am adopting here is closer to one adopted by Charles Stewart (1991), with some modifications.

Aα: a

Bβ: v

Γγ: g

Δδ: d

Eϵ: e

Zζ: z

$H\eta$: i
$\Theta\vartheta$: th
$I\iota$: i
$K\kappa$: k
$\Lambda\lambda$: l
$M\mu$: m
$N\nu$: n
$\Xi\xi$: x
$O o$: o
$\Pi\pi$: p
$P\rho$: r
$\Sigma\sigma$: s
$T\tau$: t
$\Upsilon\upsilon$: y
$\Phi\varphi$: ph
X: h
$\Psi\psi$: ps
$\Omega\omega$: o

$\alpha\iota$: ai
$\alpha\upsilon, \epsilon\upsilon$: af/av, ef/ev
$\epsilon\iota$: ei
$o\iota$: oi
$o\upsilon$: ou
$\gamma\kappa, \gamma\gamma$: g (initial), ng (medial)
$\mu\pi$: b (initial), mb (medial)
$\nu\tau$: d (initial), nd (medial)

1

Memories Cast in Marble: Introduction

> ...I am of stone fixed in place. I cannot say
> for sure whether the things that I behold
> are future disputes or quarrels of yesterday.
> I look about my ruins: truncated column,
> faces powerless to glance each other's way
>
> Jorge Luis Borges, *A bust of Janus speaks*
> (transl. by A. T. Trueblood)

> Those gods with hyphens, like Hollywood producers
>
> Derek Walcott, *Omeros*

'THE GLORY THAT WAS GREECE ...' IN THE ERA OF MULTI-NATIONAL CAPITAL

In 2004, Greece hosted the Olympic Games for the first time since 1896, when the first internationally recognized modern Olympics had taken place there. They followed many months of international controversy, organizational difficulties, and the constant attention of the world's media; the most common leitmotif in that media frenzy was that Greece was horribly behind schedule, and it was not going to guarantee safety, especially after 9/11; this chorus evoked thus the well-known tirade that modern Greeks have proven unworthy of their classical heritage. The chosen logo for the preparatory campaign represented an ancient Greek ship, the one for the Games themselves the olive tree garland that ancient athletes were crowned with; but the official cartoon mascots of the Games, a pair

Fig. 1.1 The official mascots of the 2004 Athens Olympics, Athená and Phoivos, next to the list of commercial sponsors. The mascots were modelled on ancient (seventh-century BC) dolls.

of schematic male and female human figures (Fig. 1.1), which, according to their creator, were inspired by seventh-century BC terracotta dolls and were named Athená and Phoivos after the ancient Greek gods, caused quite a controversy: it was not their deformed shape so much (which reminded some of condoms, or mutant aliens), as that they bore a cunning resemblance to that famous cartoon family the Simpsons, inspiring one foreign newspaper to carry an article under the title: 'Doh! Greeks model Olympic mascots on wrong Homer' (Smith 2002).

In the meantime, the mission to host a successful Olympics acquired the proportions of a huge crusade that demanded national consensus, and enormous sacrifices in terms of funding, environmental concerns, and civil liberties. The long preparations included country-wide events and festivals, mostly in order to recruit much needed volunteers and to pump up support; a number of cities shared some of the Games with Athens and were declared Olympic

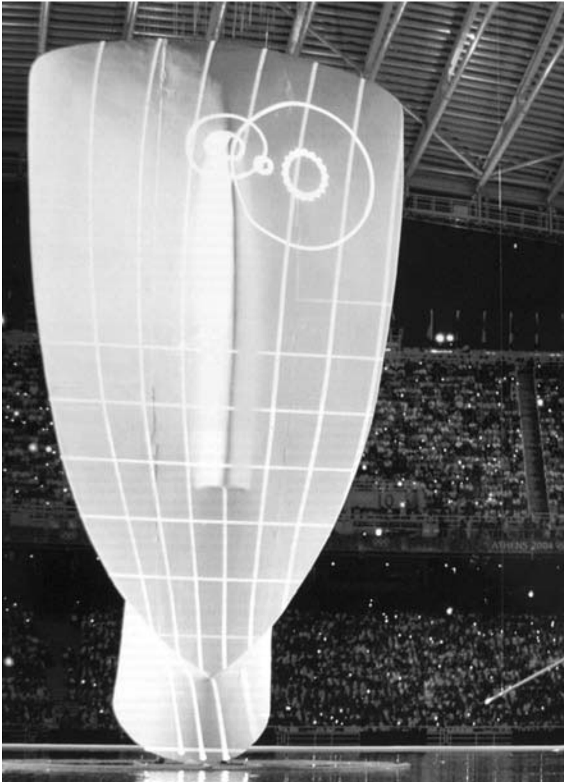

Fig. 1.2 A representation of a head of a Cycladic (third millennium BC) figurine, from the opening ceremony of the 2004 Athens Olympics.

cities, and the Olympic flame went on a long relay around Greece, mostly following the country's borders (from Crete to the eastern Aegean islands, Thrace, northern Greece, and then southern Greece), before it reached Athens. The opening ceremony itself was dominated by themes from antiquity: it opened with an image of a head from a Cycladic figurine (originally dated to the third millennium BC) that exploded to become an archaic (seventh to sixth century) kouros and eventually a classical statue; but the most prominent feature was a parade of floats that carried humans impersonating ancient statues and scenes from wall paintings from the 'Minoan'

Fig. 1.3 A group of performers impersonating the Caryatids from the Erechtheion on the Acropolis, during the opening ceremony of the 2004 Athens Olympics.

times (third to second millennium BC) through to the classical, Byzantine, and modern eras, in a running sequence that evoked the passage of time, ending with a pregnant woman and a representation of the structure of DNA (Figs 1.2–1.4).

Despite some protest from mostly left-wing groups which objected to the huge sacrifices, the over-commercialization of the Games, and the erosion of civil liberties (an anarchist group even put up a website featuring a burning Parthenon, entitled 'The Olympics should die in their place of origin'),[1] most people seemed to have been won over by the ideal and its perceived benefits. The destruction of key environmental habitats (and archaeological sites, including the site of the ancient battle of Marathon) to build the Olympic facilities, and the heavy death toll in work accidents (at least eighteen dead, many

[1] One of the early demonstrations held underneath the Acropolis featured a banner that declared: 'No to the 2004 Olympics; No to the trade of the ancient spirit' (see *I Epohi*, 7 September 1997).

Fig. 1.4 A man impersonating the figure from the 'Prince of the Lilies' Bronze Age ('Minoan') wall painting from Knossos, during parades at the opening ceremony of the 2004 Athens Olympics.

immigrant workers)[2] in the rush to have all the buildings and infrastructure ready on time, did invoke reactions, but these were not sufficient to derail the event or even taint the glamorous image of the Games.

Yet the story of the 2004 Athens Olympic crusade started many years earlier: in 1992, a Coca-Cola advertisement, published first in

[2] See: http://athens.indymedia.org/old/front.php3?lang=el&article_id=317354 (accessed 27 March 2006).

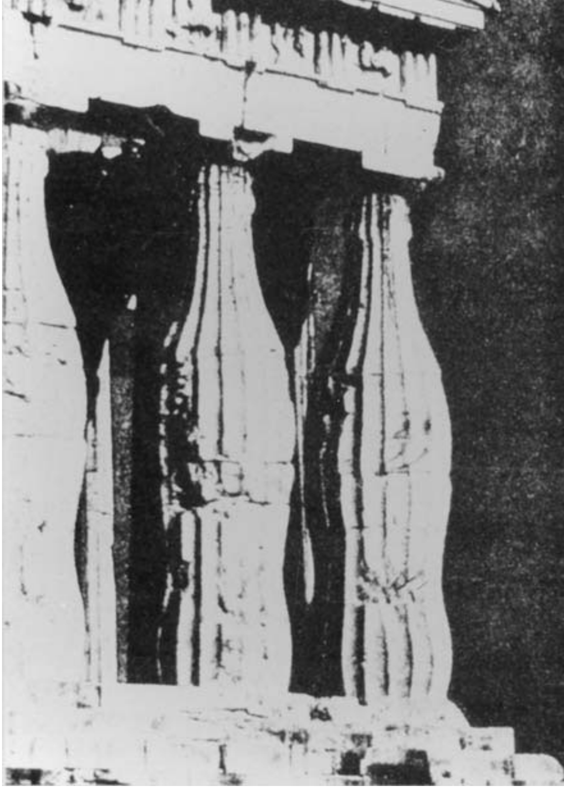

Fig. 1.5 Photograph from a Coca-Cola advert, published in 1992 in the Italian newspaper *Corriere della Sera.*

the Italian newspaper *Corriere della Sera*, caused a huge furore in Greece that lasted for weeks. The reason was that the main image was a manipulated photograph of the Parthenon, with its columns refashioned as Coca-Cola bottles (Fig. 1.5). The 'sacrilege' that was committed upon the most important signifier of modern Greek national identity was bad enough, but worse still, the culprit was none other than the symbol of western, American consumerism, which was seen as instrumental in influencing the decision to host the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta, Georgia (the home base of the Coca-Cola Company), at the time when Athens was a fighting candidate.

In the 2004 Olympics, Coca-Cola topped the list of major sponsors, followed by many multi-national companies from McDonald's to Visa (see Fig. 1.1). 'Sponsoring is a tradition that goes back to ancient Greece . . .', declared the official website of the Games.[3] The revelations about the doping of several athletes (including some of the most prominent Greek ones, such as Kenderis and Thanou, who seemed to have enjoyed high protection in the name of the athletic success of the nation), caused major disillusionment amongst people in Greece, especially after the proclamations of the Greek Olympic Committee that Athens would host the 'cleanest' Games to date. Despite all this, however, the Games finished in a general climate of national euphoria, the climax of a heady summer that started a few months earlier when the Greek football team became the European Champions at Euro 2004. Greece was content that it had proved to the world that it could organize successfully the most important athletic event, it could 'grasp the globe' and represent the world's spirit, remaining at the same time attached to its own identity and national myth. For the first time, the Greek flag became a fashion symbol that could be seen on T-shirts and jewellery, while the international media and commentators were full of praise (but not without some dose of irony) and waxed lyrical over the pleasant surprise that Greece could organize such a successful Games, eulogies that could not hide their patronizing tone.

This book is not about the 2004 Athens Olympics; there are already several books that deal with this directly or indirectly (e.g. Kitroeff 2004; Llewellyn-Smith 2004), and there may be more to come. This book is about something much broader: the link between antiquity, antiquities, and the national imagination. It deals, however, with many of the themes, the ironies, the tensions, the contradictions and the ambiguities that emerged during that event, some of which can be detected in my account above. More specifically, the book explores the key position of the ancient Greek (mostly classical) heritage and its material manifestations in the lives, imagination, experiences, anxieties, and hopes of people in Greece. It deals with the deployment of that material heritage as symbolic and cultural capital, as a defensive symbolic weapon, as a conduit through which to understand and deal

[3] From: http://www.athens2004.com (accessed 28 January 2005).

with globalized capitalist modernity.[4] This has been a site of national unity (and discord), a measure of aesthetic achievement in the present, a sacred entity under threat, a repository of ideas, themes, and signifiers that can promote, engender, justify, and legitimize policies and procedures, views and tactics, financial transactions and moves, and more importantly, daily routines, tastes, and preferences, from eating and drinking to admiring art; and all the time constantly under the gaze of the whole western world, which had constructed its own version of the classical heritage, had appropriated it as its own origin myth, and always felt unsure and ambivalent in dealing with the present-day inhabitants of the 'glorious land that was Greece'.

To understand all these manifestations, we need to take a long-term view, starting at least from the late eighteenth century (and at times even well before then), subjecting thus the present to a constant critical historical scrutiny, a continuous back and forth (assuming a historical linearity that is not always evident and proven); moreover we need to comprehend these manifestations at their moments of instability and 'unsettledness', to evoke Walter Benjamin, at their 'moments of danger' (1992[1970]: 247). This introductory chapter attempts several tasks at once: it elaborates on the nature of the

[4] I am aware that recent critics, the most prominent being Frederick Cooper (2005), have cast doubts on the usefulness of the term modernity as an analytical category; Cooper opposes in particular the use of the concept of colonial modernity as a package (2005: 148), its deployment as a monolithic entity juxtaposed to alternative modernities, a scheme which, according to him, misses the 'boundary-crossing struggle over the conceptual and moral bases of political and social organisation' (2005: 149). For the purposes of this book I use the concept of modernity primarily as an analytical category that describes the economic, social, political, and imaginary/representational changes that have taken place since early modern times, with colonialism and capitalism being the most prominent. This does not imply that these happened as a unified package, or that these went unchallenged and uncontested, either in the European heartlands, in European peripheries and borderlands (such as in Greece), or in other parts of the world. While I am sympathetic to Cooper's argument, I believe that the concept still maintains its validity (cf. Jameson 2002: 214), especially in contexts such as Greece, and in analysing processes such as national imagination and the development of the official archaeological apparatus, with its links to colonial–national and state power. In discussing such processes, it becomes clear that modernity becomes not simply a scholarly analytical category, but a discourse used 'on the ground' by the people who are the focus of scholarly attention. It is its heuristic and cautious deployment in such analyses, therefore, that enables us to highlight its limitations, the various boundary-crossings, and the political struggles over the meanings and effects of modernity, mentioned by Cooper.

inquiry that motivates this book; it sketches out the theoretical and methodological realm within which this inquiry takes place; and it finishes with a chapter outline.

DREAMING IN THE RUINS OF THE NATION

This is an idiosyncratic book, as will soon become obvious to the reader. Both its theme and its material and methodology are located at the intersection of disciplines and established methodological paths. This book is not an anthropology of archaeology as a discipline, that is, a study of the sociology of science, like for example the important work of Nadia Abu El-Haj on Israeli archaeology and society (Abu El-Haj 1998, 2001). It is not an ethnography of a heritage space either, as for example the seminal book by Michael Herzfeld on the poetics and politics of living in the Venetian sector of present-day Rethymno in Crete (Herzfeld 1991). While this study shares many features with both these works, its main focus is different. Nor is it a social history of Greek archaeology (as for example Barbanera's (1998) book on classical archaeology in Italy), although this is an important project that is long overdue. If anything, to the extent that it is a historical analysis, it is more of a meta-history of some aspects of Greek archaeology (White 1973; cf. Brown and Hamilakis 2003a,b). It is, however, primarily an account of the social lives, roles, and meanings of ancient material culture, of antiquities, in a modern social context, that of Greece (cf. Appadurai 1986a; Kopytoff 1986). It is also an account of the sensory and sensuous lives and biographies of the material past (cf. Howes 2003; 2006: 166): the agency and power activated through the sensory and material properties of ancient things, primarily their visibility, tangibility, and their ability to produce and materialize place and time.[5] This book deals

[5] Recent discussions in a number of disciplines have brought to the foreground the importance of the embodied and sensory lives and biographies of material culture, and the multi-sensory and synaesthetic interaction between humans and things, and more generally between living and non-living entities (cf. for example, Ingold 2000; Hamilakis 2002a; Howes 2003; Gosden 2004a; Tilley 2004; articles in Seremetakis 1994a; Meskell 2005; Edwards *et al.* 2006; Howes 2006); not all these, however, combine the emphasis on sensory and sensuous experience with the attention to social memory, time, and temporality.

with the material world, a world that is not given, self-explanatory, or static. As such, this book also investigates how this world is *produced* by disciplinary and other social practices, and it therefore embarks at times on an exploration of the disciplinary culture and mode of production of scholarly fields, most notably archaeology. As I am interested in the social lives of this material world, I will have to include the various forms that this social life takes. I will thus examine not only its 'authentic' form, that is, the material artefacts, monuments, and sites, but also its various reincarnations, such as for example the imitations, remakings, and representations of the material past in various media and arenas. There are of course many different ways to approach this question, and many different exploratory avenues to follow. I have chosen here to focus on a single, to my mind important, angle, that is the poetics and politics of national identity. Nation and nationhood as embodied and materialized in ancient things, places, and sites, will be my main exploratory axis; but rather than being an exclusive preoccupation, it will operate more like a conduit through which a range of other issues and phenomena will be examined.

Let me issue a warning right from the start: this is not a book on the nationalist use of archaeology in Greece, at least as we are accustomed to understand such a theme from the current scholarly output. I have some further explaining to do here. Any bibliographic database search using nations and nationalism as keywords will turn up a huge amount of scholarly work in different disciplines, well beyond any individual researcher's capability to study and digest it. The field is almost an industry now, with its own journals, textbooks, and canonical texts, and I would not even think of attempting to provide a survey of that literature here. I will simply attempt to situate this specific study in relation to some key trends within that broader field. No academic fashions are self-sustained for too long, and the deluge of books and articles on nationalism is not simply the result of academic attempts to carve out niches, secure tenures, and establish academic zones of influence, although there is an element of that. This phenomenon is a response to a real and immediate social need, at the beginning of the twenty-first century: to understand a social reality that was, until recently, mistakenly thought to be 'history' (in the common, American sense of the word, that is passed,

forgotten, irrelevant), a ghost that the west[6] thought it had banished for ever, with the post-Second World War treaties and the creation of the United Nations. Ethnic tensions of course continued, at times disguised as religious or regional conflict, and at times expressed more explicitly. But these conflicts were simply too far away or not that important politically (or so it was thought) for the west to take serious notice. And the ever present and overarching national mythologies at the heart of the European and western modern nation-states in both the official *and* the popular domains, had hardly received any sustained critical attention. The scholarly production on nationhood, despite its importance, did not have a major and defining impact on western academic discourse.

The break-up of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s and the bloody conflict that followed changed this landscape. Suddenly, and at a moment when the west was celebrating the collapse of the Soviet Empire, it was realized by western academics that nationalist conflict, a phenomenon that several scholars had declared dead (if not already buried) only years before, was here to stay. It was only from that moment onwards that many scholarly fields came to realize that, in fact, nationalism never went away. There were of course several seminal works, with the most notable and influential being that of Benedict Anderson (1991[1983]) and Ernest Gellner (1983), which had engaged seriously with the phenomenon a decade earlier, continuing a long tradition going back at least as long as that key moment in the lecture delivered by Ernest Renan in the Sorbonne on 11 March 1882, when he posed the question: 'what is a nation?' (Renan 1990[1882]). But the explosion in the writings and debates on nationalism in various disciplines in recent times can be dated with some certainty after the events in Europe in the late 1980s and early 1990s. A positive development that followed was the attempt in some studies to go beyond the analysis of conflict itself and understand the frames of meaning that these conflicts were based upon. It was realized by these studies that a mechanistic discourse which does

[6] Used in this book as a shorthand to denote the centres of power in western Europe, and (in many cases, such as this one) North America and other centres of Eurocentrism elsewhere, being at the same time aware of the diversity and inherent instability of the term.

not attempt to investigate the social logic of the nation as an organizing concept and its links with other devices of modernity has little hope of understanding the phenomenon, let alone of countering its negative effects.

Archaeology as a discipline had expressed concern about nationalism as early as 1939 (Clark 1957[1939]). At that dark moment in European history, some archaeologists warned of the dangers of linking archaeological concepts with racial and nationalist ideas. The framework upon which that link was based, the cultural history approach, which in its simplest form conceived of human history as a sequence of spatially and temporally distinct cultures that could be identified by arranging past material remnants into groups on the basis of formal similarities and typologies, came under severe criticism only from the late 1960s onwards. The isomorphism created between material traces, culture, and, by implication, ethnic groups, found its extreme expression in the work of Gustav Kossinna, the German linguist-turned-prehistorian whose work was seen as having provided the archaeological justification for the expansionist campaign of the Third Reich (cf. among many others, Arnold and Hassmann 1995; Wiwjorra 1996). Kossinna's ghost, as well as internal disciplinary developments in archaeology, turned its practitioners in places like North America, Britain, and Scandinavia away from the cultural history approach and more towards an objectivist, empiricist paradigm, based on scientific discourse and general, universally applicable and observable, laws and patterns (cf. Trigger 1989). This paradigm in its turn came under severe criticism in the mid-1980s, and by the 1990s a different archaeology had emerged, mostly in Britain and to a lesser extent in Scandinavia, some other European countries, and in some academic pockets in the USA: a broad range of approaches, known invariably as post-processual (in opposition to the processual or scientific approaches of 'new archaeology'), interpretative, or critical/radical. They represent a diverse range of perspectives that place emphasis on the contextual and thus contingent nature of archaeological evidence, on the critique of archaeology as scientific research for the objective truth, on the links with history (as opposed to science), and on the contentious (and for some, inherently political) nature of archaeological data and work (cf. for example, Conkey and Spector 1984; Hodder 1986; Leone *et al.* 1987;

Shanks and Tilley 1987a,b; Pinsky and Wylie 1989; Gathercole and Lowenthal 1990; Hamilakis and Duke 2007). For example, this paradigm encouraged the debate on issues such as indigenous groups and archaeology, the restitution and reburial of native groups' human skeletons in countries such as the USA, Australia, and New Zealand, and the attempt to counter the Eurocentric bias of archaeology (cf. for example, Ucko 1987; Layton 1988; Watkins 2000; Smith and Wobst 2005).

At the time when these internal developments were taking place in archaeology (mirroring the erosion of ontological and epistemic certainties in a number of disciplines), the importance and effects of nationalism in western societies were realized. At the same time, the links between archaeology, archaeological material and sites, and nationalist discourses and practices became clear. As a result, the recording and study of these links and associations became an academic subject, producing a number of publications[7] and even generating a number of university courses. This literature was also fuelled by the influential critique of 'invented traditions' (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992), a notion that assumes a radical (and somehow problematic) distinction between authenticity and invention. Partly as a result of that influence, most writings on nationalism and archaeology see nationalism as the state-sponsored, evil force which biases, abuses, and distorts the 'archaeological record'; the solution, the advocates of this approach suggest, is to uphold the criteria of objectivity and neutrality. A dichotomy is created, where the western archaeologist who upholds the criteria of truth, objectivity, and science, castigates the mostly non-western Other who, supposedly driven by emotive impulses, distorts the record in order to serve a nationalist agenda.

There are a series of ontological, epistemic, ethical, and political problems with this approach. This notion is based on the premise, shared by both science-oriented and (most) post-processual, interpretative archaeologists that archaeology is about the recovery and the interpretation of an entity called, 'the archaeological record'; science-based archaeologists and interpretative archaeologists differ

[7] From the plethora of studies see Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Atkinson *et al.* 1996; Díaz-Andreu and Champion 1996b; cf. Hamilakis 1996; Meskell 1998; Kane 2003.

on how they see the nature of that record, the former seeing it as a physical entity that needs the laws of science in order to be deciphered, whereas for the latter it is often a text through which the past can be 'read'.[8] But 'the archaeological record' does not exist as such: people in the past did not leave a record of their lives for us to discover, preserve (for future generations), and decipher (cf. Patrik 1985); what was left from their lives are material fragments (in the broader sense of the word) and it is archaeology that *produces the entity we call the archaeological record* out of these material fragments of the past (Barrett 1988; Hamilakis 1999a; cf. Patrik 1985); in other words, archaeology as a discipline, as a set of principles, devices, methods, and practices, creates its object of study, out of existing and real, past material traces.

It is hard to avoid the comparison here with nationalism: nationalism produces the entity that gives meaning and purpose to it, the nation, and so does archaeology, as it produces the object of its desire, its *raison d'être*, the archaeological record. This homological link is not purely accidental. Archaeology developed as an organized discipline in Europe at the time when the emerging nation-states were in need of proving their perceived antiquity with physical proofs. It thus developed as a response to the need to produce the national archaeological record (cf. Trigger 1984; Díaz-Andreu and Champion 1996a). The study of the link between archaeology and nationalism, therefore, is not a study of the abuse of the first by the second, but of the development of a device of modernity (archaeology as autonomous discipline) to serve the needs of the most powerful ideology of that modernity (nationalism). The study of nationalism and archaeology is at the same time a study 'through the looking-glass', a study that cannot proceed if it does not address the ontology, the epistemic assumptions, the genealogy, and the mechanisms of the archaeological device. In a broader sense, it is also the study of how the products of archaeology, that is archaeological stories and discourses, but also archaeological artefacts, sites, and monuments, are implicated in the continuous production and reproduction of nationalism

[8] Cf. the canonical text of this approach *Reading the Past* (Hodder 1986; Hodder and Hutson 2003); recent work has critiqued the textual paradigm in archaeology, but even these critiques often take the notion of the 'archaeological record' as given.

and national citizens, in other words, the 'nationalization of society' (Balibar 1990). It is well known that one of the key paradoxes of nationalism is its Janus-like face: a thoroughly modern project that looks into the future with its one face and into the past with the other (cf. Anderson 1991[1983]; Bhabha 1990: 1, among others); nationalism needs history and the past to justify its claims of great antiquity or even timelessness, but the question remains, why archaeology, and why archaeological monuments and sites? What is it in the process of excavating, collecting, preserving, interpreting, and exhibiting archaeological artefacts and finds, that makes archaeology so central and essential to nationalism?

THE PRODUCTION OF NATIONAL SUBJECTS

The above questions cannot be answered without first adequately understanding the ambivalence, resilience, and power of nationalism. The objectivist approach to nationalism treats it as a mechanical, top-down, political programme, a set of directives that are put to use by political leaders and their followers. This impoverished view of the phenomenon cannot explain its complexity, its persistence, and its power. As several authors have pointed out, the key question is: what makes people want to sacrifice their lives in the name of the nation? In this study, I am drawing on writings that view nationalism as a cultural system, ideology, and ontology, as a set of ideas that define people's being-in-the-world, organize their bodily social existence, their imagination, and even their social dreams (cf. Kapferer 1988, 1989; Anderson 1991[1983]; Herzfeld 1992; Gourgouris 1996). I view nationalism as an organizing frame of reference, always in the process of constructing itself, its object (the nation), and its social agents. Its historical roots are well documented (cf. Gellner 1983; Hobsbawm 1992) and its links to the technologies of modernity such as typography, the map, the census, and the museum, well rehearsed (cf. Anderson 1991[1983]). Anderson's well-known phrase of the nation as an imagined community is now on everyone's lips, yet there is rarely any reflection upon what that statement entails. The key feature here is the process of imagining, of perceiving one's

subjectivity as belonging to a community of people, a community that does not engage in face-to-face interactions. Anderson stresses time and again that the notion of imagined community does not imply in any way that the nation is not real, for its reality, or better its matter-reality is everywhere. Moreover, it is the nationalization of society by the nation through a process of naturalization, a process of making objective, natural, real, beyond any doubt, the truths of the nation, a process that transforms contingency into destiny, historicity into timelessness, the present into eternity, that gives it its immense power. The dynamic character of this process, its state of continuous becoming, whereby every generation becomes nationalized in its own distinctive ways, make nation and nationalism such elusive topics of interrogation. This process of naturalization also makes the nation ideological, in the sense that it masks its working, the process of nationalization of society.

Nationalism, as the guiding frame of meaning of the nation, a process of imaginary construction of society, can be also seen as religion, a secular religion that worships icons (such as the flag), engages in its own rituals and ceremonies, complete with its liturgical texts and hymns (the national anthem, the national narratives). As such, the liturgies of the nation are embodied rituals that constitute mnemonic practices (cf. Connerton 1989), that generate and re-enact the national memories, a process that involves both practices of remembering and practices of forgetting (cf. Renan 1990[1882]; Lowenthal 1995; Appadurai 2001: 37). The imaginary construction of the nation can be also seen as dream, or better as dream-work, in the Freudian sense of a specific mode of thinking (cf. Gourgouris 1996). The metaphor has a certain power in helping us to conceive of the work of the nation as a project which, like dreams, is iconographic in nature and topographic in character (cf. Leontis 1995): as the term itself indicates, national imagination works through imagery, and constructs a *topos* (in both the literary *and* the geographical sense), it is shaped by a topographic desire. The iconographic and topographic nature of the national imagination is of particular relevance to this project: as I will show in this book, specific ruins and artefacts from antiquity can be seen as the essential emblems, images, and material landmarks that define the *topos* of the nation, a *topos* that, I suggest, concurring with Leontis (1995: 40–66) and

Gourgouris (1996: 46), can be described more as heterotopia (in the Foucaultian sense; cf. Foucault 1986), than an utopia: Foucault defines heterotopias as 'real places . . . a kind of *enacted Utopia* in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted' (1986: 24; emphasis added). The two features that render the term appropriate in defining national space are the materiality of heterotopias as opposed to the unreality of utopias ('Utopias are fundamentally unreal spaces', Foucault 1986: 24), and their ability to function as enacted utopias (cf. Hamilakis 2000a). The material landmarks of this heterotopia operate not simply as the iconography of the national dream (however important that role is), but also as the essential (in both senses of the word), physical, natural, and real, and thus beyond any dispute, proof of the continuity of the nation, a key device for its naturalization.

While it is important to stress the social and historical correlates of the foundation of nationalism as ideological system and reality, it is equally important to note that nationalism is constantly a 'work in progress', always making and remaking itself. This is partly because, as all localities, the *topos* of the nation is not given and static but needs to be constantly *produced* (cf. Appadurai 1996: 178–199): it requires a series of rituals and practices that transform space into national place, be it through the periodic but regular calendar of national commemoration, the embodiment of daily routines (from walking to eating), or the act of producing the materiality of the nation through excavation and museum display. This dynamism gives it some of its enormous power and resilience, and at the same time warns against any simplistic academic treatment. Rather than seeing it as exclusively a state affair, a top-down construction imposed upon the people by state bureaucrats and intellectuals, I am arguing for its simultaneous construction both from below and from above. Nor should it be assumed that I am constructing here an image of an Orwellian nightmare, which sees nationalist domination everywhere, with no opportunities for resistance. As will be shown elsewhere in this book, there are several instances where nationalist ideologies in fact fuel, empower, and incite resistance against the state or other power mechanisms, and in several cases social agents have been successful in negating and defeating the

dominant authorities. As the construction of nationalism is a process in which all members of the national body are potentially involved, in the same way the management of its ideological referents and principles, their stewardship, is not only a constantly contested affair but is also something that, by definition, is open to all.

The concept of the nationalization of society as a process of naturalization, however, has an additional implication: that is, the omnipresence of the nation's 'work-in-progress' in arenas and domains that are not normally associated with nationalism, a word that, more often than not, evokes parades and marches, state rituals, politicians, and diplomats. I am talking about the phenomenon that is often described, after Billig (1995), as 'banal nationalism': the daily routines and practices that define the national citizens' being-in-the-world but which, however, are inscribed within the domain of the national: from eating, to reading a newspaper and watching television (cf. Edensor 2002; Foster 2002). In the case of this book, these routines and practices range from walking through streets that bear ancient Greek names and evoke ancient battles and achievements, to watching a performance of an ancient Greek drama or comedy in a reconstructed ancient amphitheatre (cf. van Steen 2000; Lalioti 2002), to passing by several archaeological sites and monuments on the way to work. These are, in other words, the ordinary embodied rituals of daily life that produce and reproduce sensory national memories.

The above broad framework allows us not only to explore how this powerful mode of social imagining of modernity dealt and negotiated with 'pre-modern' modes of understanding such as religion and kinship, but it also enables a debate on its interweaving with, until recently, seemingly unrelated categories and phenomena, be it gender and the construction of the body (especially since the nation's rituals involve bodily ceremonial practices, from eating food that evokes the homeland, to museum visiting, to national parades), social memories, local and regional identity, or tourism. This last category is of particular relevance and importance to this topic, as archaeo-tourism is a crucial and increasingly powerful mode of local–global interaction, especially in countries like Greece. Its treatment as a simply economic phenomenon is no longer adequate, and as has been realized recently (cf. Castañeda 1996; Silverman 2002; Urry 2002: 94–123), its links to discourses of identity and to negotiations of

power make it a highly appropriate area for study, an area where local, national, and global discourses on the past meet. Tourism and nationalism bear more than a passing resemblance. Both are concepts of modernity, and both subscribe to a new frame of social life where the dual categories of the spectacle and of surveillance meet: the tourist gaze, the museum as a space of observation and as a spectacle, the map as a device of surveillance, and more relevant to this study, the excavation and the exhibition of antiquities for inspection (and thus verification of the truths of the nation) and visual consumption by the tourist gaze, are all features of this new regime of truth. To recall Castañeda (1996: 3; after de Certeau 1984), a museum can be seen as a 'complex map, a place, to be toured' where geographical and chronological travel, space, time, and identity merge.

COLONIZING MODERNITIES

The legacy of colonialism and the links between nationalism and colonialism are other issues all too often neglected in the literature on nationalism and the past. In the field of archaeology, Bruce Trigger (1984) published a seminal article where he proposed a typology of archaeological personae and roles: nationalist, colonialist, and imperialist archaeology, with their separate principles and features. That study inspired much work, but it is time to examine the links and interconnection between those types. Colonialism and nationalism in particular have been shown to have much in common (Dirks 1990), and despite the anti-colonial overtones of nationalism (and the practical expediency and successful deployment of this rhetoric in anti-colonial national movements), they share many ideas and notions: the primordial and essentialist categories such as the emphasis on roots and ancestry, their transformative civilizing/nationalizing mission, the patriarchal perceptions of gender and sexuality, and the construction of a bounded, autonomous self are some of them (cf. Chatterjee 1986). At the same time, the nationalization of society is a form of colonization: the production of the national *topos*, especially through processes such as naming the land, identifying national monuments–landmarks, and linking the mythology of the

nation with the produced topography, are all akin to the process of colonialism. To recall Chatterjee (1986: 11), 'it is not just military might or industrial strength, but thought itself, which can dominate and subjugate'. However, he goes further, providing us with a powerful exposé of the links between the metropolitan ideas of nationhood and their appropriation by subordinate societies in the periphery, noting at the same time the class dimension:

> ... the problem of nationalist thought becomes the particular manifestation of a much more general problem, namely, the problem of the bourgeois-rationalist conception of knowledge, established in the post-Enlightenment period of European intellectual history, as the moral and epistemic foundation of a supposedly universal framework of thought which perpetuates, in a real and not merely a metaphorical sense, a colonial domination[?] (1986: 11)

Chatterjee thus suggests that it is not just that colonialism and nationalism share notions of essentialist identities—it is also the self-portrayal of western Enlightenment thinking (the basis of both colonial and national 'regimes of truth'; cf. Foucault 1980: 133 on the concept) as being not only universal but also the *naturalized* state of affairs that becomes the problem here. Greece has not been formally colonized as such, but the process of its production as a modern nation-state amounts to that of colonization, not simply by the ideas of western modernity but also by the processes, apparatuses, and groups instrumental in shaping and propagating this new world order. This approach has been gaining ground recently, and some studies have started analysing Greek nationalism from the point of view of post-colonial studies (e.g. Tziovas 1995; Gourgouris 1996), while Herzfeld (2002) has talked of crypto-colonialism to describe cases like Greece (cf. also Panourgia 2004). This study will attempt to examine, where appropriate, the intersection between nationalism and colonialism. It will be shown in Chapter 3, for example, that the main processes that invested antiquities with the properties of sacred icons for both the Hellenic national imagination and European consciousness were initiated by Greek intellectuals *and* the European administrators and scholars. In the newly founded, independent state of Greece, both the first professor of archaeology and the designer of the first archaeological law were Bavarians belonging to

the entourage of the first king, Otto. Here the constellation and entanglement of colonial and national archaeological processes differ from the rigid model that sees colonial archaeology as the one which denigrates local achievement and heritage, whereas national archaeology takes pride in the local ancestral past and emphasizes continuity between the past and the present. In nineteenth-century Greece the colonial-cum-national project adopted many and at times conflicting formats, and projected a range of narratives and myths; some of its agents saw no link between the present-day population of Greece and the ancestral classical past, which had now been appropriated as the past of the western civilization; others portrayed the present-day inhabitants as the 'fallen from grace' degenerate forms of their glorious ancestors; whereas others, often described by themselves and others by the patronizing epithet Philhellenes, saw in the modern people of Greece the survivals of the classical heritage, placing them thus out of time and history, in a classic allochronic technique (Fabian 1983). National narratives often resisted the first two versions and treated the third with ambivalence, often aware of its allochrony.[9]

The attempt to show the mutual constitution of nationalist and colonialist ideas is important for an additional, critically ethical reason: all too often, as noted above, nationalism, especially in western archaeology, is seen as always happening somewhere else, it is always the nationalism of the other; nationalism is often the usual accusation landed on the local 'other', when that local other, for whatever reason, makes it difficult for the archaeologist from the western metropolitan centre to operate in the present-day periphery, now controlled by the 'nationalist' local. This attitude, which not only conveniently forgets the nationalism at home but also erases the colonial legacy (and its neo-colonial reincarnations), refuses to see that the nationalist principles are in fact local re-appropriations and reworkings of colonial ideas. The narrow view of nationalism in archaeology is not only a theoretically impoverished view, it is also a politically and ethically problematic one, a view that is motivated by the fear of the other.

[9] For a critical exploration of allochrony in the Greek context, especially with reference to regional archaeological projects, see Fotiadis (1995).

BEYOND THE 'INVENTED TRADITION'

As mentioned in the Preface, prior to this book I published a number of articles on the same topic, some in collaboration with others. The responses to that work encouraged further reflection and more intensive exploration, but they also shaped my current approach: some audiences would be more appreciative of the critique of the Greek national project, but less so of my attempts to associate it with the colonial project; while 'bashing the nationalists' was widely applauded amongst objectivist researchers based outside Greece, a subtle argument that exposed the political implications and ambiguities of the anti-nationalist discourse was received with less enthusiasm. I have come to realize, along with others, that our analytical task 'should not be to strip away the invented portions of culture as inauthentic, but to understand the processes by which they acquire authenticity' (Hanson 1989: 898). It became clear to me that to 'demolish' the nationalist mythologies in an non-reflexive, objectivist manner, without taking into account the complex ethical and political implications and effects of that action in a specific context, is ethically problematic and politically naïve, as Handler has recently recognized:

> The work I did in Quebec and more generally, the invention-of-culture/tradition literature to which that work contributed, often proceeded, it now seems to me without much political sophistication. Focusing on how 'natives' in a range of nineteenth- and twentieth century situations used some variant of the culture concept to imagine community and to generate socio-political cohesion, it was easy enough to 'deconstruct' people's versions of their culture and history. There were good analytical and empirical reasons to do so. Still, without speaking for other scholars, I must say that I did not see how problematic this move was for embattled peoples struggling to secure or maintain a way of life, a polity, a territory, or merely to resist oppression at the hands of a powerful elite (1997: 80)

Jackson develops a similar argument in her discussion on the deployment of the concept of culture and Indian-ness by the Tukanoans of Colombia:

> How can we analyse culture using conventional paradigms that are themselves part of the very social reality we wish to discuss? How can new forms

of 'culture' that emerge in such highly politicized situations be seen as anything but something manipulated and inauthentic—indeed as spurious? (1995: 16)

While I am starting from the point of view of opposition to the exclusivist (often xenophobic and racist) and essentialist nature of nationalism, I would not concur with an indiscriminate and often insensitive dismissal of what often amounts to people's world views, ways of imagining, dreaming, and organizing their individual and social lives. The process of unmasking the naturalization of the national imagining is important and ethically and politically valid; but this project is different from the 'bashing the nationalist' school of writing that most archaeological and some anthropological writings are positioned within. This book, therefore, treads a fine line between its attempt to unpack (and deconstruct) the naturalization process of the national project, and its desire to explore the complexities, the nuances, and the ambiguities of the phenomenon, being sensitive to the hopes, aspirations, and dreams of social agents that have been produced by and are responsible for producing and reproducing the national project.

MULTI-SITED ARCHAEOLOGICAL ETHNOGRAPHIES

On the basis of the above, this work uses a variety of material. If I had to choose a methodological label for what I am doing here, I would go with the concept of multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995, 1998), or rather a multi-sited, historical and archaeological ethnography. An ethnography not in the conventional sense of the work: I have not been trained as an ethnographer, nor have I spent a long period of ethnographic residence in a rural or urban context. But an ethnography nevertheless, as I have been the participant observant in both Greek archaeology and Greek society (at home and in the diaspora) for all my adult life. I am thus recalling a variety of experiences, in a diversity of sites: the library, the archive, the field and the lab (digging or studying archaeological material), the museum, the classroom, the village café and the urban public space, the conscription army

barracks (where I did my 'national service'), the cyberspace. While the archaeologist's traditional field is where one does excavation and survey, and the anthropologist's field traditionally is the specific spatial location where one immerses her/himself for long periods of time, my 'field' is an expanded one, a series of locations and (dis)-locations (cf. Gupta and Ferguson 1997), including the *topoi* mentioned above, as well as sites such as the newspaper article, the photograph, the political cartoon, the conversations with various social actors in diverse encounters, the revealing momentary occasions that I have witnessed, participated in, or found mentioned (but long forgotten) in an odd magazine article. I rely on both formal and informal research on all these sites, and I will be recalling countless interactions with archaeologists and non-archaeologists alike. Heeding Marcus's (1995) advice, I am following the argument, the debate, the controversy, the metaphor. I do not privilege nor prioritize any category of evidence at the expense of any other. While each instance, encounter, and locus poses its own problems, contextual peculiarities, and interpretative difficulties, I do not assume that the social ritual, for example, has epistemological primacy to a newspaper report, a poem, an advert, or an autobiographical writing. They are all public performances, presentations of the individual and collective self that incorporate discursive and embodied elements; none is more or less authentic than the other, none is without value in an exploration such as this. Of course, my multi-sited ethnography is historical, in the sense that it goes beyond surfaces to understand the historical depth and the social and power dynamics in each context; it is also archaeological, in the sense of not only historicity but also materiality: it attends to the specificity of past and present material life, its formal properties, its sensory and embodied qualities.

Finally, a note on style and presentation. In addition to the conventional academic style, I have inserted passages (appearing in *italics*) that are unconventional in the sense that they are attempts to evoke a moment, an instance, an encounter, a dense social performance. These key revelatory moments are too important to my argument here to be described in a conventional academic style. Had I opted for that, part of their density, emotional weight, and power of evocation would have been lost. Sometimes these vignettes are historical episodes that have been re-created from archival and

historical accounts; at other times they are recent events that have been re-animated on the basis of a newspaper report; and in some instances they are autobiographical moments that bear a key relevance to the argument. More than the other two earlier types, the autobiographical vignettes are important in situating my own subjectivity in relation to the arguments and debates relayed here, and in countering an assumingly neutral, objectifying discourse. As for its sequence, the book has deliberately attempted not to follow a strictly chronological narrative, but to focus instead on case-studies that follow from each other thematically, not chronologically. If the national narrative often relies on linearity as one of its main and most powerful tropes, then any attempt to understand the notoriously elusive nature of the nation should involve the unsettling of that linearity.

OUTLINE OF THE BOOK

After this Introduction (which forms Chapter 1), Chapter 2 provides a brief critical discussion on the structures of archaeological production in Greece, the primary agents that are responsible for the operation, and the institutional and legal culture within which this operation takes place. It focuses on the State Archaeological Service, the Athens Archaeological Society, the universities, the foreign archaeological schools and missions, the museums, and the current (and where the discussion requires it, the past) legal framework. This is not a neutral, descriptive narrative, nor is it a broad and exhaustive presentation; it is rather a critical analysis and a focused discussion, defined by the main interpretative concern of this study, which is the link between archaeology, antiquity, and national imagination. It is suggested in the chapter that the key features of culture and structure of archaeological production cannot be understood without reference to the main features of Hellenic national imagination: in a culture where antiquity operates as the secular religion of the nation, state archaeologists are not only 'drafted' in a national mission but also operate as the ritual specialists of that religion, interpreting sacred scriptures and performing various rituals of purification,

guarding at the same time the museums that are often seen and operate as the temples of the nation. Foreign archaeological missions on the other hand embody the mutual constitution of colonial and national archaeology, whereas the legal framework attempts to reconcile the fundamental national mission and role of material antiquity with international obligations, tourism, and primarily financial and economic considerations.

Chapter 3 operates as the genealogical examination of the relationships and processes discussed throughout this book. It looks at the historical contingencies that brought about the close link between antiquities and the Hellenic national imagination in the nineteenth century. For the purposes of this discussion the nineteenth century ends in 1922, with the defeat of Greece in the Asia Minor War and the collapse of the dream of the wider homeland. It is suggested in the chapter that at that time antiquities became a key symbolic resource, and that their materiality has been crucial in the establishment, production, and reproduction of national imagination. This process was a result of the convergence of colonialism and nationalism, as the Balkan Peninsula was colonized by the ideas of nationalism, and it was shaped since then to a large extent by western modernity. Before the advent and the establishment of the ideas of the nation, antiquities were perceived by most primarily as the admirable feats of past, but alien to them, people and thus powerful and venerated objects with supernatural properties. The nationalization of society, due largely to the interests and world views of the emerging, Hellenized middle-classes, changed all that, making these objects the sacred remnants of the ancestral patrimony, and eventually the components of the national archaeological record. But this shift was less dramatic than it sounds: national attitudes towards antiquities incorporated many of the features of the pre-nationalism era, such as the notion of personification of artefacts and objects; the key position of Greek Orthodoxy in the national imagination also contributed to the continuous sacralization of antiquities. These processes, however, were shaped by diverse agents and ideas, from the national intellectuals to the western European administrators, scholars, and bureaucrats who were instrumental in establishing the structures of the new nation-state, such as the archaeological service, the universities, and the legal framework. This chapter develops

two additional arguments: the first is that antiquities in Greece have always been a *contested resource*, open to varied readings and interpretations, and implicated in numerous and often conflicting attempts for social and political legitimacy. The second argument suggests that, although it was the notion of western Hellenism (that is the European construction of a glorified classical antiquity as a genealogical foundation of the western civilization) that gave the impetus for the deployment of antiquity in the formation of Hellenic national imagination, it was primarily the Greek intellectuals who reformulated and reworked this narrative to produce a novel, local synthesis, what I have called, *Indigenous Hellenism*; this involved the rehabilitation of Byzantium, and the establishment of an unbroken, national historical continuity, together with the fusion of nationalism with Greek Orthodoxy.

If the dream of the Greater Greece was buried in the ashes at Smyrna (Izmir) in 1922, it is there where new dreams and new configurations of the national story were born. Chapter 4 follows the story of one of the hundreds of thousands of immigrants who left Asia Minor at that time to move to Greece: a 3-year-old boy who grew up to become Manolis Andronikos, a figure who can be considered as the quintessential national archaeologist in today's Greece. The chapter opens with his 1992 funeral, and then traces his life and work which culminated in his moment of destiny, the discovery of an unrobbed ancient Macedonian tomb at the northern Greek village of Vergina: a tomb that Andronikos would declare as belonging to Philip II of Macedonia, father of Alexander the Great. It is suggested that Andronikos was a historical constructionist who dreamed a reconfigured national story and materialized it: a story that redefines the Hellenic homeland by rehabilitating conclusively and with the help of some of the most impressive archaeological finds ever to have been unearthed in Greece, both the ancient Macedonian past (Philip, once the arch-enemy of Greece in the national narrative) and northern Greece overall. Moreover, in Andronikos's life and work, all the basic elements of the national myth, from classical antiquity to Byzantium, to the rise and fall of the dream of the 'Great Idea' (*Megali Idea*), and to modern battles for national survival, converge and become condensed. Given these qualities and properties, and as the historical contingencies directly implicated his finds with the

diplomatic and political clash between Greece and the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Andronikos was elevated to the status of the great 'shaman' of the nation: the person who could communicate with other worlds and mediate between the past ancestors and their present descendants. His descent to the 'Tomb of Philip' was a journey to the underworld, largely stage-managed and choreographed by him; it was a journey of initiation to the status of the shaman of the nation, the 'man who could see with his touch'. Andronikos advocated an archaeological praxis that placed emphasis on the emotional link with the past, and on the sensory, mnemonic properties of artefacts and sites. As such, his philosophy merged the modernity of the national archaeological narrative with the 'pre-modern' views on embodied encounters with the dead ancestors, who were seen as having a direct genealogical link with present-day people. Andronikos thus embodies the archaeological expression of indigenous Hellenism that constructs a selective modernity, quite different in some ways from western modernity. At the same time, his case calls for a modification of the widely held view that archaeology as a discipline can only be conceived of and understood within the confines of western modernity. Andronikos's monumentalized dream at Vergina continues to operate as a key national mnemonic locale, and his legacy is closely and fiercely defended and guarded, despite the revisionist attempts.

As mentioned earlier in this introduction, one of the common arguments in the literature on nationalism and the past is the assumption that nationalist 'abuses' of the archaeological past take place primarily under authoritarian and dictatorial regimes, and are almost always top-down interventions. The discussion throughout this book attempts to demonstrate the fallacy of these views by showing nationalism to be an ontology that involves all members of the nationalized body, and one which relates to the material past in much more subtle ways than is normally thought. Chapter 5 addresses these arguments, taking the opposite direction: it examines the roles and meanings of antiquity during a dictatorial regime, that is, Metaxas's dictatorship (1936–41). This authoritarian and populist regime, that possessed many fascist elements, attempted to launch and establish a new version of the national narrative, aspiring to a utopian society that it called 'The Third Hellenic Civilization', with

classical antiquity being the first and Byzantium the second; it idealized classical Sparta, and to a lesser extent ancient Macedonia, due to their perceived militarism and, in the case of Sparta, its perceived social austerity. While the materiality of the ancient past was important in the construction of this narrative, they were rare cases where the regime attempted to 'abuse' the material past in a direct way, or completely rewrite and reconfigure the national story. In fact, it built upon the long-held views of the unbroken continuity of the nation, and in a sense, solidified and enhanced the narrative of indigenous Hellenism of the mid–late nineteenth century. A key feature during this period, the ceremonial and performative deployment of antiquities and sites during theatrical performances, gatherings and meetings, and their photographic documentation and dissemination, echoed similar earlier attempts, with the most prominent being that of the Delphic Festivals organized by the popular, left-leaning poet, Angelos Sikelianos and his wife, the American Eva Palmer Sikelianos in 1927 and 1930. Whenever archaeological excavations, artefacts, and sites were directly linked to the regime's ideology and agenda, it was the archaeologists and other scholars themselves who were taking the initiative, not the regime and its apparatuses, although it could be argued that as state employees and functionaries, the high-ranking Greek state archaeologists at least, were part of that regime. The imprisoned and exiled left-wing victims of the regime held diverse views on Metaxas's construction of the past, yet many of them, in common with the dominant narrative, espoused the moral authority of antiquity, and critiqued and reprimanded the regime for disrespectful treatment of that authority. Many of the features that were introduced during this time, such as the ideological deployment of the ancient past as an educational tool in state national pedagogy in general and in education textbooks in particular, and the ceremonial performative evocation of the past and its materiality, continue to the present day.

A few years after the Metaxas regime, and in the middle of the Greek Civil War, a series of camps to 'rehabilitate' left-wing soldiers and citizens were set up by the Greek government on the uninhabited island of Makronisos, off the east coast of Attica. This dramatic episode is the subject of Chapter 6: its relevance to the topic of this book will become immediately apparent—the island was and still is

known as 'The New Parthenon'. This is a story of torture and death but also one of conflicting and contrasting memories. The main purpose of Makronisos was the ideological indoctrination not only of its detainees but also of the whole of the dissenting population of Greece. Classical antiquity was seen as a key device for that indoctrination. The state attempted to convince the inmates that their destiny as descendants of ancient Greeks was incompatible with 'foreign' ideologies such as communism. 'Redeemed' inmates were encouraged to construct replicas of (primarily) classical monuments, including a replica of the Parthenon, and of ancient theatres. They also staged a number of theatrical performances and wrote poetry that frequently evoked classical antiquity. To this state-orchestrated attempt to construct an embodied national memory based on classical antiquity, the unredeemed inmates juxtaposed their own counter-memories that exposed the brutality of the 'experiment'; in producing these counter-memories, they *too* frequently evoked and recalled classical antiquity. It seems that both the regime and its victims (as in the case of Metaxas's victims) were relying on the same national charter myth, and they were selectively drawing from its reservoir to advance their own respective causes. I argue, following Foucault, that Makronisos was a dystopia that was constructed as heterotopia of deviation, which merged surveillance and spectacle: Makronisos was presented as a showcase to the whole of the country and to international audiences (sanitized and devoid of its most unpalatable aspects), but at the same time its many thousands of victims were under constant surveillance, not only in the literal sense but also metaphorically: the moral authority of classical antiquity ('the Parthenon') was the tower of the panopticon that watched through the inmates of Makronisos, all national citizens, leading thus to self-surveillance that ensured that they all acted according to their destiny as descendants of ancient Greeks. This case-study has important implications for understanding the key theme of this book: it demonstrates the importance of examining the multiple material reproductions and evocations of antiquity, not simply the monuments and antiquities themselves; it proves the significance of materiality (the replicas of monuments) and of the embodied experiential practice (the act of constructing these monuments, of performing and experiencing dramas and other plays, and so on)

in the construction of the *topos* of the nation; and it confirms the notion discussed briefly in Chapter 5, that once the national charter myth is established, it becomes the accepted framework with supreme moral authority, within which all members of the national body, despite their at times severe differences, operate.

The following chapter (Chapter 7) revisits the cultural biography of the Parthenon or Elgin marbles in an attempt to move away from the tired and often sterile academic discussions on cultural restitution. This group of artefacts serves as a conduit through which to revisit and discuss from a different angle the key themes of this book: the continuing production and reproduction of national imagination, the links between nationalism (including various competing nationalisms) and colonialism, the interplay between local, national, and global, the personification of antiquities, the notions of alienability and inalienability. It is suggested in the chapter that these artefacts can be seen, after Annette Weiner, as *dense objects*; their density derives not only from their origin from the Parthenon, with its immense symbolic connotations, but also from their sensory, material qualities, their extremely rich biography since their creation, and their additional value today, as a disputed commodity involving one of the world's superpowers, Great Britain, and a country that perceives itself as a superpower of culture, Greece. It is shown in the chapter that this group of artefacts has been for most of its life both singularized and commoditized: their uniqueness and their iconic status did not prevent them from participating in symbolic transactions; they stood for Athenian imperial might in ancient times, and as an aesthetic expression of identity and otherness; more recently they were given away as part of the geopolitical transactions between Britain and the Ottoman empire; while in Britain, they became the trophy of the British imperial power and an expression of a distinctive British racial–national identity; at the same time, and partly due to their disputed status, they became one of the most important icons of Hellenic national identity. Their singularization and sacredness in the Hellenic national imagination explain the strong reactions when symbolic exchanges and transactions involving the marbles became explicit, and merge the boundaries between the sacred and the profane. What is desired instead by the Hellenic national discourse is the achievement of the final and permanent

state of inalienability, without losing the symbolic power of exchangeability: the exchange of the marbles for other antiquities, so that they could be permanently venerated at the foothill of the Acropolis, while sustaining and enhancing their global symbolic value. But the chapter also shows the limitations of concepts such as alienability/inalienability, and generally the discourse of property and material and symbolic exchange: the marbles today stand as the exiled and imprisoned members of the national body, and they personify a key feature of the national imagination, *the nostalgia for the whole*. Their status as fragments that were forcefully dismembered from their parent monument and their motherland, their imprisonment in a grey room devoid of the natural light of their place of birth, and finally their mutilation and 'skinning' as recently as the 1930s as part of a 'cleaning' attempt, accentuate and reinforce what is perceived and described in an anthropomorphic, empathic language as the pain of exile. Seen in that light, the marbles are not representations of ancestors, they *are* the ancestors, they are members of the national body in exile, and as such they cannot be owned, only welcomed back to the homeland. The marbles act not only as embodiments of the Greeks abroad, but also as material manifestation of dismemberment and fragmentation, processes that threaten the boundedness and completeness of the national. The global dispersal of the national fragments is not seen as a way of enchaining and connecting communities and nations, partly because it is understood that this dispersal and fragmentation is an outcome of the colonial legacy.

Finally, the short conclusive chapter (Chapter 8) summarizes and discusses some of the tensions, ambiguities and contradictions that characterize the relationship between antiquities and national imagination which have surfaced throughout this book. It also takes a prospective look into the future, suggesting that the recent developments in global travel, human interaction and communication (often discussed under globalization), do not seem to weaken the ideological and imaginary power of the nation, as is often predicted; on the contrary, they may lead to its strengthening. The anxiety and uncertainty created by these new experiences (especially for the middle-classes, who are primarily able to afford them) require the illusion of permanence and sense of rootedness that the national

community can provide. The materiality of antiquity, with its evocation of physicality, concrete reality, and earthliness will thus continue to be a crucial and increasingly important way of producing the localities of the nation, whether through an image of a statue on a website, a replica of the Parthenon on a float in New York's Fifth Avenue during national celebrations by Greek-Americans (cf. Hamilakis 2000a), or a chain of restaurants (*Arhaion Gefseis*) claiming to serve ancient Greek dishes in downtown Athens.

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2

The 'Soldiers', the 'Priests', and the 'Hospitals for Contagious Diseases': the Producers of Archaeological Matter-realities

This chapter provides a brief background to the main structures and agents that are responsible for archaeological production in Greece. It is not, however, a neutral, encyclopaedic presentation, but rather a selective and critical discussion. Its aims are not to provide a full and comprehensive presentation of the status, the workings, and the problems of these structures and agents, but rather to re-examine them in the light of the main focus of this book, that is their entanglement with national imagination, offering at the same time a glimpse into their inner workings, rationale, and culture. The main institutional structures and sites of production of archaeological matter-realities in Greece are the State Archaeological Service, the Athens Archaeological Society, the universities, the foreign archaeological schools and institutes, and the museums and private collections; overlaying all this is the legal framework on antiquities.

THE 'SOLDIERS' AND THE 'PRIESTS'

Perhaps the most powerful structure on issues of heritage is the Central Archaeological Council (*Kendriko Arhaiologiko Symvoulio*; henceforth KAS, after its Greek name): it is the supreme body which advises and submits proposals to the Minister of Culture on all issues to do with heritage, from major planning decisions on

archaeological policy, to excavation permits, movement of antiquities, to any major (or considered major) interventions in archaeological sites (cf. Loukaki 1995, 1997). The membership of KAS (the long history of which goes back to the first 'Central Committee' on antiquities, set up in 1834; Loukaki 1995: 177) consists of a mixture of state officials, state archaeologists, and academics appointed by the Ministry of Culture. It has shaped the archaeological reality of Greece since the foundation of the state, and it even produces aesthetic culture by deciding on issues such as the appropriateness of any architectural, pictorial, or other intervention in and around archaeological sites, and the modern use of sites such as for theatrical performances.[1] Its decisions are very often controversial, and its activities are constantly in the public eye and are reported extensively in the press, an indication of the huge public interest in antiquities and their modern fate.

KAS meetings are often attended by citizens who wish to argue the case for a specific intervention, but most ordinary people in Greece encounter the official face of archaeology primarily through the State Archaeological Service, the official organization which is the body with exclusive responsibility for excavation, preservation, and display of archaeological heritage in Greece. Excavation and other research is of course carried out by other bodies outlined above, such as the universities, the Athens Archaeological Society, and the foreign schools, but permits for this activity should be approved by the state (through its various archaeological councils, such as the KAS), and under the strict supervision of the State Archaeological Service. The Greek Archaeological Service is the oldest, national state archaeological service in Europe; it was founded in 1833, following earlier less systematic attempts for the care and preservation of antiquities (see Chapter 3). The Archaeological Service is today under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture, which funds and supervises its activities. It is divided into some central services operating from Athens (such as the service supervising the private collections of antiquities, and the protection of underwater antiquities) but with most archaeological

[1] On the links between aesthetic value and national imagination in Greece, see Lambropoulos (1984); and on the same issue especially in relation to literature, Jusdanis (1991).

work being carried out by the regional Ephoreies, the local archaeological units.

Archaeologists are public servants. They get appointed to the service by the ministry after an open competition based on written examinations, where candidates have to demonstrate broad knowledge on vast chronological periods (cf. Pandos 1993, now slightly out of date). There are less than a thousand permanent archaeology posts in the State Archaeological Service, struggling to cover the whole of Greece. A large number of archaeologists are also employed on temporary contracts. The number of contract archaeologists has increased dramatically in the last decades, due to many large construction and public works projects that have demanded large-scale, prior archaeological investigation. Most archaeological work consists of 'rescue digs'. This is a complex issue that deserves systematic study; briefly, these are often hurried archaeological investigations prior to building, road works, or other projects. Their aim is to establish past human activity in an area (and thus to adjudicate on whether to provide permits for modern 'development' or not, and under what conditions), rather than to explore in any systematic manner the material past. The results are therefore disseminated through very brief field reports, and the whole operation is wrapped up in tedious and time-consuming bureaucratic procedures. Most archaeologists in the service, therefore, spend their time in what is seen as (and often is) routine and bureaucratic work. This legal requirement—the archaeological investigation of an area or a site (in which there is some evidence of antiquities) prior to its 'development'—is often a contentious practice that sometimes leads to severe clashes. In many areas archaeologists often enjoy a status similar to or worse than that of a tax collector or awkward police officer. They are seen as the state agents who obstruct the 'development' and financial success of an area, by refusing to grant building permission or by delaying considerably the building process in areas with archaeological finds that have been considered as worthy of preservation. Designated archaeological sites or places and landscapes are protected through a zonation system, depending on the proximity of a specific intervention to the archaeological site; within these zones all activity from building to agricultural practices (e.g. deep or shallow ploughing) is tightly regulated. In urban sites,

modifications to structures that are located within archaeological monuments and sites are equally strictly regulated in every detail, including, for example, the colour of paint and the pattern used in balcony railings (cf. Herzfeld 1991).

The inevitable clashes occur not only in conservation zones within urban areas, such as the Venetian quarter of Rethymno in Crete (Herzfeld 1991), but also in coastal and touristically developed areas where a major archaeological site is present. Moreover, few state archaeologists have the time and the means to carry out long-term systematic excavations, unlike, for example, the foreign archaeological schools or the universities; in the eyes of many people, therefore, the state archaeologist is someone who is concerned only with the implementation of the law and the imposition of restrictions, rather than the recovery and presentation of large archaeological sites. Foreign archaeologists (and archaeologists based in Greek universities) become the 'real archaeologists', whereas state archaeologists become the 'policemen/women' of heritage. This was the attitude of several people in the Mesara area of south central Crete in interviews carried out by Hara Lenakaki (2000). The villagers near the major 'Minoan' sites of Phaistos, Agia Triada and Kommos, and the classical period site of Gortys (all being excavated by Italian or American/ Canadian teams) often sounded very appreciative of the foreign teams and very dismissive of the Greek Archaeological Service. A 30-year-old man from the village of Ambelouzos said in 2000:

> I do not feel any respect toward our archaeologists . . . All the excavations that have been done until now are by Italian archaeologists. Where are the Greek archaeologists? They come here only to punish us if we do anything illegal. It is now difficult for us to survive. I cannot live here any more. I cannot cultivate most of my fields because they are in an archaeological zone and archaeologists do not allow me to plough them as I wish. I will move to Irakleio in order to find a new and better job. I am really unhappy that I will abandon my village because I like it, but I cannot survive here.

This villager lives near Gortys, an extremely important, mostly Roman, archaeological site (Gortys was the Roman capital of Crete), subject to very strict regulations, but a site that attracts far fewer visitors than the nearby major 'Minoan' sites: tourists go to Crete to see 'Minoan' sites (portrayed as the relics of the first European

civilization; cf. Hamilakis 2002b; Papadopoulos 2005; Hamilakis and Momigliano 2006), not Roman ones; moreover, the promotion of Roman sites is very low in the list of priorities of the state (cf. Papadopoulos 1997: 115 and *passim*). As a result, the people around this site suffer all the same restrictions as the people around the major 'Minoan' sites nearby, but reap very few of the benefits of tourism (cf. Hamilakis 2006). Agriculture is no option either, as archaeological restrictions on land use and cultivation techniques mean that land productivity will be low.

But despite these clashes and the often ambivalent attitude of many people towards the state archaeologists, their overall status in Greek society is high, far exceeding any other category of public servants, and the most prominent members of the service often enjoy a status similar to that of academics. It is not uncommon, for example, for archaeologists to be elected as Members of Parliament, serve in high-powered committees, and be regular columnists in high-circulation newspapers, such as the highly respected, *To Vima* (as is the case of Andronikos, discussed in Chapter 4). There is a general perception that archaeologists perform not a professional duty but a '*leitourgima*': a word that originates from the ancient Greek word for performing a public duty at one's own cost. The modern connotations of the word, relating to '*leitourgia*', denote not only any operation but also the religious church ceremony. This last meaning is perhaps closer to the public perception of archaeologists, as people who mediate between the world of the past ancestors and the modern world; if antiquity in Greece, as I will argue in this book, has become a sacralized entity within the secular religion of the nation (cf. Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999), and if monuments are the icons of that religion, then the people who are able to communicate with the sacred can potentially fulfil the function of the religious specialists, or 'priests' of that secular religion, although only the most charismatic ones and the ones that have achieved public eminence can realize that potential (cf. Chapter 4).

Unlike conventional religions, however, in the secular religion of the nation all national agents are seen as having the ability to communicate with the sacred, they are all participants and producers of the national dogmas, they are all potential future martyrs in the national sacrifice. Therein lie the causes of some of the tensions

between archaeologists and the public in Greece: their authority is recognized and often respected, but their monopoly is constantly under dispute. The countless articles on antiquity and archaeological sites and finds by non-archaeologists (but often academics and professionals from other disciplines), published side by side with scholarly (if popular) contributions in wide-circulation magazines such as *Arhaiologia*, is another facet of the same phenomenon. The professionalization of Greek archaeology has not been fully completed.

Apart from their role as religious specialists, archaeologists perform two more important duties: they are 'drafted' (*stratevmenoi*)[2] as soldiers in the service of the nation, in the sense that they manage its most important symbolic capital (cf. Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996), but at the same time, they perform the patriotic duty of providing 'ammunition' in defending the nation and its truths; they produce the material landmarks of the territory of the nation, that is, the material 'fortifications' that can defend these truths from any attacks. In Chapter 4, I will discuss a recent specific case, but it is worth perhaps recalling two examples from the early twentieth century when archaeology and warfare acquired more than a symbolic link. During the Balkan Wars (1912–13), the Greek army occupied southern Albania, forming in 1914 an autonomous government of northern Epirus. Immediately afterwards, a state-sponsored archaeological campaign was initiated in order to prove the Hellenicity of the area on the basis of antiquity (Davis 2000). During the invasion of the Greek Army in Western Anatolia in 1920–22, the Greek state founded an archaeological service and carried out a number of excavations of classical and Byzantine monuments[3] (cf. Kourouniotis 1921–22;

[2] In a recent article by two prominent archaeologists and university professors, H. Doumas and V. Lambrinoudakis, defending the staff of the State Archaeological Service, the state archaeologists are described as '*stratevmenoi*' (that is, drafted conscripts) (*To Vima*, 8 February 1998).

[3] Some of the excavated and collected antiquities were transported to the National Archaeological Museum in Athens; a well-known example is the statue of a child often called 'the little refugee' (*to prosphyngaki*), establishing thus a homology between the statue and living humans, such as the many thousands of refugees who arrived in Greece from Asia Minor after the disastrous Greece Asia Minor war in 1922.

In addition to Greek excavations, the American School of Classical Studies was allowed to carry out excavations in sites such as Kolophon, thus providing legitimacy to the Greek campaign (cf. Davis 2000, 2003).

Davis 2000) with the active support of the army.[4] Apart from recovering material proof of the Hellenicity of an area, archaeologists were also often called upon to cleanse and purify a recently conquered area from any linguistic and material traces of 'barbarity'. For example, following the conquest of parts of Macedonia and Epirus during the Balkan Wars, the council of the Athens Archaeological Society formed a committee with the participation of archaeologists from the State Archaeological Service, to 'cleanse the country from the barbarous names', to find out the ancient Greek names for the specific places and to Hellenize Turkish, Slavic, and Albanian names in the cases where ancient Greek ones could not be found (Anon. 1914: 73).[5] This purification exercise continues up to the present day, especially in areas such as Macedonia and Thrace (J. Papadopoulos, pers. comm.). This last example testifies perhaps to the combined roles of archaeologists, not only as soldiers of the nation but also ritual specialists who could cleanse and purify the recent additions to the national territory.[6]

Archaeologists are also the producers and the guardians of aesthetic principles and ideas. They produce monuments, sites, and artefacts that, in the prevailing tradition of (especially classical) archaeology in Greece, are seen as primarily works of art. As will be discussed below, museums are primarily art museums (although many recent and smaller museums have moved away from this paradigm), and archaeologists have formed close links with the modern art world. The State Archaeological Service produces aesthetic value through additional practices, such as for example the authentication of replicas of ancient art, that carry the official stamp as 'authentic copies', denoting thus accuracy, and setting them apart

[4] The links between archaeology and war in general and not simply in the case of Greece is a widespread phenomenon that requires extensive study (cf. Davis 2000; Joyce 2002): it will suffice to recall here key figures in archaeology who were military men, from General Pitt Rivers to Yigael Yadin, the key military figure and politician who excavated the iconic site of Israeli nationalism, Masada (cf. Ben-Yehuda 2002).

[5] The committee proposed the idea to the Ministry of Interior which accepted it (Anon. 1914: 72); in fact, many of the names that the committee proposed were adopted.

[6] On the deployment (by local authorities) of antiquity in the renaming of places, villages, and towns see also Alexandri (2002).

from the plethora of other reworkings of ancient themes that are often described by many (elite and aspiring elite) people as tasteless and 'kitsch'. Interestingly, the appropriation of some of these 'tasteless' copies of antiquities by ordinary people is often ridiculed by the elites and the upper classes as an indication of poor taste: these people thus find themselves in the paradoxical position of having adopted the hegemonic ideology on the moral authority of classical antiquity which, as I will discuss in the next chapter, was initially propagated by the upper-middle classes, only to be accused by these same classes as being unworthy of the aesthetic standards of that heritage.

The reinforcement of strict guidelines of an aesthetic nature on building and other interventions around archaeological sites is one of the most explicit forms of the role of aesthetic guardianship. In the summer of 2004, the KAS demanded the relocation of an art installation (for which it had previously given permission) from the foothill of the Acropolis (a work by D. Alitheinos of an illuminated, yellow-painted, headless imitation of a classical statue, revolving

Fig. 2.1 The art installation by D. Alitheinos at the foothill of the Acropolis, part of the 'Athens by Art' exhibition which accompanied the 2004 Athens Olympics.

around its vertical axis), because it was considered to be obstructing the view towards the Acropolis and the Parthenon (Fig. 2.1). In the end, the statue remained but without lighting and in a static rather than revolving manner, prompting the artist to install a protest sign at its base (Fig. 2.2). Paradoxically, the installation had a clear archaeological meaning: in addition to its theme, the base of the

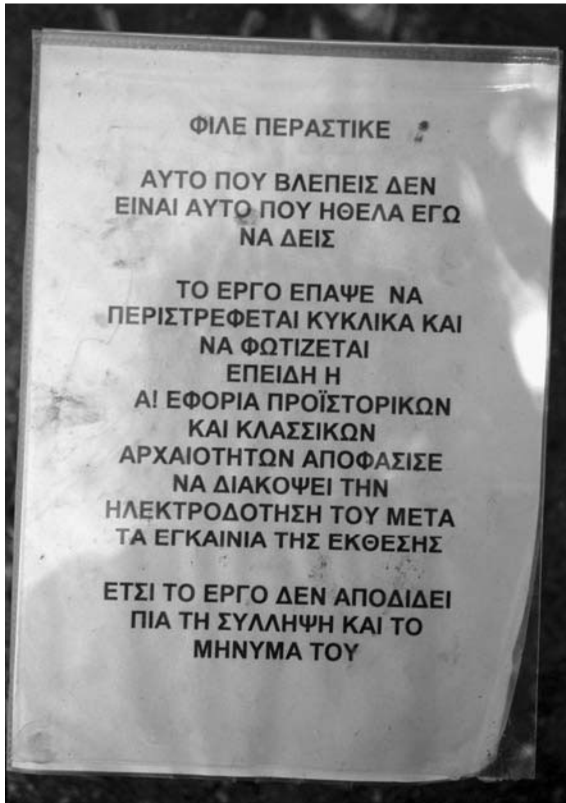

Fig. 2.2 The protest sign installed by the creator of the installation (depicted in Fig. 2.1) at its base. The sign reads: 'Dear passer-by, what you see is not what I wanted you to see. The art ceased to revolve and to be illuminated because the First Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities decided to cut off electricity after the inauguration of the exhibition. As a result, the art does not transmit its conception and message any longer'.

statue was a glass case filled with layers of soil from all over Greece, imitating thus an archaeological stratigraphic section (Pournara 2004).

The archaeologists' aesthetic ideal is often the ideal of 'high art', which has not only promoted a selective, often misleading and highly sanitized version of the past, but it also aestheticizes most aspects of the ancient material world, from figurines, to food serving and eating vessels. Official archaeology thus maintains to the present day its position as a primarily upper and middle-class pursuit, as is the case with many other European global contexts (cf. Merriman 1992). At the same time, however, antiquity as aesthetic culture becomes a pathway through which other social strata can connect with the upper classes, through practices such as museum visiting or decorating their house interiors with 'authentic' replicas of classical art, for example. Moreover, antiquities as a symbolic resource of the nation as a whole cut across class boundaries, and are often appropriated by various groups that have little connection with official archaeology. It is perhaps the physicality and immediacy of materiality (in addition to their national veneration) that make these deep connections possible, even for people who rarely visit museums or have less than friendly relationships with official archaeology. The daily encounters with visible archaeological sites and monuments, often part of the urban fabric or scattered in the countryside, facilitate that direct connection which bypasses official archaeology and its structures.

The Athens Archaeological Society (*I en Athinais Arhaiologiki Etaireia*) is the other main Greek organization that deals with antiquity. Its foundation and initial role will be examined in the following chapter. The society, which was founded in the nineteenth century as a result of an initiative by Greeks from the diaspora, connoisseurs of classical antiquity, and archaeologists (including many foreign archaeologists working in Greece), still remains an exception as the only private Greek archaeological body that carries out a substantial amount of field archaeological activity. Notorious for its conservatism, it has retained many of its founding features, including a membership only partly composed of archaeologists: a number of artists, intellectuals, and upper-class art connoisseurs form a large part of its body. Its important role during the first years of archaeological activity, its control of a number of key

excavations, and its journal, *Arhaiologiki Ephimeris* (the oldest Greek archaeology journal) still give it, however, enormous clout.

Finally, universities occupy a central role in the constitution of archaeology as a discipline in Greece and in the production and reproduction of archaeological culture and reality, not only through research, teaching, and the training of archaeologists, and the participation of their staff in a number of key state committees, but also through the authority that universities and university staff exercise in the archaeological and broader public discourse. University archaeologists influence archaeological production and reproduction by participating in all important decision-making bodies, such as local archaeological councils, the Central Archaeological Council (KAS), the state scholarship examination committees, the examination for the recruitment of archaeologists in the State Archaeological Service, and the committees of major conferences and archaeological exhibitions. But their most important role is through the teaching of archaeology itself, which is one of the main mechanisms for the reproduction of archaeological culture and ideology, and the archaeological and historical narratives on the Greek past. Universities also carry out a number of major research and training excavations, thus producing significant material effects and archaeological realities.

Interestingly, there are no separate departments of archaeology or separate degrees in archaeology in Greece. Indicative of how archaeology was initially conceived of as a handmaiden to classical philology and ancient history, the departments that offer degrees in archaeology are departments of history and archaeology (or in one case, history, anthropology, and archaeology). In more recent years, archaeology has been taught in various other departments in new universities. Despite some exceptions and recent developments, the teaching is primarily ethnocentric in terms of themes and areas covered, with very few courses covering areas outside Greece (cf. Hamilakis 1992–98, 2000c; Kokkinidou 2005). New universities have attempted to introduce thematic teaching, yet in most cases teaching is normally divided into three strands, prehistoric, classical, and 'Byzantine'; classical Greece occupies the bulk of teaching, while under prehistory the phases that are seen as linked to classical antiquity through the Homeric epics or mythology ('Minoan' and 'Mycenaean' periods) are mostly covered. This division is not simply

a neutral chronological chart. While time is the dominant dimension, thus making the presence of courses dealing with thematic issues awkward, the labels themselves homogenize the past, excluding the possibility of the development of archaeologies of difference. The label 'Byzantine' is a case in point; by this is usually meant the archaeology and history of the Balkan Peninsula from the transfer of the capital of the Roman Empire to Constantinople, to the conquest of the city by the Ottomans in 1453. In some cases the chronological phase is extended to cover the subsequent centuries under the term post-Byzantine. By naming this period Byzantine, whole categories of monuments and material culture are excluded, e.g. the monuments testifying to the Islamic or the Frankish presence in the area. Even within this framework, however, the focus is on certain, primarily ecclesiastic monuments and artefacts.

The pedagogic role of training excavations is no less important. University excavations often operate as models for the rest of archaeological practice. As happens in many other national traditions, excavations are also the places where trainee archaeologists are disciplined and socialized in the culture of archaeology; through the embodied practices of archaeological fieldwork they incorporate the rules of archaeological hierarchy and the habitus of the archaeologist as a professional, as a practitioner, as an intellectual. To give just one example: most excavations in Greece (and Mediterranean in general) employ a large number of workers to carry out the manual tasks, whereas the trainee students normally keep the records and the notebooks, and are being told to 'instruct' and to supervise the workers, thus creating a dichotomy between manual and intellectual labour, which may take on class connotations.

THE TEMPLES OF THE NATION

If antiquities in modern Greece have acquired the status of sacred artefacts, as I will be suggesting throughout this book, then museums are their temples, their sacred repositories, inviting reverence. Several archaeologists have noted that museums in Greece resemble churches rather than places of knowledge (e.g. Hourmouziadis 1980; Gazi 1994: 65). They create a distance between the visitor and the exhibited

artefacts; they demand submission due to the formality and the structure of space, the atmosphere, and even the appearance and the attitude of the guards. While the field of museums is currently undergoing major changes, and archaeologists and others are experimenting with new ways of presenting the past (especially in smaller and regional museums), the basic structure and organizational logic has remained more or less unchanged for the last two centuries (cf. Kokkou 1977 for a history):[7] state museums are in nearly all cases attached to the local archaeological units, and the director of the unit is also the director of the museum (exceptions here are the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, the Thessaloniki Museum, and the Irakleio Museum). Most state museums contain objects of later prehistory and classical antiquity, mirroring the key phases in the national narrative, although a number of separate, state Byzantine museums have also been established. The strict control by the state,[8] and their role as the repositories of the sacred symbolic capital of antiquity, have discouraged radical changes, and at the same time they have made them immune to the pressures of commercialization or inclusion in the heritage industry, as has happened in many other western countries. Yet, the binary metaphor of the church (museums today) and the school (how museums should be) that has been employed by some critics (e.g. Hourmouziadis 1980), is only partly successful: museums in Greece do perform a key pedagogical role, in fact they are one of the primary means through which national pedagogy is carried out. School-organized visits are their primary clientele during the winter months, and the chronological, linear order in the exhibition of finds that most of them follow acts as a powerful didactic means: the unbroken continuity of the nation becomes materialized and acquires truthfulness and physical concrete power through the exhibition of antiquities in museums. As mentioned in Chapter 1, museums can be seen as maps (Castañeda 1996) that both assume a previous journey (the journey of national history) and at the same time activate and navigate one (the enactment

[7] For other, recent studies on Greek museums see Gazi (1993, 1994), Avgouli (1996), Mouliou (1994, 1996, 1997), Skaltsa (2001) and Voudouri (2003); there are several earlier articles by Hourmouziadis (e.g. 1987).

[8] For example, the books and guides that are sold in museums and archaeological sites have to have the prior approval of centralized archaeological committees.

of national history). While there is rarely a predetermined visitors' itinerary (unlike major archaeological sites), the chronological arrangement of finds suggests and implicitly imposes directionality, the route of national continuity and history. The bodily movement of visitors inside the museum, from glass case to glass case and from one period to the next, re-enacts that long parade of national history, it becomes a participation in the spectacle of the history of the Hellenic nation illustrated. This is travel both in space and in time, and the archaeological artefacts, signposted with dates and places of origins, operate as the landmarks of the mapped territory that the visitors are invited to traverse. This cartographic pedagogy, however, much like religious pilgrimage, assumes and demands religious piety and submission.

'HOSPITALS FOR CONTAGIOUS DISEASES': THE FOREIGN SCHOOLS[9]

The foreign archaeological schools . . . in Greece give the impression of institutions or hospitals for . . . contagious diseases in exotic countries

A. Zois (1990: 48)

It is a fact that Greece, a country full of monuments, is a powerless victim of the twelve foreign archaeological schools, which literally rob the country like foreign imperialist [military] bases . . . Their greatest 'contribution' to our country is that, by publishing the Greek antiquities naturally in their own language, they force the unfortunate young Greek archaeologists to learn many foreign languages in order to be able to study their own antiquities. – Foreigners, of course, are not alone. They enjoy the willing submissiveness of the majority of the members of the Greek Archaeological Service . . .

Anon. (1981)

[9] There are no systematic, book-length critical studies on the social history, workings, and role of foreign schools in Greece. From time to time, the schools themselves produce 'factual' histories that are mostly exercises in ancestor worship and attempts at legitimacy, rather than critical endeavours (e.g. Meritt 1984; Waterhouse 1986). Recent articles (see, for example, the work of Davis 2000, 2003; also Clogg 1993) have started to rectify this situation.

The above two quotations by two Greek archaeologists reflect some of the dominant attitudes towards the foreign archaeological schools operating in Greece. The first, by a retired university professor with an unconventional career that more than once brought him to clash with the establishment, points to the ambivalence that many archaeologists and others feel: they see the schools as part of the colonial legacy of archaeology in Greece, but at the same time they see their valuable contribution, especially in the light of the inadequate provision of facilities by the State Archaeological Service and other Greek indigenous institutions.

The second is a rather dated, at times inaccurate, populist response which has to be understood within its context: it was published in Crete, in a newspaper known for its populist and at the time extreme anti-government and anti-'foreign' feelings (an attitude which at the time equated the 'foreign' with the presence of American military bases on the island), at a period when the right-wing government was losing rapidly to the incoming socialist PASOK government. The anonymous writer (who also called for the dismantling of foreign schools and the nationalization of their facilities, in order for them to be used by the Greek archaeologists), lets out bitterness and resentment, but at the same time points to some serious problems and consequences: the colonial past which at times seems rather present and alive; the dependency created by the appropriation of archaeological knowledge by the foreign schools, since Greek archaeologists have to acquire the knowledge of the respective languages in order to study the antiquities of Greece, and they often have to study in the respective countries, adopting thus the philosophy and epistemology of the specific national school of archaeology; and the exchange of the cultural capital of antiquities (through the granting by the Greek Archaeological Service of fieldwork permits to the foreign schools) for academic and scholarly capital in terms of scholarships, publications, and so on.

This last aspect also reveals that the picture that the anonymous writer has created is a false one. Greek archaeology is not so much the victim of imperialist and colonialist archaeology as the partner in an exchange and a relationship (albeit an asymmetrical one), where colonialism and nationalism meet: Greek archaeologists grant permits for work, whereas foreign archaeologists provide facilities and

access to the academic capital of the west. Moreover, through the work of foreign archaeological teams in Greece, many Greek archaeologists find a way to internationalize their work, to gain access to international academic fora. Most archaeologists implicitly recognize this political economy of antiquities but would resist its exposure and its discussion as such. Hence, views like the one expressed by the anonymous writer gain little popularity. In the Cretological Congress (a large international gathering of scholars and amateurs who study all aspects of the archaeology, history, and folklore of Crete) held 2 months after the publication of that article in the same town, a motion was passed in which the participants expressed 'their great respect for the significant scientific work that these [foreign] schools have carried out for decades in Crete' (Petrakos 1982: 70).

There were seventeen foreign archaeological schools and missions in operation in Greece at the time of writing (spring 2006). These are quite peculiar institutions. They are the remnants of a colonial era, struggling to adjust to a post-colonial environment; they carry with them the 'colonial guilt' and anxieties in dealing with the modern national framework of archaeological presence in Greece. In most cases they are funded and supported by their respective governments (the American School is an exception in that respect) and other bodies in their country of origin, and are seen by them as institutions that facilitate the archaeological activity of their universities and other research groups. The long-established ones were founded in the nineteenth century, often under privileged conditions, at a time when the Greek classical heritage was the indisputable western heritage, and in which all 'civilized' nations had a rightful share. The oldest one to be founded was the French Archaeological School, followed by the American, the British, and the German. A number of other schools and institutes were founded more recently. Part of their very recent proliferation has to do with an attempt to by-pass legislation that limits the number of annual permits for archaeological fieldwork for each school. In the past, and in the absence of a respective national school, a number of universities used to request permission through their closely affiliated school. As competition among universities and archaeologists became more severe, and restrictions by the KAS increased, work permits became a scarce resource. Universities and individual archaeologists had to find

other ways, the easiest of which was to found a separate archaeological school or institute, and thus submit a separate application to the Ministry of Culture. The fiercely competitive process of negotiating work permits, and in general the facilitation of the work of these institutions, has been often entangled in the broader political and financial relationships between Greece and the respective state, and in the wider geopolitical and historical contingencies (see Chapter 3 for examples); this phenomenon often amounts to an exchange by the Greek state of the symbolic capital of antiquity for diplomatic, political, and even directly financial capital, albeit in a masked and disguised form (Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996).

The oldest and most prosperous schools maintain large and well-equipped libraries (and in the case of the American and British schools, also laboratories for the scientific analysis of archaeological materials). While their primary responsibility is to the archaeologists and institutions from their respective country, archaeologists from the archaeological service and the universities, and Greek archaeology students, often see in the facilities of the schools a unique and rare study and research resource, impossible to find elsewhere, hence the metaphor of the 'hospital', discussed above.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL LAWS AND THE CREATION OF NATIONAL VALUE

Given the key role of antiquities in Greek society, it is no surprise that the relevant legal matters are issues of enormous concern. Since 1970 at least four draft laws have been prepared and discussed (Voudouri 1992, 2003; Mouliou 1998),[10] in order to replace the old legislation which dated from 1932 and was based on the first systematic legislation on antiquities prepared by the Bavarian von Maurer in 1834 (Petrakos 1982: 19–20) and the law of 1899. The most recent law was ratified by the parliament in the summer of 2002.

Since antiquities are the primary symbolic capital of the country, the state is keen to safeguard them and guarantee their 'profitable

[10] See also http://www.area-archives.org/homepage.htm, for a codification of the basic archaeological legislation (accessed 31 October 2006).

investment'. The stakes over this symbolic capital are very high and the stakeholders many and diverse. National concerns have to be balanced with international obligations (EU and UN treaties), national identity will have to be reconciled with agriculture, building activity, tourism, and daily life. The law does not simply create archaeological value, but it also regulates the management of the most important symbolic resource of the nation. No wonder then that the introduction and implementation of the new law took 70 years. At the beginning of a discussion document outlining the basic principles of the 2002 archaeological law (circulated by the Ministry of Culture on 7 April 1998), we read:

> A Greek Law for the protection of Cultural Heritage, a new archaeological law, the first systematic and completed legislation since 1932, has a *special symbolic significance*: Greece is a country which in the public consciousness internationally is considered a superpower in the field of culture. Consequently, apart from its symbolic and practical significance for the internal affairs, such legislation sends an *international message*, a message of total respect toward and incorporation of the principles and rules of International Law in relation to the management of cultural goods. And since the primary axis of our policy is the respect of international law in these issues, with most prominent (but not the only one) the issue of the marbles of Parthenon, the significance of such a Greek legislative initiative is evident and carries many connotations, which should be emphasized by all means possible
>
> YPPO (1998; emphasis in the original)

The 2002 law made a serious effort to harmonize issues of heritage with international practices and treaties, yet, as is obvious from the above, the special role of the antiquities of Greece still remains a key concern: Greece considers itself to be a 'superpower' of culture. At the same time, as discussed above, the law-makers here are conscious that the western world is 'watching'. Finally, while that law was supposed to cover cultural heritage in general, antiquities occupy the central position; it is after all, as the subtitle of the document indicates, 'the new archaeological law'.

The reference to the issue of the Parthenon marbles in the preamble of the discussion document (which mentions no other single issue), indicates that their restitution has been the single most important archaeological concern for the Greek government since the

early 1980s (see Chapter 7). This policy is expressed in the final text of the 2002 law, which states that 'within the rules of the international law, the Greek state cares for the protection of cultural goods originating from the Hellenic sovereign territory (*epikrateia*), whenever they were removed from it', a phrasing that is clearly designed to include objects that have been removed even before the foundation of the state. Moreover, the same article (article 1) notes: 'The Greek state also cares, within the rules of the international law, for the protection of cultural goods which are linked historically with Greece wherever they are' (Greek Parliament 2002). This broad definition of protection, absent in previous laws, goes beyond the legal ratification of the Parthenon marbles crusade and sanctions a policy which sees the territory of Hellenism as being far wider than the boundaries of the nation-state. Echoes of the nineteenth century 'Great Idea' (*Megali Idea*, the irridentist dream of incorporating within the boundaries of Greece 'unredeemed' territories that were seen as part of Hellenism, such as those in Asia; cf. Chapter 3) can be traced here.

In the final ratified text, all antiquities older that AD 1453 are declared state property and cannot be circulated in the market or owned (*res extra commercium*). The ownership status of antiquities was a matter of concern from even before the establishment of the state, when an official decree in 1826 declared antiquities as 'national', and ordered the population not to sell them (see Chapter 3). Subsequent laws such as the law of 1834 declared that all antiquities are national property and belong to the state (Petrakos 1982). This status did not stop government agencies from donating, 'exchanging' or 'selling' antiquities. The first governor of Greece, I. Kapodistrias, suggested in 1831 that Greece should donate antiquities (even those kept at the National Museum) to the Emperor of Bavaria in exchange for books, teaching instruments, and aids for the schools of the new state (Protopsaltis 1967: 102–103). In 1829, the same governor allowed the French Expédition Scientifique de Morée to export to France antiquities from its excavation at Olympia (Petrakos 1982: 89–90). In 1854 Greece sent a marble plaque from the Parthenon to the USA in order for it to be incorporated in the Washington Monument (Petrakos 1982: 90). Moreover, the law of 1932 contained the article 53, which is entitled 'About the selling of useless antiquities'.

The article stated that antiquities which are considered 'useless' for museums can be exchanged for useful ones, or they can be sold following certain guidelines (Petrakos 1982). This last article, however, was seen by many as an outrageous measure, which commercialized the sacred national heritage (cf. Petrakos 1982: 30–35; cf. Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996 for examples and discussion).

Despite the exclusive ownership of antiquities by the state, private collectors are allowed to possess archaeological finds which are, however, still owned formally by the state, and they can be repossessed at will. Private collectors and the relatively small-scale, legal circulation of antiquities in the internal market are overseen by the state through a special service. Collectors are mainly rich art connoisseurs; they are not obliged to declare the provenance of their antiquities (which in most cases come from illegal looting of archaeological sites);[11] some of them have found themselves implicated in scandals as a result of this practice, but they often justify their act with the argument that their collecting has prevented the export of antiquities and their circulation in the international market, an argument that does not address the destruction done to the archaeological sites. While illegal looters and traffickers are severely prosecuted, art collectors often enjoy high esteem, and are seen as performing a national service. Some of them have opened lavish and glamorous museums to house their collections, which are, however, now invested with the discourse of art, in a modernist, ahistorical, and de-contextualized mode. The Goulandris Museum, with its large collection of prehistoric Cycladic figurines, the result of extensive looting that has largely erased the archaeological memory of the Early Bronze Age Cyclades, is the most famous case (cf. Elia 1993; Gill and Chippindale 1993). The once painted, but now white, marble Cycladic figurines, often exhibited in blue background, evoking thus the national colours, are now indicators of high artistic taste and are endlessly reproduced in jewellery and other forms. There are also often seen as precursors of classical sculpture (as in the opening ceremony of the 2004 Olympics), and are thus firmly inscribed in the national narrative.

[11] The 2002 law has introduced an ambivalent phrase, clearly a product of compromise, saying that 'collectors should not acquire cultural goods which could have derived from theft or other illegal activity' (Greek Parliament 2002).

The 2002 law, unlike the previous ones which were primarily designed to protect classical antiquities (and only by default, prehistoric ones and artefacts coming from the period of 'medieval Hellenism'), protects all monuments; it defined as ancient monuments those older than the foundation of the state, but also extended its protection to more recent ones if recognized as having 'historical, artistic or scientific importance' (Article 2). In the definition of the ancient monuments, however, the tripartite scheme that divides antiquity into prehistory, Classical times, and Byzantine and post-Byzantine times, remained intact. This is not simply a matter of semantics: the new law, despite its important innovations, was inscribed into the national narrative as formed primarily in the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Legal texts produce and create value (cf. Carman 1996). Naming in these texts constructs time and legitimizes relations of inclusion and exclusion. For example, the choice of this scheme, as well as the choice of the word 'Byzantine' to define the medieval and post-medieval period, is not simply an affirmation of a national chronological scheme. As in the case of university curricula discussed above, it has serious implications on the ground: the valuation and prioritization of Byzantine may render, for example, legally problematic the protection of Frankish material traces or those of the Slavic settlements. Moreover, the ecclesiastical connotations of the term 'Byzantium' may render ambiguous the protection of small rural medieval settlements, most of which are already being destroyed.

Overall, the present legal framework has reaffirmed the exclusive role of the state in managing the symbolic capital of antiquity, and has adopted a comprehensive protection strategy (which includes non-material 'cultural goods', and ratifies the foundation of a national sites and monuments record). At the same time, in the spirit of internationally dominant market economy, attempts were made (some resisted by archaeologists) to allow the operation of key attractions (such as the major museums) according to the rules of the commodified heritage industry. This legal framework, however, is not simply a neutral and mechanistic procedure. Its role and meaning will depend on the broader ideological framework in which it will be deployed. In that respect, the 2002 law did not break from the national framework established in the nineteenth century; it simply

constituted a recasting of that framework in the new national discourse that tries to reconcile national identity with capital; at the same time, it legally recognized the concern of the state for the remnants of the 'wider Hellenism', all finds and objects that are 'historically connected with Greece wherever they are'. While more changes to this framework are continuously debated and considered, the basic underlying principles of the creation of national archaeological value outlined above are unlikely to change in the near future.

A thoroughly documented examination of the structures of archaeology in Greece would have justified a book-length study on its own. A number of points raised here (e.g. the metaphor of the archaeologist as a religious specialist, the colonial foundations of foreign schools, and so on) will become clear and will find plenty of support in the following chapters. Nevertheless, this short background discussion has exposed a number of points that are important in their own right, as well as being essential for the understanding of what is to follow.

The structures of archaeological production in Greece have proven extremely resilient and resistant to change. Whenever changes are proposed, the public debate prior to their implementation is phenomenal, and the opinions passionate and forcefully expressed. Both facts testify to the importance of the process of archaeology in the national imagination, and to the immense authority that its structures command. More importantly, however, it has been shown above that it will be impossible to engage in a discussion on the structures of archaeology while ignoring the shaping power of the national imagination, the colonial–national nexus, and the tensions and ambiguities that these processes have entailed.

3

From Western to Indigenous Hellenism: Antiquity, Archaeology, and the Invention of Modern Greece

INTRODUCTION

In March 1996, a peace treaty was signed at Sparta in the Peloponnese. The treaty ended a war that lasted 27 years, causing many casualties on both sides. The signing of the treaty, the text of which was prepared by Konstantinos Despotopoulos (of the Academy of Athens), was widely reported in the press. The signatories were not leaders of countries or of international organizations. They were the mayors of Athens and Sparta, and they declared the formal end of the Peloponnesian War, which ended in 404 BC (Nikitidis 1996).

This was, in many ways, an unusual incident that had all the elements of a staged theatrical performance (irony included), but it is fair to say that, more than in many other societies, the past is omnipresent in modern Greece. It is celebrated in secular rituals and it is worshipped inside the museums often operating as temples, as well as outside them. It can be encountered in daily life, in the abundant and in many cases highly visible archaeological sites, in the new Athens metro stations (cf. Hamilakis 2001a), in representations, be it company logos or product advertisements, in the staging of ancient dramas, in the ceremonies amongst Greeks in the diaspora, in the literature. But classical Greece of course is not only Greek. In fact, classical Greece in its various reincarnations and forms, from architecture to literature and from advertising to company logos, is everywhere in the western world. The very mention of

the name of Greece in global academic and popular encounters evokes notions of classical antiquity, and indeed, the names of Greece and of Greeks themselves still denote primarily classical antiquity, hence the need to very often add the prefix 'modern' in order to denote the present-day country and its people, a revealing and highly charged linguistic device. Greece is at the same time a country and a *topos* in the western imagination, a reality and a myth, a national property and an (western) international claim. Therein lies a key paradox of this phenomenon, a source of tensions, of ambiguities, of contradictions, of ambivalent feelings, of clashes. In this chapter I explore the beginnings and some of the causes of the phenomenon, focusing on the long Greek nineteenth century (ending in 1922), but making references to earlier and later periods. I concentrate on certain themes which I consider to be crucial in understanding the role of ancient material traces and of archaeological practices within the national imagination: the changes and transformations in the attitudes towards antiquities (and the salient continuities), the power of antiquities in the national memory and imagination, the construction of the monumental topography of the nation, the tensions, ambiguities, clashes, and reconciliations that characterized these processes of monumental topographic production. The length of this chapter is justified not only by the quantity and diversity of material, but also by the need to explain processes that have shaped the dynamic of the role of antiquities in Greek society up to the present day.

Athens, 28 August 1834. An unusual day for the small and dusty town of 8000. Day of celebration, of elaborate and strange ceremony. In fact, today is not the beginning but the culmination of the celebrations that started 3 days ago. And the reason? The King is in town! The King of the small kingdom is visiting Athens. The son of Ludwig of Bavaria, Otto, had in fact visited the town before, but this time is different: Athens had more reason to celebrate, as only very recently, last February, the decision was taken that the capital of the kingdom will be moved from the bigger, and commercially more important coastal town of Nafplio in the Peloponnese to Athens! And to think that it was only last year that Attica, together with Euboea and Phthiotis in Central Greece, became part of the kingdom! There were other ceremonies and celebrations before, to mark the entrance of the Bavarian army into the

town, on 20 March 1833, and on the 31st of the same month, when almost all the inhabitants climbed on the Acropolis to celebrate its taking from the Ottomans, and to hoist the Greek flag. And again on 11 February 1834, not on the Acropolis this time, but at the Theseion, which is now the church of St George, to celebrate with a Christian mass the decision to move the capital to Athens. The Athenians still remember the speech:

> *In this very place, and in front of this, most ancient monument, built 2000 years ago, in honour of the first settler of this town, of Theseus, we gathered today to celebrate, according to the religious customs, the great occasion of the resurrection and awakening of our town; we could not have found a better place for this, other than the earth upon which lies this monument, visible from all round, a monument to the founder and benefactor of this town . . .*

But this celebration is different. The visit of the King was a happy coincidence. This celebration will not only welcome once more the King to the newly declared capital-to-be, but more importantly, it will commemorate with the King's presence, the beginning of something even more important: the reconstruction of the Parthenon and of the other classical buildings on the Acropolis. Work had already started there, under the direction of Leo von Klenze, that famous architect, to whom Munich owes many prominent buildings. Klenze, who came to Athens at the insistence of Ludwig of Bavaria to oversee the rebuilding of Athens (and modify the initial town plans that Ludwig did not like), was the one who had insisted that the Acropolis should not be used as a base of the garrison any more, but it should be restored to its former glory. He had already amassed 100 workmen, and they were busy at moving material, clearing, shifting through so many buildings, trying to make their way through the small mosque inside the Parthenon, through houses and other constructions . . . But things were not going that well: no proper equipment, the workmen fell ill . . . The royal visit was supposed to coincide with the completion of clearance and restoration work on the Acropolis, but given the difficulties the visit will become an occasion to mark the inauguration of the restoration, rather than its completion. A grand ceremony on the Acropolis, with Otto placing the first column drum on a reconstructed column, Klenze thought, will mark symbolically the beginning of the grand project and it may help overcome the difficulties.

Celebrations had started 3 days ago. When the King docked at Piraeus, three representatives of the Athenian people came to formally welcome him, the first bearing a live owl, the second an olive branch (both symbols of the goddess Athena), as for the third, he delivered a short but passionate speech:

Your Majesty,

The city of Athens, happy to welcome you for a third time... in the certainty that through you, the predictions of the respected King, your father, that with you our struggles to make Athena, Demeter, and Hermes return to our city, will be vindicated.

Oh heroes of Salamis, mourning for many centuries for our enchainment and our fall, raise your head, to see with joyful eyes, your city, resurrected, and becoming a seat of wisdom and order.

Now it is late afternoon, all the authorities of Athens have gathered on the Acropolis, the streets are all decorated with laurels, and from the Propylaia to the Parthenon rows of Athenian virgins, in white, holding a flag with the goddess Athena, and a laurel wreath, all arranged to the very detail according to the orders of Leo von Klenze. The King is sitting on a laurel- and myrtle-clad throne opposite the mosque, and Klenze is about to start his speech:

Your Majesty,

Apart from all other good deeds that the new Hellas owes to you, you cared to give to this country and to the whole of enlightened world, a clear proof of your high parental protection and [concern] for the great history, the most stable historical basis of this beautiful country.

There was no better way and one demonstrating dignity to the civilized world to prove this, but for you to show your care for the existing remains of this great past, the monuments of the Hellenic Art.

Hence, your Majesty cared to order me to direct the start of the work which will protect them from further damage, so that the monuments of this renowned Acropolis can be preserved for the coming centuries, the seat of the glory of Athenians three thousand years ago, the highest and more perfect masterpieces ever to be born by the imagination of the human mind...

Your Majesty stepped today for a first time on this glorious Acropolis, after so many centuries of barbarism, walking on the road of civilization and glory, on which passed the Themistocleses, the Aristideses, the Kimons [Cimons] and the

Pericleses, and this is and it should be in the eyes of the people, the symbol of your glorious reign... All the remnants of barbarism will disappear, not only here but in the whole of Greece, and the remnants of the glorious past will be surrounded with new shine, as a solid basis for the present and the future.

So said Klenze, while the people of Athens could not understand him as the speech was in German (a Greek translation was, however, given afterwards to many of the participants). Then, the King, with three strokes on a marble column drum, inaugurated the reconstruction of the Parthenon, while the band of the British ship Madagascar *was playing 'national tunes', as a Nafplion newspaper will write'.*[1]

In the Glorious days of Greece, freedom produced all these beautiful works of art, the ruins of which are scattered in our land today; foreign despotism committed sacrilege upon them and destroyed them, and it was up to freedom again to restore their honour and to put them under its protecting aegis

A. R. Rangavis (1837: 5)

...the voice of mouesin, coming from the Acropolis and heard around it, in the place where the most sacred memories of ancient and Christian Athens are to be found, marked for the Athenians the beginning of a new phase in their life. But in the areas around the Acropolis, where the voice of Pericles, of Demosthenes, of Plato and of Saint Paul were once heard, there is no place for the voice of imam which represents the negation of political, patriotic and moral principles, advocated by them. –Shadows of the creators of the great feats of humanity, do not be sad; Koran's principles cannot grow roots in the soil of Attica. The kind dust of the people who are buried in it would resist them, since, even if barbarism absorbs every strength, one day the breath of freedom will uproot it...

Kambouroglou (1893: 27)

The three texts above set the scene for the discussion in this chapter. The first recalls the elaborate ceremony organized in Athens

[1] The episode is retold here based on Miliarakis (1884), and on information contained in Papageorgiou-Venetas (2001: 363–64 and *passim*). It should be mentioned that while Miliarakis gives 28 August as the date of this ceremony, von Klenze in his memoirs [*Aphoristische Bemerkungen gesammelt auf seiner Reise nach Griechenland*, published in Berlin in 1838 and discussed and partly translated by Papageorgiou-Venetas (2001)], gives 10 September as a date; this difference may be due to the use of different calendars.

in 1834 under the guidance of the renowned Bavarian architect Leo von Klenze, who effectively took charge of the creation of the modern city of Athens at the time (cf. Papageorgiou-Venetas 2001); the ceremony was designed to inaugurate, with the presence of the recently appointed King Otto, the beginning of the restoration of the Parthenon. The second text, by the eminent archaeologist and politician Alexandros Rangavis, is the opening paragraph of the first article in the first issue of the *Archaeological Journal* (*Ephimeris Arhaiologiki*), the official archaeological journal of record for the new state, published only 3 years after this ceremony. And the third is by Kambouroglou, the most eminent historiographer of Athens and Athenian life in the late nineteenth century.

All three texts reveal a number of interesting phenomena. The first records a highly meaningful public ritual which signifies the beginning of a large-scale project for the creation of the 'archaeological record' of the Hellenic national dream: the rebuilding and remodelling of the Athenian Acropolis. The main protagonist here is Klenze, a prominent advocate of neoclassicism in architecture. He was instrumental in implementing the first Greek archaeological law (drafted by the Bavarian, and member of the Regency, von Maurer), and in establishing a key device of western modernity, an organized service for the protection of monuments, an archaeological service. At the Acropolis, which he sees as an archaeological and monumental site first and foremost, he will be given a free hand to materialize his utopia. He advocates and predicts the purification of the Acropolis from the 'remnants of barbarism', a project which is discussed in detail below. But he is also making highly significant links between the reign of a king imposed by the 'Great Powers' upon Greece, and the classical past. Otto steps as a sovereign on the soil of Pericles, and like him, he gives the order for the (re)building of the Parthenon. In another passage, Klenze referred to the souls of the great and wise men of classical antiquity, who, having heard from their graves that Otto is coming, will rest assured that the King will protect them. Moreover, the troubles that his project of re-creation was facing before were now over; during this ceremony, 'almost automatically, these enormous marbles obeyed the order of the masons, and fell into place' (Miliarakis 1884: 466), in the rhythm of the hymns that greeted the King. Klenze was not simply trying to gain royal

recognition for this project; he had that already. His was rather an attempt to tie symbolically the rebuilding of the Parthenon (and his role in it) with the reign of the new King (the son of his patron Ludwig), a young and inexperienced King who could not even speak the language of his subjects and who was worshiping in a different religion. The monarch needed the legitimacy that the classical past, through its material remains, could give him.

But this celebration, and the events that preceded it, were highly significant for the Athenian people as well. Classical antiquities and their evocations and associations were the mythological base upon which their nation was being built. Both constituencies, the Bavarian King and his entourage and scholars, and the Athenian people were invoking the past for different reasons and with different expectations; and of course, the broader audience was the 'Enlightened Europe', the force that both the new monarch and the new state needed for their survival. Note the tone in the two different speeches above, the one by the local Athenian authorities, and the one by Klenze: the first expresses more of an expectation, a hope, and a warning, that the King should fulfil his heavy duty, as he has been entrusted with such an important legacy. The second presents the new King as the already worthy leader of such a land. In both cases, the ancient classical figures play a key role: in the first the dead of the battle in Salamis are invoked to participate in the celebration of the resurrection of the nation, but in the second the creators of the Parthenon rest assured that the new regime will prove to be a good steward and inheritor of their works. The tension here is evident, as are the multiple roles that the classical material past is called upon to fulfil. And all this, in highly ritualized ceremonies with monuments such as the Theseion and more so the Acropolis as the backdrop, the material and monumental frame that structured human movement and action, and inspired and elicited awe, piety, and respect. Classical monuments were already demonstrating not only their crucial importance as the material foundations of the new nation, but also their powerful role as legitimating resources and as a contested resource.

The other two quotations by national intellectuals, express the a posteriori attempt to construct the national myth–history: the sacred classical monuments were the subjects of sacrilege and desecration by the oriental barbarism. But this was just a brief episode which

interrupted the national journey. Destiny will prevail: the monuments, acting metaphorically for the nation, will be restored to their former glory by the Hellenes after the national resurrection and awakening. While the text by Rangavis evokes the glory of classical Greece, the text by Kambouroglou, from the end of the nineteenth century, expresses the spirit of national synthesis where classical Greece and the Christian past have been reconciled. Notions of sacralization, of purity and pollution are dominant here, but these two quotations share with Klenze's speech a further common thread: not only do they all start from the point of view of the glorification of the past, but they all invoke the polarity between barbarism and civilization. But do both parties mean the same thing by these terms? As will be discussed below, these social actors may have attributed different meaning to the term barbarism: while they all probably included in it the Ottoman rule, the Greek intellectuals (especially in the later parts of the century) may have meant it in a more inclusive sense, including perhaps the remnants of the 'western' occupation of Athens and Greece, from Roman times and until the national awakening at the War of Independence. Monuments and their discursive invocation operate at different levels and acquire a multitude of meanings.

ANTIQUITIES AND THEIR LIFE HISTORIES BEFORE AND AFTER THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

In order to understand how antiquities came to occupy such as central position within the national imagination, becoming thus instrumental in negotiating power relations, we need to disentangle and trace several overlapping and often conflicting dynamics involving a multitude of social actors, both inside and outside Greece. To start with, what did ordinary people of the Hellenic Peninsula think of antiquities in the centuries before the dissemination of the ideas of the nation and the foundation of the Greek nation-state? National historiography is at pains in trying to prove empirically and historically that the population of Greece in the centuries before the establishment of the state, despite the lack of education and despite

'Ottoman oppression' and the 'Turkish yoke', took a keen interest in antiquities, considered them the feats of their ancestors, and managed to find some ways of protecting them (cf. Hamilakis 2003b). So, Kokkou, for example, describes the practice of incorporating ancient architectural parts, sculptures, and inscriptions in contemporary buildings as an attempt to rescue antiquities (Kokkou 1977: 22), the only means available to people at the time (cf. also Gennadios 1930; Kalogeropoulou 1994; among many others).

A closer reading of the available sources of the time, however, reveals a different story. Many of the architectural structures and artefacts of classical antiquity were, of course, visible and in many cases were tightly integrated in the web of daily life. Moreover, due to their scale and craftsmanship, they were a source of admiration, often respect (or even quasi-religious veneration), and were invested with various meanings and associations (cf. Kakridis 1963: 257). But the cosmological realm of people at the time was structured by religion. The teachings of the Christian church considered all these artefacts as remnants of idolatry. Time was therefore linked to religion, and for the Christian population of the area the Ottoman conquest was the punishment for past sins. The past must have been primarily the biographical past, linked to the habitus of daily life and to personal and collective life cycles. For the Christian populations, family and kin ancestry was not seen as a long linear history of named ancestors (as for example, the western family trees) but as a cyclical ancestry which recycles personal and family names, and maintains a notion of cyclical memory (cf. Sutton 1998: 185). Such a lineage must have worked against any notion of long-term historical continuities with the present. Historical memories would have been present of course, but it seems more likely that these were linked more to the recent medieval and post-medieval past, rather than to the distant classical past (Politis 1997: 13). Byzantine emperors, after all, were the mythical kings/keepers of the faith and of eastern Christendom. The material fragments of the classical past were, therefore, a peculiar otherness (and as such, closely linked with the self, in an antithetical relationship), representing both a different world in terms of religion, and a different, mythical era in terms of time.

This complex relationship was expressed in diverse ways. Many classical architectural structures were used as fortifications by

Christian as well as non-Christian authorities.[2] Moreover, and perhaps more interestingly, many ancient temples were converted into Christian churches: the most well-known examples are, of course, the Parthenon, which became an orthodox and subsequently catholic church (cf. Korrés 1984; Beard 2002), and the Erechtheion, also on the Acropolis, which also served as a church (Rangavis 1837: 6; Philadelphefs 1902: 171–172), as did the Theseion. These uses were not simply a matter of practicality and convenience (although that must have played a role); the meanings of these localities and their associations with supernatural properties and powers must have been the most important factor in their selection.

The Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi, who travelled to Greece in the 1660s, also testified to some of these attitudes: the admiration of local Christian and Muslim inhabitants of Athens for classical ruins is reflected in his writings, as is the entanglement of ruins with myths and legends, some of which echo classical Greek mythology. According to Evliya, Christians believed that in the 'Tower of the Wings' (the second century BC building known as 'Andronikos's clock'), there was the tomb of Philip of Macedonia, and they used to visit it during their Christian celebrations (Biris 1959: 49). The Ottomans also used the columns of the Temple of Zeus Olympios as a place of worship, another indication of that admiration and respect (Biris 1959: 47). Equally, the caves on the slopes of the Acropolis were seen by some as the residences of ancient wise men (Biris 1959: 51).

More interesting with respect to this argument is the evidence from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, that is, during a period when (as will be discussed below) the notions of the Hellenic nation had acquired increasing currency among scholars, political and military leaders, and others. The legends and folk stories assembled by Kakridis (1989), dated to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries but reflecting earlier beliefs, are extremely interesting in shedding some light on the attitudes of the ordinary local people of the Greek Peninsula, before the spread of the ideas of Greek Enlightenment and the notion of national awakening. Of course this body of evidence constitutes a distinctive narrative which needs decoding and

[2] Examples here include the Athenian Acropolis, Acrocorinth, the wall across the Corinthian Isthmus and so on (cf. van der Vin 1980: 313).

does not present fewer problems than any other official or unofficial discourse (cf. Herzfeld 1982a). In these stories it is clear that people not only noticed ancient ruins and artefacts, but they invested them with a variety of meanings and associations, expressing at times admiration and awe. But they were clear that these were works of the 'Hellenes', people who were seen as distinctive and different from the contemporary ones, living in another time, the mythical time of the Hellenes.[3] They often possessed supernatural properties, they were seen as giants, which, as Kakridis says (1989: 46), probably derived from the impression that the ancient ruins, the architectural remains, and the larger than life statues had on contemporary people.

As for the protection of antiquities, which is a standard theme in the national historiography, a close reading of the available evidence reveals a much more complicated picture. There is plenty of evidence for the use of ancient artefacts as building materials and a source for lime. For the first use, the availability of good-quality worked material and building blocks would have been an incentive, but the incorporation of this material (with its associations with mystical powers and with strength) in new buildings would have been an attempt to incorporate these qualities into the present. Fragments from ancient buildings and artefacts were reused in the building of modern houses (they were mainly placed above the front doors; Gennadios 1930: 139), not in order to rescue these antiquities (*contra* Kokkou 1977: 22), but as part of the belief in their apotropaic and protective properties. As it is well known from ethnography, passages are often considered dangerous, and the entrance of a house is perhaps the most important such passage. Ludwig Ross, who played a key role in the archaeological activity in the early years of the new

[3] The teachings of the church were instrumental in propagating the idea that the 'Hellenes' were different from the contemporary populations: the well-known passage by the religious figure Kosmas the Aitolian is characteristic: 'You are not Hellenes' he would say to the Christian people 'you are no impious, heretics, atheists, but pious Orthodox Christians' (cited in Politis 1997: 13); on the other hand, the same religious figure would encourage non-Greek speakers (such as the Albanian-speaking people) to adopt the Greek language, as this was the language of the Orthodox religion and 'if you do not study Greek, my brother, you will not be able to understand that which the Church advocates' (cf. Matalas 2002: 27). This paradox, that the Greek language which acted as a central link with classical antiquity was preserved partly due to the Orthodox church which was hostile towards the pagan classical past, is crucial in understanding Hellenic national imagination (cf. Kyrtatas 2002: 254).

state and who would become the Director of Antiquities of the state and the first professor of archaeology, notes that in his regular hunts for antiquities (which he often found incorporated in ruined Byzantine churches) he found that many people continued using ancient inscriptions for stairs, and even stone sarcophagi for washing basins (discussed in Papageorgiou-Venetas 2001: 25).

The existence of limekilns in or close to archaeological sites is well documented. In an article published anonymously in the *Ephimeris ton Athinon*, written as a reply to another anonymous article castigating the widespread looting of antiquities by foreign travellers, we can find plenty of information on the use of antiquities as raw material by both Christians/'*Romioi*' and non-Christians alike; according to this, the sculptors of Tinos and Mykonos used to utilize ancient marble sculptures as raw material for their work, among others in transforming classical altars into Muslim burial stones; and the same source mentions the existence of a huge limekiln in the Epidavros theatre, where architectural parts from the theatre and other buildings nearby were used as raw material for the production of lime (Anon. 1826; Hatzidakis 1931: 12; cf. also Rangavis 1837: 7).[4] Other antiquities were destroyed in the attempt to find the treasures which were thought to have been hidden inside (a popular interpretation of the interest shown in them by the European travellers) (Rangavis 1837: 6).[5] At least some initiatives seemed to have been carried out either by the authorities and/or by well-off people; at the same time, there was some resistance to these attempts, not because people considered the artefacts part of their ancient heritage, but because they had invested them with supernatural properties and they believed that their destruction would bring misfortune and disaster to them and their livelihoods. In 1759, the Ottoman Voivoda

[4] The author of this article, who signs as G.Ch.G., could have been Georg Christian Gropius (Velianitis 1993: 312), merchant, diplomat, and consul of Austria, who was well known for facilitating the appropriation of antiquities by westerners (such as Cockerell) and whose actions were ridiculed by Byron in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (cf. Athanassopoulou 2002: 288). As such, the author had an 'axe to grind', and it is no coincidence that he does not mention the emotional link of the population with antiquities, emphasizing only their destructive uses. Nevertheless, the information it contains is useful and is discussed here along with other sources.

[5] This is the case of the statue of the lion of Chaironeia which, according to Rangavis (1837: 6), was destroyed by Ali Pasha of Ioannina.

(governor) of Athens, Moustafa Aga Tsisdaraki, destroyed a column from the Temple of the Zeus Olympios in order to produce lime for the building of the Kato Pazari (or Tsisdaraki) mosque (the one which survives today at Monastiraki Square and is used as a folklore museum). The epidemic that followed was attributed by the inhabitants of Athens to this event, as they believed that the disease was buried under the column (Kambouroglou 1896: 119); as a result, angry popular protest followed.

Some artefacts, and especially statues, had often acquired the identity of persons with human properties and emotional reactions (Kambouroglou 1893; Gennadios 1930; Kakridis 1989). Some tales describe the sculptures as human beings who were mutilated and petrified by magicians; the spirit inside them (often referred to as an 'Arab') is frequently heard to mourn for their condition.[6] Folk memory records another interesting episode in the social biography of the Athenian antiquities: the violent removal of the large number of sculptures from the Acropolis by Elgin, the then British Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, in 1801–02. This story (recorded by Hobhouse 1813: 348)[7] narrates that the local people who were

[6] This tale is recorded by the traveller Hobhouse (1813: 348); also cited in Gennadios (1930: note 57, pp. 57–8); for similar, earlier stories cf. van der Vin (1980: 315).

[7] The role of western travellers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is beyond the scope of this work; for studies see van der Vin (1980), Tsigakou (1981), Constantine (1984), Angelomatis-Tsougarakis (1990), Augustinos (1994), Koster (1995) and Tolias (1996a); on the appropriation of antiquities: Simopoulos (1970–75) and Bracken (1975); and more broadly in different contexts and from a critical, post-colonial perspective Pratt (1992) and Duncan and Gregory (1999), from an expanding literature. Western travel to Greece became much more frequent in the two decades from 1800 to 1820, when the competition between the Great Powers intensified (Tolias 1996b: 8–9) a period which, according to some, can be characterized by the 'fever of the marbles' (Tolias 1996a). As Buck Sutton has shown (1995), travellers often produce a narrative which obliterates the signs of modern life, concentrating on classical antiquities, and emphasizing isolation, melancholy, and silence (cf. Fatsea (1999: 128) on the panoramas of Athens produced by early and mid-nineteenth century artists; see also below with reference to photographers). Others have noted how their texts are often homogeneous, almost canonical narratives, the liturgical texts which regulate and guide the formal experience of the pilgrimage in ancient sites (cf. Stowe 1994). The sources and quotes referred to here and below are perhaps rare examples where travellers go to some length to describe the attitudes of local people towards antiquities; the reason is obvious: the appropriation of antiquities had been the focus of attention for many of them, and these attitudes (as in the example from Eleusina discussed below) were often preventing them from carrying out that task.

carrying from Athens to Piraeus a chest full of Parthenon sculptures removed by Elgin's personnel, abandoned it half-way, as they insisted that they heard the spirits of the marbles crying and protesting. Another tale recalls the mourning of the caryatids of Erechtheion (which are referred to as 'girls') for their abducted sister, the caryatid removed by Elgin's people (Douglas 1813: 85; cf. Kakridis 1989: 39), a tale which is still rehearsed today in popular writings, even ones by archaeologists (e.g. Andronikos 1985).

The inhabitants of Eleusina in the early nineteenth century worshipped a classical marble statue (thought by antiquarians at the time to be of Demeter), as Orthodox Christians used to worship saints' icons. I present the story below in two versions, the first as recorded by Clarke, the British scholar and antiquarian who set eyes upon the statue, the second, written almost a century later, by the folklorist N. Politis. I quote at some length, due to their importance:

> Arriving upon the city of *Eleusis*, we found the plain to be covered with its Ruins. The first thing we noticed was an *Aqueduct*, part of which is entire... But to heighten the interest with which we regarded the reliques of the *Eleusinian fane*, and to fulfil the sanguine expectations we had formed, the fragment of a colossal Statue, mentioned by many authors as that of the *Goddess* herself, appeared in colossal majesty among the mouldering vestiges of her once splendid sanctuary. We found it... in the midst of a heap of dung, buried as high as the neck... The inhabitants of the small village which is now situated among the Ruins of *Eleusis* still regarded this Statue with a high degree of superstitious veneration. They attribute to its presence the fertility of their land; and it was for this reason that they heaped around it the manure intended for their fields. They believed that the loss of it would be followed by no less a calamity than the failure of their annual harvests; and they pointed to the *ears of bearded wheat* among the sculptured ornaments upon the head of the figure, as a never-failing indication of the produce of the soil. To this circumstance may perhaps be attributed a main part of the difficulties opposed to its removal, in the various attempts made for that purpose, during the years that have elapsed since it was first noticed by an English traveller [Sir George Wheler in 1676]... Having made some proposals to the priest of the village for the purpose of purchasing and removing the mutilated fragment of the *Statue of Ceres*, and in using his influence with the people to that effect, we were informed that these measures could only be pursued by obtaining a firmân from the *Waiwode of Athens*; to whom, as lord of the manor, all property of this description belonged... After some

deliberation, the Governor acceded to our request; but upon the express condition, that we would obtain for him a small English telescope belonging to *Signor Lusieri.* This request opposed a very serious obstacle to our views; because it became necessary to divulge the secret of our undertaking, to a person indeed in whom we could confide, but who was at the moment actually employed in collecting every thing of this kind for our Ambassador [he means Lord Elgin]; who had prohibited the removal of any article of antient [sic] sculpture on the part of his countrymen, excepting into his own warehouses, as an addition to the immense Collection he was then forming, in the name, and with the power, of the British Nation. [He then describes how he convinced Lusieri to hand over the telescope and thus obtain the necessary firmân and continue all preparations for the removal of the statue; and he continues:]. But the superstitions of the inhabitants of *Eleusis*, respecting an idol which they all regarded as the protectress of their fields, was not the least obstacle to be overcome. In the evening, soon after our arrival with the *firmân*, an accident happened which had nearly put an end to the undertaking. While the inhabitants were conversing with the *Tchohodar*, as to the means of its removal, an ox, loosed from its yoke, came and placed itself before the Statue; and, after butting with its horns for some time against the marble, ran off with considerable speed, bellowing into the Plain of *Eleusis.* Instantly a general murmur prevailed; and several women joining in the clamour, it was with difficulty any proposal could be made. '*They had been always*', they said, '*famous for their corn; and the fertility of the land would cease when the Statue was removed*'... It was late at night before these scruples were removed ... the people had assembled, and stood around the Statue; but no one among them ventured to begin the work. They believed that the arm of any person would fall off who should dare to touch the marble, or to disturb its position. Upon festival days they had been accustomed to place before it a burning lamp. Presently, however, the Priest of *Eleusis*, partly induced by entreaty, and partly terrified by the menaces of the *Tchohodar*, put on his canonical vestments, as for a ceremony of high mass, and descending into the hollow where the statue remained upright, after the rubbish around it had been taken away, gave the first blow with a pickaxe for the removal of the soil, that the people might be convinced no calamity would befal the labourers

Clarke (1814: 772–788)

At the village of Lepsina, in a threshing floor, there was a marble statue which looked after the village and with its help, the produce of the village was always good. In every celebration villagers used to light a candle, as they did for the saint's icons. Nobody could take it, whoever tried to move it from

its place, had his/her hand cut off. The Franks tried once to move it and they pulled it to the coast and they tried to load it (in a ship), but during the night it returned to its place by itself.

Everybody knew that if they were to load it in a ship to take it away, the ship would have sunk. The English, however, managed to take it by paying lots of money to the Turks. The day before they took it, a cow got loose and rushed towards the statue and hit it with its horns, and then ran away towards the valley, screaming. The villagers understood that if they were to let it go, a big misfortune would hit them; that is why they refused to, and they said that their produce will be destroyed. But the English convinced them that nothing bad will happen to them; and the next morning the English asked the village priest with his gown on, to dig the soil around the marble. They pulled it, they loaded it in a ship and they took it to England and put it in a museum. In actual fact, however, the ship in which it was loaded got lost.

The next year the yield in the fields was good and the villages thought that the statue would come back. Then, however, bad times came and they all understood that it was because they let the statue go

Politis (1904: 74)

The ship indeed sank, but the statue survived and ended up at the University of Cambridge, at its Fitzwilliam Museum, where it is still exhibited today. Politis, as he admits in his notes and bibliography, used Clarke as his source, but he has transcribed it in the folklorist idiom, performing a 'vernacularization' of the story, in both the language and its meaningful connotations. Clarke's version reflects the attitude of romantic travellers and their archaeological ventures in Greece in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as well his attitude of arrogance and contempt for the illiterate and 'superstitious' peasants.[8] Politis was one of the most famous practitioners of the

[8] For another similar example, here is what the traveller Cockerell noted in 1810, during his efforts to remove antiquities from the classical temple of Aphaia on the island of Aegina: 'It was not to be expected that we should be allowed to carry away what we had found without oppositions. However much people may neglect their own possessions, as soon as they see them coveted by others they begin to value them. The primates of the island came to us in a body and read a statement made by the council of the island in which they begged us to desist from our operations, for that heaven only knew what misfortunes might not fall on the island in general, and the immediately surrounding land in particular, if we continued them. Such a rubbishy pretence of superstitious fear was obviously a mere excuse to extort money, and as we felt that it was only fair that we should pay, we sent our dragoman with them to the village to treat about the sum' (Cockerell 1903: 54).

tradition of *laographia* which, by collecting folk 'monuments of the word', was instrumental, together with archaeology, in establishing a rhetoric of continuity with the ancient past (Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1978; Herzfeld 1982a, 1987; Danforth 1984; Peckham 2001: 62–75). It is no coincidence that the architect–archaeologist A. Orlandos noted that a key function of *laographia* is its 'patriotic or archaeological' mission in collecting monuments of the word (Orlandos 1969: 6; discussed in Herzfeld 1987: 21), declaring thus the close allegiance between archaeology and folklore within the national project. *Laographia* also attempted to prove that the true folk were close (in fact closer than the scholars) to the ancient tradition, and that the national awakening was not simply the work of intellectuals. *Laographia* thus helped to resolve the tension between two facets of the national phenomenon: the nation as a project of diasporic intellectuals on the one hand (as many key advocates of the Hellenic nationalism were), and as folk imagination on the other, incorporating at the same time the local into the national space and time. But for the purposes of this discussion, these stories are more important in revealing the attitudes of ordinary people towards antiquities. As the above passages indicate, some antiquities (such as statues, for example) held such power that they were the subjects of veneration and worship. And, interestingly, it was the Christian priest who helped the British antiquarian to acquire the statue, expressing perhaps the disapproval of the church for the Eleusinians's idolatric beliefs.

So, to return to our earlier question on the attitudes of the ordinary people towards antiquities, the picture is much more complicated and interesting than the discourses would have us believe. The material traces of antiquity certainly did not pass unnoticed. While there are several instances where they were used as sources for raw building material, there are many others where they were personified, treated with admiration and awe, and invested with meaningful associations, legendary and mythological connections. Furthermore, the felt admiration and the belief in their miraculous properties led to their veneration and worship. The transformation of some of the classical ruins to churches undoubtedly also contributed towards their protection and preservation. In some ways, the local people of Greece at the time, Christians and Muslims, enacted their own 'indigenous archaeology' (Hamann 2002), not in the sense of an

organized discipline and a set of protective measures, but as a meaningful reworking and re-appropriation of ancient things for current concerns and purposes. While this re-appropriation has undoubtedly contributed to the protection of some antiquities, there is no evidence to suggest that the people of Greece at the time saw in these material traces the works of their ancestors, and that they created an ancestral genealogical link between them and these ruins. These attitudes towards antiquities, however, changed in the following years, due to a process that had already begun in the eighteenth century, but the impact of which was not felt until much later.

DREAMING THE NATION

> I had two fine statues, a woman and a prince, intact – they were so perfect, you could see their veins. When they sacked Poros, some soldiers got them and they were planning to sell them to some Europeans at Argos. They asked for a thousand talara. I happened to be passing by. I took the soldiers aside and talked to them. 'You should not let these leave our country, even if they give you ten thousand talara. For it is for these we fought' (I open my purse and gave them three hundred and fifty talara), 'and when I make up with the governor again (we were fighting with each other at the time), I will give them to him to stay in the country, and he will pay you back, whatever you ask'. And I kept them hidden. Then, together with my report, I offered them to the King, to become useful for the homeland
>
> Giannis Makrygiannis, in Vlahogiannis (1947: 63)

The above well-known passage, written in the first two to three decades after the War of Independence by Giannis Makrygiannis (1797–1864), a fighter in the War of Independence, an enigmatic writer, a central figure in the first years of the new Hellenic State, and an idolized icon of the modern Hellenic nationalism (cf. Gourgouris 1996: 175–200; Giannoulopoulos 2004), reflects the new discourse on antiquities, which, as we will see, encompasses aspects of modernity, feeding at the same time off 'traditional' modes of thinking and imagining.

But let us take the story from the beginning. Things were changing in a dramatic way well before Makrygiannis was attempting to convince the soldiers of the national value of the ancient statues.

Many of these changes, which resulted in the invention of the institution of modern Greece as a national imagined community, and eventually an independent nation-state, have been well recorded and studied by historians and others, and need not be elaborated in a major way here.[9]

These were changes in the economic structure of the world system in the geographically defined Europe, the Balkans, and the eastern Mediterranean, but also changes in the intellectual and cultural horizon of the emerging social classes. Greece was incorporated into the western world system, both in terms of economy and in terms of ideologies and cultural mentalities. But this incorporation was not a passive process of simple adoption and imitation, as some would suggest. It was a process of reworking and recasting western ideals, a process of interweaving these ideas within the cultural matrix of pre-modern society.

Since the fifteenth century, the people of the Hellenic Peninsula were living under the administrative rule of the Ottoman Empire, organized in semi-autonomous entities based on religion, the *millets*. All Orthodox people belonged to the *millet-i Rum*, which was the largest after the Muslim millet and included Greek-speaking (*Romioi*) and non-Greek-speaking populations. The administration of the Orthodox Church was in the hands of the *Romioi*, and as a result, the Greek language became the dominant form of expression and a key cultural signifier among all Christians. From the seventeenth century, however, another important socio-economic development was to have a defining impact in the fates of the people in the area: the emergence of a new social class, based on commerce and seafaring rather than the traditional forms of wealth such as land (e.g. Stoianovich 1960; Diamandouros 1972; Moskoph 1979: 99–118). This new, Orthodox but multi-ethnic, social class used Greek as its lingua franca and as a sign of high social status; for this Orthodox class, the Greek language had, of course, the additional advantage of being the language of the Gospels and of the Church.

[9] Some of the writings on the topic, addressing the issue from different angles and using a variety of data, are: Diamandouros (1972), Tsoucalas (1977), Kitromilides (1979, 1985, 1989), Moskoph (1979), Herzfeld (1982a, 1987), Dimaras (1989[1977]), Just (1989), Friedman (1992a,b), Kremmydas (1992), Politis (1993), Leontis (1995), Gourgouris (1996), Roudometof (1998a), Skopetea (1988), and Peckham (2001).

This emerging class was thus Hellenized, and it became known as Greek to itself and to others (Stoianovich 1960: 310–311; Roudometof 1998a: 13). It soon developed links with the western European middle classes, adopted some of their lifestyles (Tsoucalas 1977: 39–44), and came into contact with classicism and western Hellenism, one of the dominant ideologies amongst the upper and middle classes of western Europe, and a cornerstone of the European Enlightenment. This led them to 'rediscover' their classical heritage and portray themselves to themselves and to others as the heirs of that heritage. In that rediscovery, they saw a new future: a new political order closer to western European models and away from the Ottoman Empire, but also new administrative social and economic structures that could guarantee the development of the new form of wealth upon which they were based, a development that was held back by the traditional Ottoman structures (cf. Diamandouros 1972; Tsoucalas 1977: 44; Moskoph 1979: 85; Kitromilides 1992). While until the last quarter of the eighteenth century most of the scholars and writers, both in the Greek Peninsula and in the diaspora, would work within a framework that recognized the cosmological authority of the Christian religion, and link up with the Byzantine heritage (Politis 1997), from that time onwards, as the ideas of the European Enlightenment were introduced, a new order was to become increasingly important: an order of people rather than an order of god. This secular project, which was also fuelled by developments such as the French Revolution, relied thus on the western construction of the classical past (Classicism and western Hellenism) for social legitimacy, and for a new model of political and social organization. It also guaranteed the European intervention that contributed to the success of the Greek War of Independence, as well as the dominance of the merchant middle classes over the traditional aristocracy (based on land, and linked closely to the Church) in the internal struggle during the war and in first years of the new state (Tsoucalas 1977; Kremmydas 1992; Xipharas 1993: 60).

The rediscovery of the Hellenic heritage by the people of Greece was therefore a consequence of a number of processes linked to economic and political developments, as well as to ideological trends such as the glorification of Hellenic classical antiquity (which largely replaced Roman antiquity) by the European middle classes. The

establishment of classical antiquity as the symbolic capital for the new nation was therefore a result of the adoption of a western ideal, that of Hellenism. This process was far from simple: for people who considered themselves as Hellenes, it was not simply a matter of imitation of a trend. It was the reclaiming of the ownership of a heritage. It was an attempt to claim participation in European modernity but from a position of superiority, based on the perception that the people of modern Greece were direct descendants and rightful owners of classical Europe. Since then, European powers were (and to a large extent, are still) seen as debtors to Greece. In their turn, popular discourses in European societies often relegate modern Greece to the status of a static and fossilized remnant of classical antiquity (often seen as unworthy descendants of glorious ancestors). The people of Greece were/are often seen through the eyes of the past, whereas they themselves were/are claiming a position in the European present and future, based on the symbolic capital of the past.

The above developments explain why the fighters of the War of Independence started calling themselves Hellenes, rather than using names coming from their specific place of origin or the generic *Romioi* used before (e.g. Kakridis 1963: 259–260; Politis 1993: 33–35),[10] and why some people in Greece had, even much earlier, started using personal names (and names for their ships) coming from Classical antiquity, a trend that was often encouraged by foreign travellers (Clogg 2003: 36–37) and became extremely fashionable in the first decades of the nineteenth century (Dimaras 1989[1977]). The use of these names led Ali Pasha, the Ottoman Governor of Epirus, to comment in 1819 that 'You have something big in your

[10] According to some sources, Ottoman authorities used *Romioi* as a derogatory term. Makrygiannis, referring to the same people, used *Romioi* before the War of Independence, and Hellenes afterwards. The term *Romios* was destined to have a complex social biography in more recent years. As Leontis (1991) and Liakos (1993: 29) have shown, one of its derivatives, *Romiosyni*, was appropriated at the turn of the twentieth century by intellectuals who advocated the introduction of Demoticism—the change of the official language of the state from *katharevoussa* (purist or purifying), with its archaic elements, to *Dimotiki* (the language of the people), the language of *Romiosyni*. More recently the term acquired leftist connotations, and it often represented the leftist version of nationalism, as opposed to the dominant conservative version of Hellenism. Even in the discourse of *Romiosyni*, however, the foundational charter myths of Hellenism were tacitly accepted.

head: you do not give to your children names like Yannis, Petros, Kostas any more, but Leonidas, Themistocles, Aristides! You are planning something for sure' (Dimaras 1968: 162).[11] So, when the War of Independence started (in 1821), to the eyes of many, especially the intellectuals who had prepared the ground, it was a war of civilization against barbarism[12] (at a time when the construction and consolidation of orientalist stereotypes in the west was well under way), a war to rid the classical lands from the Ottomans who had polluted it. It was, in a sense, a continuation of the ancient wars against the Persians, since the Ottomans were constructed as the oriental other. The press at the time would make this link clear, by evoking classical topography and linking the modern battles with the classical ones. For example, in the first issue of the *Ephimeris ton Athinon* (6 July 1824) under the title 'Battle at Marathon' we read that, 'General Gouras, camped a few days ago at Marathon, very close to the cave of Pan, now called Nenoi, with around three hundred soldiers . . . [and] carried out a war plan against the enemy'. Note here not only the classical toponyms and the mythological reference to Pan, but also the emphasis on the number 300, evoking another key landmark in the national mythology, Leonidas's battle at Thermopylai (cf. also Loukas 1996: 20 and *passim*).

RECOLLECTING THE FRAGMENTS OF NATIONAL MEMORY

As the new imagined community of the nation was establishing itself, and as it was attempting to create its own nation-state, antiquities, the material signifiers of continuity between classical Greece and the new nation (soon to become state), became extremely prominent.

[11] This trend will continue later in areas that remained outside the new state but within the imaginary territory of Hellenism, such as Kappadocia in Anatolia (Petropoulou 1988–89), where it also acquired a more pertinent meaning, given the location. This was only part of the activity of the scholars in the area, to do with antiquity. These scholars, who changed their surnames from Turkish to Greek, engaged in the translation of ancient authors, in the production of archaeological magazines, even in carrying out small-scale excavations (Petropoulou 1988–89: 188–189; 1997).

[12] Cf., for example, the article in *Ephimeris ton Athinon*, 14 April 1835.

While the imagined community of the nation was constructed as an idealized territorial entity (cf. Peckham 2001)[13] where the Greek language and the historical narrative produced by western Hellenism provided strong elements of continuity with the classical past, something important was missing: if nationalism is a topographic and iconographic project, then ancient buildings and artefacts are essential in defining that territory, in providing its landmarks. Mythology and ancient authors were, of course, very useful in constructing the new topography of the nation, but it was the materiality of ancient sites, buildings, remnants, and artefacts, their physicality, visibility, tangible nature, and embodied presence, that provided the objective (in both senses of the word) reality of the nation. It was their sense of longevity, and their aura of authenticity that endowed them with enormous symbolic power.

Even before the War of Independence, there were attempts by intellectuals to preserve ancient traces and buildings and stop their looting, which had become endemic. One of the first documents calling for the preservation of antiquities was that by the diasporic merchant and scholar A. Koraïs[14] (in 1807), the most eminent intellectual of the (diverse and often conflicting) phenomenon that has been called the Modern Greek Enlightenment (e.g. Kokkou 1977: 27–31; Jeffreys 1985; Clogg 2003).[15] One of the first practical attempts, however, was the foundation of a society called *Philomousos*

[13] Peckham (2001) discusses in detail the construction of the Hellenic territory through geographical concepts and literature [for theoretical elaboration see Leontis (1995) and Gourgouris (1996)] but he has underestimated the importance of archaeological sites, objects and artefacts in this process.

[14] Koraïs also wrote a number of political pamphlets, and he was the first to produce a perceptive analysis of Hellenic nationhood; he even pointed out the link between the emergence of a Greek-speaking bourgeoisie and ideas of nationhood (he was, of course, himself the embodiment of this process, as an emigrant from Smyrna in Asia Minor to western Europe, a merchant and a scholar at the same time, and one who came into contact with the ideas of western classicism and Hellenism, and was determined to transplant them to his homeland). Due to his perceptive analysis, Koraïs drew the attention of major theorists of nationalism such as Kedourie and Anderson (cf. Clogg 2003: 31–32).

[15] An earlier call for the study of ancient remains as evidence of continuity was the one by the bishop Meletios of Ioannina, expressed in his work *Ancient and New Geography* in 1716 (Peckham 2001: 10). It would be decades later, however, at the end of the century, that a notion of classical past as heritage for the modern Hellenes would be developed and become widespread.

Etaireia (Society of the Friends of Arts) in 1813 (Velianitis 1993; Athanassopoulou 2002). Its two main aims were the education of the youth and the discovery and collection of antiquities, as well as the foundation of an institution (a museum) for their storage and exhibition (Protopsaltis 1967: 22; Velianitis 1993). The society was founded in Athens, but a sister organization was subsequently founded in Vienna by Kapodistrias, who would become the first Governor of the Hellenic State. In its manifesto the society, which used as its logo the head of the goddess Athena, stated that it was founded by people who were admirers of the arts and the 'Beauty in the Hellenic Nation', and its aims were 'to see the sciences returning again to the Lyceum, and to their Ancient Academy' (Velianitis 1993: 47). In its statutes, the society declared as one of its 'sacred' aims to care for and protect the antiquities of Athens and of the whole of Greece. More specifically, the society states that the subscription by members will be used to educate and enlighten the youth in the 'Hellenic spirit' by promoting education, publication of books, and help towards poor students,[16] as well as for

> ... the discovery of antiquities, the collection of stones and inscriptions, statues and vessels and everything else worth attention ... The collected archaeological things should be deposited in a certain place, specifically devoted to this use, which will be called Museum, and become available to be viewed by their admirers
>
> Velianitis (1993: 49)

The fundamental elements of the new world view of modernity are present here: the need to separate antiquities from the daily life and set them apart as something distinctive which requires protection; the foundation of a special institution to house these antiquities; and their exhibition, for the visual consumption and appreciation of a new category of people who understand and appreciate their value. The membership of the society is of particular interest: half of its initial membership were prominent figures in Athenian society, mostly merchants and diplomats, with links with European powers, especially Britain, and half were non-Greek, especially British, 'Philhellenes'; the membership included also a number of people who were very active in

[16] The teachers of the Philomousos Etaireia also renamed their pupils, giving them ancient Greek names (Protopsaltis 1957: 255; Psyllas 1974: 337).

appropriating classical antiquities, such as Cockerell and Gropius. Thus the society, which included in its remit the guiding of foreign travellers to locate antiquities, was a peculiar institution, but one which embodied the incorporation of the ideas of western modernity in Greece; it also illustrates how this process was one carried out by distinctive social groups which included Greek and non-Greek 'lovers of art'. Indeed, in many statements at the time and in the following years, the urge to implement measures for the protection of sites and artefacts would be justified not only on the basis of their importance as material remnants of the ancestors, but also as works that are admired by the educated and civilized men of Europe. In other words, antiquities acquired a new value, as highly respected and admired objects that are sought after by civilized Europe.

The aim to establish a museum remained only a wish for many years, due to financial problems. In 1824, the society decided to make a specific request: in the middle of the War of Independence it asked the authorities to 'establish a Museum at the Temple of Athená'[17] on the Athenian Acropolis. They also made a more specific demand on the Erechtheion, which was used as an armoury at the time (Kokkou 1977: 38). Despite the agreement of the authorities the plan never materialized. Overall, however, the society operated as the first unofficial archaeological service, undertaking, with the permission of the temporary government, a number of activities: the cleaning of archaeological sites; the abolition of recent buildings on top of antiquities; and the lobbying of the government to compensate the owners of these buildings (Velianitis 1993: 331–332). It was thus engaged in a complex and interesting process of purification which will be discussed in detail below. More importantly, it undoubtedly contributed to the first official decision of the Body of Representatives (*Vouleftikon Soma*), taken on 8 February 1826, to declare as national all antiquities and order their protection:

> The Vouleftikon has decided to order the Executive Body... to declare national all old antiquities, like statues, etc. and everything which could be found in houses under demolition, and orders the Philomousos Etaireia, to get hold of them and deposit them in a secure place...
>
> Arheia tis Ellinikis Paliggenesias (1974: 415).

[17] *Ephimeris ton Athinon* 4 (13 September 1824), cited in Velianitis (1993).

This proclamation of antiquities as 'national' signifies the beginning of the creation of the national archaeological record, a process which would take various forms. A year before this decision, the *Prosorini Dioikisis* (Temporary Government) advised public servants to collect and preserve antiquities so that in the future museums could be established in every school; this was seen as being of extreme importance, for history, for the retrieval of the ancient names of cities and places, and for getting to know the abilities and virtues of the ancestors; as noted above, these protective measures were also seen as important and necessary because the 'wise nations of Europe' show a justified respect towards these antiquities, and they often complained that they are not protected (cited in Kokkou 1977: 41; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999: 125). Re-naming the land with classical names was thus an important incentive, as was the interest shown by western Europeans; moreover, it was felt that the modern Hellenes should fulfil their duties and responsibilities as stewards of the classical heritage, especially in the eyes of the western Europeans who were 'watching', subjecting modern Greeks thus to a process of continuous auditing and surveillance. From early on, therefore, the relationship between modern Greeks and the classical heritage was defined by a sense of dual responsibility: a responsibility to prove to the classical Greeks that their modern descendants were worthy of them; and a responsibility towards the western Europeans to be worthy and able stewards of that heritage. That latter sense of responsibility surfaces in other writings, such as the directive issued in 1829 by the Commissioner for Ilida in the Peloponnese, P. Anagnostopoulos, who would also declare that the 'heirlooms' of the ancestors are of special value for modern Hellenes due to their 'sacred' qualities and as such they should command respect (cf. Petrakos 1982: 113; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999: 116).

From then on, measures to set up new archaeological institutions would accelerate, first under the first Governor of Greece, Kapodistrias (1828–31) and then under the first King of Greece Otto (1833–62) (see Kokkou 1977). The first national archaeological museum was set up in Aigina in 1829, the State Archaeological Service was founded in 1833, and the following year the first systematic archaeological law, drafted by the Bavarian von Maurer, was implemented (Petrakos 1982) and the official journal of the archaeological service, *Ephimeris Arhaiologiki* (*Archaeological Journal*) started

in 1837. That same year, the Athens Archaeological Society was founded, the body that was destined to play a key role in the archaeological constitution of the nation. The importance of antiquities for the new state was pronounced, time and again, by politicians and intellectuals, such as the first president of the Archaeological Society in Athens, I. Rizos-Neroulos, who stated, during a meeting of the society held on the Athenian Acropolis in 1838, that it is to 'those stones . . . that we owe to a large extent our political renaissance' (cited in Kokkou 1977: 16), and the politician Ioannis Kolettis who, in one of his official reports in 1844, the year that he became prime minister, declared that 'Hellas is destined to conduct politics alone, through its authors, its memories and its material remains' (Protopsaltis 1967: 200).[18] Classical antiquity was fast becoming the central reference point in the national imagination of the new state, a situation that would be confirmed with the transfer, in 1834, of the capital from Nafplio to the small and geopolitically insignificant town of Athens, and the decision to rebuild Sparta on its ancient position, a city that some imagined as the second centre of the kingdom (Politis 1993: 76).

We are thus witnessing an important transformation in attitudes towards antiquities in the decades from the late eighteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Hellenized scholars and intellectuals, together with the driving forces of the new cosmopolitan merchant capital, under the influence of the ideas of western Hellenism, turned to the classical past, and to a new, enlightened world view which promoted the secular, imagined community of the nation, rather than that of Christianity. Under the key influence of the French Revolution, the theological view came under attack by the secular one that promoted national emancipation and a new political

[18] The same politician, Kolettis, suggested in 1831 (as Minister of the Interior) the organization of Panhellenic Games imitating the ancient ones (with chariot races and so on), to celebrate the 1821 War of Independence. Re-enactments and ceremonies with classical themes seem to have been a central feature during the early years of the state, a tendency that would continue for the years to come (see also the ceremony on the Acropolis, discussed at the beginning of this chapter). In the same proposal, Kolettis divides the history of Greece into two periods: the ancient phase (where he uses the biological model and talks about youth, maturity, and so on), followed by death, until 1821 when Greece became the first nation to be resurrected from death (Diamandis 1972–73).

order. Once the new state was invented, the ideas of western modernity were embraced, ideas which included the transformation of antiquities from objects of daily life and often of metaphysical power and meaning, into monuments, that is, material signifiers of the national memory, as well as productions of the western golden age. This new category of object (the archaeological monument) had to be separated from the web of daily life, protected, accumulated into special institutions (the museum), and exhibited for public visual (rather than fully embodied) appreciation.

This transformation, however, was not as radical as it seems. For the vast majority of ordinary people Christianity was still the organizing canon of the world, a notion that would have influenced the way that they viewed antiquities.[19] But even for the educated groups, the new modernist, national frame of meaning incorporated, through a process of cultural syncretism (cf. Stewart 1994), the previous religious notions, the pre-modern ideological substratum: the power and the character of Orthodox Christianity with its ceremonial elements and the worshipping of Christian icons, and the fear and respect towards antiquities, amongst others. The struggle for the invention of the new state that peaked with the War of Independence was referred to as *Paliggenesia* (Resurrection, regeneration–renaissance), a term which, while it conveys the notion of the resurrection of the 'past glories' of classical Greece (Skopetea 1988: 207), also evokes the Christian notion of Resurrection after the Fall (cf. Theotokas 1992: 365). The notion thus of the Fall, death and resurrection, so common in Christian tradition, is carried through and finds a prominent place in the national narrative: after the Fall, the nation resurrects itself in its former glory. It is no coincidence that the most prominent day of modern commemoration of the 'national resurrection' (25 March) is also one of the most important days in the Orthodox Christian calendar. As for antiquities, the admiration, fear, and respect were partly maintained, and partly transformed into ancestral worship.

[19] Protopsaltis (1967: 126–27), cites a letter from a priest from Kythnos to the Governor of Greece, Kapodistrias, dated 24 December 1829: the priest offers to the museum two ancient statues that he found; full of national enthusiasm he offers them to the new state: 'I dedicate these two statues, which I found . . . in my island, to the Museum; once I found them, I transferred them to my house and not only did I keep them with extreme care . . . but I also burnt incense as an offering [to them] . . .'; the link with the Christian icons is clear here.

The phenomenon seems to confirm Anderson's conclusion (1991[1983]: 12) that nationalism needs to be understood not as a political ideology but as a cultural system (cf. Geertz 1993[1973]), much like the ones it replaced, with religion being perhaps the most prominent. For Anderson, the emergence of nationalism in eighteenth-century Europe coincided with the decline of religious systems of thinking. According to him '. . . in Western Europe the eighteenth century marks not only the dawn of the age of nationalism but the dusk of religious modes of thought' (1991: 11). Many other writers on nationalism have noted the close links and affinities between religion and nationalism, and have noted the similarities between the rituals of the nation and the political liturgies of nationalism (Mosse 1976: 40), the embodied commemorative ceremonies that re-enact and celebrate the charter myth of the nation (cf. Kertzer 1988; Connerton 1989: 60–71).[20] The Greek case, however, suggests that Anderson's argument on the replacement of one cultural system with another may need some modification, perhaps because he had mostly western Europe in mind when he was writing the lines above. In Greece, it was not so much a replacement of religion with the secular religion of nationalism, as a synthetic and syncretic fusion of religious and national elements (cf. Matalas 2002).[21]

PURIFYING THE LANDSCAPE, PRODUCING THE HETEROTOPIA OF HELLENISM

The changes in the attitudes towards antiquities and the new framework of meaning that emphasized the direct link with the classical

[20] On the religious overtones of nationalism and the links between religion and the nation see, amongst others, Kedourie (1966: 76), Mosse (1976), Gellner (1983: 56), Smart (1983), Kapferer (1988), Balibar (1990: 348), Anderson (1991[1983]: 10–12), Herzfeld (1992: 34–39), Hobsbawm (1992: 67–68), Llobera (1994a,b), Balakrishnan (1995), and van der Veer and Lehmann (1999).

[21] As a result of this early fusion (and of the rehabilitation of the Byzantine heritage in the middle of the nineteenth century), Greek Orthodoxy has become an integral part of Hellenic national identity (Dubisch 1995; cf. Just 1988; Hart 1992); the central logo of the Colonels' dictatorship (1967–1974), 'Hellas of the Helleno-Christians' (*Ellas, Ellinon Hristianon*), is one of the most explicit expressions of that fusion.

past, were not, however, adequate conditions for the production of the new *topos* of the nation. What was missing was the ordered and organized, *material* transformation of ancient things into national monuments, into material landmarks and signifiers of the national locality; in other words, the production of a new, national monumental landscape. Therein lies the immense value of archaeology as a set of practices and procedures: in its ability to bring about in material, physical, and tangible form the new matter-reality of the nation, making it thus such a powerful apparatus. That is why, for nationalism, archaeology is more important than folklore studies or history: the first may prove the innate abilities of the pure folk to connect with the ancient ancestors in a direct and 'authentic' way, and the second may provide the linear narrative framework; but it is with archaeology that the different national threads come together, to produce the facts on the ground that objectify the nation, and give it the potency of the real, the eternal, and the authentic.

This production, which as we have already seen, started with the work of the Philomousos Etaireia while the War of Independence was still going on, utilized three distinctive but related strategies: (1) the *purification* of the landscape, by removing all remnants that polluted the material traces of the golden age of the classical period; (2) the rebuilding and *re-creation* of symbolically important monuments; and (3) the *designation* and *demarcation* of localities with ancient remnants as archaeological sites, and their *exhibition* as monuments. In these first years, excavation for completely new and unknown sites did not seem to be the desired aim, partly due to the extent of the visible remnants of classical antiquity, and partly due to the character of archaeology at the time, as the handmaiden of classical philology and ancient history. Nevertheless, the scale of clearing, restoration, rebuilding, and designation that followed the first years of the foundation of the state was such that it constituted, to a large extent, a construction of the national archaeological record, that is of the material manifestations of the 'golden age' of the new nation-state: classical antiquity.[22]

[22] The creation of a material national archaeological record as a result of the adoption of a national 'golden age' is not unique to Greece (see Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Atkinson *et al.* 1996; Díaz-Andreu and Champion 1996b, Hamilakis 1996; Meskell 1998).

The ritual strategy of purification, which involved the separation of ancient buildings from more recent constructions, was sometimes justified on the grounds of security and protection from fire hazard; more often than not, however, it was justified on the grounds of appearance and aesthetics (*philokalia*), a transformative process that had acquired patriotic connotations, as the terminology used indicates: in 1826, the Philomousos requested to 'liberate' ancient monuments from recent buildings;[23] progressively, this strategy was expressed more in ritual terms as a technique of purification of the 'glorious feats of the ancestors from the remnants of barbarism'. Inevitably, the Athenian Acropolis became the focus of activity, at least for the first decades. A key figure in the early years, instrumental in producing the monumental landscape of the Acropolis, was Leo von Klenze (cf. Papageorgiou-Venetas 2001). He conceived of the idea to demilitarize the Acropolis, transform it into an ancient monument, remove most of the later buildings, rebuild the Parthenon, the Erechtheion, and the Propylaia, and construct a museum on the spot. As we saw at the start of this chapter, these plans to remove the 'remnants of barbarism' as he put it, were announced at the grand ceremony he organized on the Acropolis in 1834, where he linked the classical past to the Bavarian kingship in a strategic move of legitimization. The work started under the direction of the Bavarian Ludwig Ross, the most prominent archaeologist of the new regime, and with the technical support of the architects Saubert and Kleanthis, the designers of the first town plan for Athens (Mallouhou-Tufano 1998: 18). In addition to the strategies of purification and re-creation, the strategy of designation was also put into effect straight away: the Acropolis, now a monument rather than a fortress, became an organized archaeological site as early as 1835, complete with entrance fees (Petrakos 1997). The site was properly guarded and the prohibition of the removal of any antiquities strictly reinforced, as one of the travellers, Giffard, noted:

So very properly strict and jealous are the guardians of the works, that if a stranger stoops to pick up a piece of marble, even for cursory examination, he finds all eyes upon him; and I doubt whether he would be allowed to

[23] See Protopsaltis (1967: 26–27), for such a request, where it was deemed necessary to demolish churches as well as private buildings.

remove even a pebble from the sacred soil. We certainly had no intention to attempt any such spoliation, and, on the contrary, felt the greatest pleasure at observing the care with which every fragment is preserved

Giffard (1837: 141)

By the time of this visit (1836), the changes that the site had undergone were phenomenal. The visual impression of the Acropolis in the pre-independence era, partly preserved through drawings and engravings of the period, must have been stunning and totally unfamiliar to present-day eyes: it was a palimpsest of human activity, and a monumental legacy of the attraction and multiple meanings of the site for diverse groups and people; in addition to the classical monuments such as the Parthenon and the Erechtheion, there were impressive traces of post-classical activity, with the most prominent the Ottoman mosque inside the Parthenon (with its minaret which survived until 1843), the houses and other buildings for the garrison stationed on it, and the remnants of the western occupation of Athens, with the most impressive being the highly visible medieval tower at the Propylaia[24] (Figs 3.1 and 3.2).

Most of these buildings were destroyed in the decades following the foundation of the state, with the medieval tower surviving until the mid-1870s[25] (Fig. 3.3). The demolitions and clearings which were started by the team set up by Klenze were continued by the Athens Archaeological Society, which together with the State Archaeological Service were the two bodies responsible for most of the archaeological activity at the time (Kokkou 1977; Petrakos 1987a). The destruction of virtually all post-classical buildings was a ritual purification of the site from what were seen as the remnants of 'barbarism' and the material manifestations of the occupation of Greece by foreign invaders. As the classical period was seen as the 'golden age' of the new nation-state, indeed of the whole of western civilization, the new apparatuses of modernity such as the Archaeological Service and its

[24] Travlos (1960) believes that the tower was built by the House of de la Roche and Brienne in the middle of the thirteenth century; according to Tanoulas (1997: 312), however, the tower was part of the building activity during the period of the Acciaiuoli (1388–1458).

[25] According to Petrakos (1987a: 46; 1987b: 97–98), the tower was destroyed in 1874; according to Travlos (1960), however, and to most recent studies, the tower was destroyed in 1875 (Tanoulas 1997: 139; Mallouhou-Tufano 1998: 59–61).

Fig. 3.1 An eighteenth century representation of the Parthenon and the surrounding buildings on the Athenian Acropolis; the Muslim mosque is visible in the cella of the Parthenon.

practitioners were in a sense creating the visible and material archaeological record of this golden age. And as the national rhetoric in Greece, in common with many other cases, was and still is based to a large extent on the discourse of purity and pollution (Douglas 1966; cf. Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999 and below), the post-classical monuments were seen as polluting, matter out of place that was challenging the purity of the classical monuments and thus had to be erased.[26]

Interestingly, when Klenze announced in his speech on the Acropolis that 'all the remnants of barbarism will disappear', he did not include in that definition structures such as the medieval tower in the Propylaia (and their Venetian bastion). He in fact was in favour of preserving certain medieval structures due to their 'picturesque'

[26] Note here that the national discourse on antiquities is similar to the broader national discourse with regard to the emphasis on the dichotomy between purity and pollution; note the link between the purification of ancient sites from the remnants of 'barbarism' and the purification of the language with the adoption, from the end of the nineteenth century onwards, of '*katharevoussa*' and the attempt to 'cleanse' the language of 'vulgar' words and expressions (Politis 1993: 130–34; Georgoudis 1999).

Fig. 3.2 A photograph by Bonfils showing the Propylaia of the Athenian Acropolis with the medieval tower, a few years before its demolition (cf. Hamilakis 2001b; Szegedy-Maszak 2001). Photographs shown in Figs 3.2–3.7 are dated to the late 1860s/early 1870s.

character, and he made special mention of the medieval tower of the Propylaia (Papageorgiou-Venetas 2001: 164). This view was enshrined in an official decree, issued by the Regency in September 1834 (possibly at his recommendation), that encouraged the protection of recent buildings (including churches and mosques) if they have historic or picturesque interest (Papageorgiou-Venetas 2001: 330). Despite the references to mosques, however (and the obvious sensitivity towards churches, the places of worship for the vast majority of the population), the remnants of the Ottoman period were for Klenze and others the 'remnants of barbarism' *par excellence.* Perhaps it is no coincidence that his notion of barbarism included primarily the Ottoman structures but not some of the most prominent western ones. The Greek archaeologists who continued his mission, however, might have internalized his modernist rhetoric, but their meaning of barbarism was more inclusive, and included the western medieval structures too, for them the remnants of another

Fig. 3.3 A photograph by Bonfils showing the Parthenon (cf. Hamilakis 2001b; Szegedy-Maszak 2001).

foreign occupation. These were thus demolished without much hesitation, especially in the following decades. The western scholars and archaeologists might have had in mind the dichotomy between east/barbarism and west/civilization, yet the Greek archaeologists in the middle and the end of the nineteenth century modified this dichotomy: it now included Greece/civilization on the one pole (and perhaps the enlightened westerners who owe to Greece their civilization), and the foreign, oriental *and* western invaders, equated with barbarism, on the other. The timing is of essence here: this is the time when the eastern Middle Ages, that is the Byzantium, is rehabilitated and incorporated into the national narrative. Simple east/west polarities, therefore, now became more complicated.

Furthermore, it is no coincidence that most of the negative reactions to the demolition of the Propylaia tower came from abroad. E. A. Freeman, the English historian (and father-in-law of Sir Arthur Evans), known for his anti-classicist views, and who would become Regius professor of history at Oxford, published anonymously in the

Saturday Review (21 July 1877) a passionately polemical piece that condemned the demolition of such a well-known landmark (cf. Beard 2002: 109). The article, which was translated and republished under his name in the Greek-language newspaper *Kleio* (13–15 August 1877), based in Trieste, stated:

On the hill of the Akropolis and its buildings the whole history of Athens, from the earliest to its latest days, has been clearly written, and there it may still be clearly read wherever the barbarism of classical pedantry has not wiped out the record...

Only yesterday, the tower of the Dukes of Athens was standing... But the tower was late; it was barbarous... We can conceive nothing more paltry, nothing more narrow, nothing more opposed to the true spirit of scholarship, than these attempts to wipe out the history of any age... At all events, let not men calling themselves scholars lend themselves to such deeds of wanton destruction

(*Saturday Review* no. 1134: 72–73)[27]

The attack (which even went as far as to suggest that even the Ottoman buildings should have been preserved as monuments of that period) must have caused considerable uproar in Athenian society, as some of the most prominent intellectuals felt obliged to reply. Here is what L. Kaphtantzoglou, one of the protagonists of the demolition (who also tried to prove that the tower was Turkish) had to say (1878: 302):

But the badly-built Turkish minaret, once sited on the pediment of the Parthenon, and the barbarian tower, which was used to inappropriately occupy the Propylaia, were unnecessary shameful additions like the droppings

[27] This view was by no means universally accepted; the authority of the classical past was for many above everything else; the funding for the demolition of the tower came from H. Schliemann, after all (Petrakos 1987a: 48); moreover, the view that even the Ottoman buildings should have been preserved, incensed the classicist J. P. Mahaffy, who wrote in response to Freeman: 'A writer in the *Saturday Review* (no 1134) attacks this removal of the Venetian tower, and my approval of it, as a piece of ignorant and barbarous pedantry, which from love of the old Greek work, and its sanctity, desires to destroy the later history of the place, and efface the monuments of its fortunes in after ages. This writer, whose personality is unmistakable, thinks that even the Turkish additions to the Parthenon should have been left untouched, so that the student of to-day could meditate upon all these incongruities, and draw from them historical lessons. And, assuredly, of all lessons conveyed, that of a victory over the Turks would be to him the most important and the most delightful' (Mahaffy 1878: 87).

of the birds of prey flying over it, and which were left on the venerable Feidian masterpieces as evidence of their pitiful state...

In such a sacred place, we consider it to be impious and improper to preserve the dark relics of the passing waves of barbarism[28]

As for the second strategy for the production of the monumental national *topos*, re-creation, this too was initiated quite early, again by Leo von Klenze (Mallouhou-Tufano 1998: 17–19) and its beginning was symbolically marked by the ceremony discussed at the opening of this chapter. The rebuilding of the Temple of Athena Nike (Wingless Victory) in 1835–36 by Ludwig Ross was perhaps the most dramatic and impressive event in this long process of restoration (Mallouhou-Tufano 1998: 20–22). The architectural parts for this monument were found during the demolition of one of the bastions in the Propylaia and were put together.[29] This was the first complete restoration of a classical monument in the new state and was celebrated with great enthusiasm. Its symbolic connotations were apparent: the new nation, resurrected from the ashes of the Ottoman Empire, celebrated its new beginning with the 'resurrection' of a prominent, small, but elegant classical monument, which was also resurrected from the rubble of the demolished Ottoman bastion. Moreover, the fact that the temple was originally thought to have been built in order to celebrate the victory over the Persians (a theme that is portrayed in its frieze), adds to the symbolic weight of its rebuilding, which, in a sense, celebrated the victory over the new oriental enemies, as the Ottomans were often perceived (Mallouhou-Tufano 1998: 43). The monument had won the praise of most of the travellers who, in their memoirs, commented not only on its beauty but also on the feat of its rebuilding by the new state.

The re-created Temple of Athena Nike also became one of the most photogenic spots in the itinerary of photographers (Fig. 3.4), who would record the purification of the most sacred locus of the nation, the strategies of re-creation, and the transformation of ancient

[28] For the debate on the demolition see further: Koumanoudis (1875), Anon. (1878) and Barrès (1900). On critical discussions of the phenomenon see MacNeal (1991), Hamilakis and Yalouri (1996, 1999) and Hamilakis (2001b).

[29] As it surfaced later, the rebuilding of the monument included many mistakes, and the monument had to be dismantled and rebuilt again in 1935–39 (Mallouhou-Tufano 1998: 48). Another rebuilding of the same monument commenced in 2004.

Fig. 3.4 Bonfils' photograph of the Temple of Athena Nike (cf. Hamilakis 2001b; Szegedy-Maszak 2001).

remnants into demarcated and exhibited national archaeological monuments, separate from the web of daily life (cf. Hamilakis 2001b; Szegedy-Maszak 2001; Lyons *et al.* 2005). The phenomenon requires a word of explanation, as it links neatly a number of collateral processes and ideas. The nineteenth century commercial photographers, in responding to the demand of western audiences for pure, stereotypical images of classical antiquities, carried out their own visual purification by framing their shots in such a way as to leave out any sign of contemporary Athens, creating thus a monumental landscape, devoid of contemporary social interactions (Figs 3.5 and 3.6), a well-known colonial device. At the same time, we can see in these photographs the signs (such as fences) that demarcated

Fig. 3.5 A photograph by Bonfils showing the 'Gate of Athena Archegetis' (Roman Agora); note that the Christian church has been hidden behind a column (cf. Hamilakis 2001b; Szegedy-Maszak 2001).

ancient structures in their rebuilt form as monuments (e.g. Fig. 3.7). From the mid-nineteenth century onwards thus, we witness in Greece the coordinated activity of two key representational devices of modernity, the archaeological and the photographic. Let me explain: the process of production of the materiality of classical antiquity which, as we saw, started in the first years of the Greek nation-state, originally the initiative of architects and archaeologists of the Bavarian entourage around King Otto (but which was soon adopted enthusiastically by Greek archaeologists), involved purification, re-creation, demarcation, and exhibition. Nationalism, as the dominant ideology of modernity which was imported into Greece,

Fig. 3.6 A photograph by Bonfils showing the Temple of Zeus Olympios and the Athenian Acropolis in the background; note the evocation of a landscape devoid, as much as possible, of contemporary life (cf. Hamilakis 2001b; Szegedy-Maszak 2001).

led to the creation of the material manifestations of Europeanism, which was celebrating its victory over the oriental Other. The sacred sites of the European imagination, much adored by the western travellers (which had also now become the sacred sites of the Hellenic national imagination), had to be rebuilt in their idealized form, to become a past that never was. These practices, which resulted in a sanitized classical material past, were quite convenient for the new industry of visual commodities, photography. Invented in the late 1830s and deployed in Greece almost immediately, photography took advantage of the perfect, neat, stereotypical, and sanitized themes that archaeological practices had created, and which were destined primarily for exhibition and viewing.[30] Archaeologists on the ground

[30] For an important study on photography as a new representational device of capitalist modernity which paved the way for a new kind of individualized observer within a regimented field of vision, in a sense, a 'proto-society of the spectacle', see Crary (1990).

Fig. 3.7 A photograph by Bonfils showing the Theatre of Herodes Atticus on the foothill of the Athenian Acropolis; note the fencing off of the monument (cf. Hamilakis 2001b; Szegedy-Maszak 2001).

were, in a sense, staging the themes, while the photographers were reproducing them visually and circulating them widely. So both devices, the photographic and the archaeological, were part of the same process and were operating within the same framework. The western idealized perceptions of classical antiquity constructed a monumentalized view of modern Greek society. This perception was adopted as a path to modernity for the new nation-state. This monumentalization involved, amongst other things, the construction of the material reality of classical monuments according to the idealized and sanitized view of history and antiquity. These monuments then became the ideal themes for the stereotypical visual presentations that the western audiences (including travellers and tourists) dreamed of and demanded. The whole process involving western Hellenism, national imagination, archaeology, and photography had come full circle.

Fig. 3.8 Photograph of a cannon on the Athenian Acropolis taken by the author in 2000.

Yet, despite the efforts of national archaeology to produce sanitized sights out of multi-faceted and multi-vocal sites, the materiality of the past appears to resist. For example, the diverse traces of the social biography of the Athenian Acropolis refuse to become completely obliterated. Even at the beginning of the twenty-first century, a careful observer can encounter fragments of that life, such as a cannon, bringing up to the surface the time when the site was a fortress (Fig. 3.8); or more poignantly, a piece of classical architecture (originally from the Erechtheion) with an Ottoman Turkish text inscribed on it in 1805 (Fig. 3.9); at that time the fragment was embedded above one of the main vaulted entrances of the Acropolis, and the text praises the then Voivoda of Athens for the magnificent feat in fortifying the Acropolis and creating such an impressive fortress.[31]

[31] On this architectural piece see (with a photograph), Paton (1927: 7–72); on the Turkish text with a Greek translation see Kambouroglou (1889: 211).

Fig. 3.9 Photograph of a classical architectural fragment from the Erechtheion on the Athenian Acropolis, with an inscription in Ottoman Turkish, taken by the author in 2000.

'BEFORE OUR EYES . . .': THE PARADOX OF NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGY

Given these archaeological processes and practices, how did archaeology define its role to itself and to others, and how did it describe its activities?

Wise archaeologists, surrounded by libraries, museums, and facilities of all kinds, until now used to shed light on the history and geography of the ancients . . . through their critical notes which accompanied the edition of inscriptions, known to them from travellers and others. We, on the other hand, refrain from the interpretative observations and critical explanations, leaving these discussions to more able people; we believe that our work will have, over any other, the advantage of maximum precision in transcription, the lack of which has caused troubles and difficulties to archaeologists, and has led many times to invalid conclusions. Copying from these originals which we will have before our eyes, and checking them time and again, the only aim of our work is the copying, to which we will add the description of the

> ancient object, its size, material, place and circumstances of its finding, and only very rarely add some scholarly conjectures, whenever these come handy, aiming primarily at accuracy...

So said the preface to the first issue of the official archaeological journal of the new state, *Ephimeris Arhaiologiki* (*Archaeological Journal*), in 1837. The preface illustrates both the epistemological principles of Greek archaeology in the nineteenth century, and some of the inherent tensions that accompanied its foundation. When, in 1862 it entered its second series, now published by the Athens Archaeological Society (under the slightly changed title *Arhaiologiki Ephimeris*), its preface, written by its editor and university professor Ath. Rousopoulos, noted: '...the aim of this present journal is not primarily the [inclusion of] long and wise treatises, but the rescue of ancient monuments through their accurate reproduction'.

These programmatic statements speak of the main epistemological principle that Greek archaeology followed throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a principle that, despite the changes, is still extremely influential to the present day: that of empiricism, or what will be described in later years as positivism. It is not conjectures, opinion or interpretations that archaeological writing should be about, according to these authors; it is accuracy and precision above all, that matters. The material traces of the past should be reproduced with almost religious fidelity. Once this is done, they should be let to speak by themselves, for they can, by their mere presence, tell the story of the past. Archaeological practice as national duty produces material facts by simply reproducing accurately and disseminating the monuments of the past. The monuments had authority by themselves; they did not need the archaeologist to give them voice, according to this attitude. Of course, these practitioners were working within the realm constructed by the classical authors and especially by canonical topographical texts such as those by Pausanias. The past was already known, it did not wait for the archaeologists to be recovered. The story was already told. But archaeologists and other scholars who were busy dealing with monuments still had a key role to play: they could illustrate the story about the past with objects, artefacts, monuments; they could discover new texts that could fill any missing gaps; but more importantly, they

could objectify the past, that is provide it with the material, objective reality that texts did not have, and that artefacts and monuments, with their link with earth and territory, their physicality, and their aura of authenticity could provide.[32]

It is no coincidence that in the first decades of the new state, the vast majority of the objects published in the only official archaeological journal were stone inscriptions (cf. Voutsaki 2003: 249–250). Indeed, the search for ancient Greek inscriptions is one of the justifications given for the demolition of post-classical buildings and for much of the archaeological activity, and it had received a special mention in archaeological laws. The emphasis on inscriptions is not simply explained by the role of Greek language as a proof of national continuity, or by the training of scholars who published them in the philological tradition. I would argue that it is rather the combination of the distinctive materiality, permanence, and physicality of the medium (the stone), with the evocative and meaningful role of the message, that is, words in Greek letters, that are legible to the educated modern Hellenes. These were not simply material monuments, but the sacred texts of the new religion, literally cast in stone. They possessed authority, not simply as written word, but also as the permanent, objectified, and thus naturalized discourse of the ancestors. Through these inscriptions the modern Hellenes could not only converse directly with the glorious ancestors, but could also find the thread of the national narrative, and continue its writing. These inscriptions were in the early years simply copied and transcribed (and other monuments simply reproduced in drawings, and later, in photographs), indicating that practitioners of archaeology saw their role, much like the monks in medieval monasteries, as transferring with fidelity the sacred words and images into paper for wide dissemination (cf. Anderson 1991[1983]: 13).

This is, of course, an entirely paradoxical position, given that at the same time as the above passages were written, foreign and local

[32] The empiricist tradition in Greek archaeology (both the 'indigenous' one and the one practised by the foreign schools) is still, despite some recent important changes, the dominant trend. It is no coincidence that there are no archaeological journals devoted to debate: most of the existing journals are journals of record, or journals that publish individual studies based mostly on the analysis of material. According to Zois (1990: 59), this is an 'archaeology of monologues'.

archaeologists on the ground were not simply engaging in the accurate and precise recording of the past; they were rather, as we saw above, producing a new past, by selecting certain aspects of it, by demolishing and generally erasing the undesired, polluting monuments, and by rebuilding the selected monuments as they imagined them to be. Therein lies one of the central paradoxes of national archaeology: it often invokes objectivity, neutrality, accuracy, and precision, it privileges empirical observation over explanation and interpretation, yet at the same time it overtly or covertly creates a national past and a national archaeological record, by deliberate selection, de-contextualization, sanitization, and often imaginative re-creation of the past. It invokes the material truths of the nation to prove links and continuities, and yet it masks the fact that it *itself* re-creates and re-enacts the material 'realities' of the national Golden Age, it itself *produces* the facts on the ground. On second thought, this seemingly paradoxical phenomenon is not a paradox after all: it is simply the necessary condition for the archaeological production of matter-reality of the nation, the effectiveness of which depends on the masking and mis-recognition of its key role in *producing*, rather than simply transcribing and illustrating the matter-reality of the national *topos*. It is only through this invocation of objectivity that this process of production can be mis-recognized as such (cf. Bourdieu 1977, 1990), offering credence and legitimacy to the national archaeological project and to nation overall.

At the same time, the insistence in copying and transcription (rather than 'interpretative observations and critical explanations') illustrates the tension between the local, at times amateur, archaeologists (such as Kyriakos Pittakis, the first native archaeologist of Greece) who had, however, first hand access to the material, and the highly educated Hellenes returning from abroad, or resident non-Greek scholars who lacked that first-hand ready access but had the resources and the means for 'interpretative observations'. The battleground and the antagonistic framework between the scholars who had direct access over the archaeological material but no resources, and the scholars who had much better means to study but no direct access to the material, had already been set. This tension would continue up to the present day and it is also reflected in the relationships

with the foreign archaeological schools active in Greece, as discussed briefly in Chapter 2.

THE PAST AS CONTESTED RESOURCE

These processes of material archaeological production were far from linear and uncontested; they were implicated right from the start in negotiations of power, involving diverse classes, interests, and other European states. It was shown above how the incorporation of the Hellenic Peninsula within the world-system of western Europe and the invention of the imagined community of the Greek nation on the basis of classical antiquity was a process that was driven primarily by the new social classes of merchants, who had economic and ideological links with the European middle classes. These were the ones who were primarily benefiting from these developments.

But this development had an additional consequence: the glorification of classical antiquity and the constitution of the new state as a successor of that glory through a process of linear continuity, resulted in the monumentalization of Greece. Classical antiquity divorced nineteenth-century Greece from its historical and social context, that is the context of nationalist European movements, and placed it in a de-historicized myth-space.[33] The Greek War of Independence was portrayed as unique, since it was seen as a continuation of the eternal struggle of the Hellenic nation against its oriental others. The emphasis on the uniqueness of the Greek case and of the Greek War of Independence may have legitimized the new nation-state in the eyes of Europe, but it also made it a *nation apart*, not a successful national emancipation project linked with other Balkan and European ones (cf. Skopetea 1988: 36, 209–211). At that time, the Balkans

[33] I do not wish to impose a dichotomy between history and myth here, concepts that have long been shown to be both internally diverse, and to have more in common than it is normally assumed (e.g. Hill 1988); the national myths of origin, often presented as the official history of the nation, are a case in point; I have found more fruitful the attempt to study different forms of historicization by diverse groups and agents, where elements of conventionally perceived history are fused and combined with other forms of historical consciousness, from myths to dreams and dreaming (cf. Hirsch and Stewart 2005).

and south-eastern Europe were experiencing social movements to some extent similar to the Greek War of Independence (Tziovas 2003). Theirs, however, were seen as participating in a time and space different from the one enacted by classical antiquity, the time of Hellenes (ancient or modern) on the one side, and oriental barbarians (Persians or Turks) on the other. For example, the Greek middle classes secured the collaboration of the European upper and middle classes by distancing the Greek War of Independence from contemporary social movements such as the *Carbonari*: the secret society, active mainly in Italy at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, which fostered aspirations of radical political and social changes. There was extensive discussion during the War of Independence on whether to use the resurrected phoenix, or the statue of Athena as the state crest. The latter symbol prevailed,[34] not only because it was used by the French Revolution, but also because the phoenix was the symbol of *Philiki Etaireia*, a secret organization which was linked to carbonarism. If the new state were to have choosen the phoenix, it would have possibly faced problems in securing approval by the Great Powers (Droulia 1995, 2002).[35] Founded on ancient virtue, the Greek War was shown as having no radical social connotations which could threaten the given social order (Skopetea 1988: 36; Dimaras 1989[1977]: 359). Material traces from the past, by virtue of their duration and biography as things created in the past but still existing and living in the present, enact multiple times simultaneously (cf. Bergson 1991). But these enacted times are not outside the discourses and practices of power. The multiple, living, and dynamic temporalities enacted by material antiquities can become, under certain discursive and political conditions, 'monumentalized': their dynamic character and multiplicity, replaced by a static conception that desires a return to an idealized, mummified moment, which is invested with supreme moral authority and power. Antiquity and its material

[34] Interestingly, the iconography of the goddess Athena was often supplemented with a Christian cross, a motif that resurfaced in 1995, in the crest of the City Council of Athens (cf. Droulia 2002).

[35] Even the association with the French Revolution that the statue of Athena signified was to become devoid of any deep symbolism in the following years, when the monarchical system was imposed upon Greece.

manifestations as immense symbolic resources (symbolic capital or authoritative resource; cf. Giddens 1984; Bourdieu 1990), often prove strategically invaluable, as in this case, yet their deployment within a discourse of a static and monumentalized time produces a distinctive temporality, it constructs an allochronic space (cf. Fabian 1983). The suspension of dynamic, multiple historicity, contingency, and social process has clear power and political connotations. The modern Greek nation-state invented itself and became recognized as such by western Europeans, but through its monumentalization in time and space, any radical social connotations were neutralized.[36]

The debates around the transfer of the capital from Nafplio to Athens in 1833 illustrate some of the dilemmas and tensions that the deployment, management, and negotiation of the symbolic resource of classical antiquity faced (cf. Biris 1933, 1966; Papadopoulou-Symeonidou 1996; Bastea 2000). Otto's father, Ludwig of Bavaria, was a keen supporter of the idea of choosing Athens (amongst many alternatives) as a capital (Biris 1933, 1966) and Otto himself, as one author put it '...fancied no doubt that he would become a great general in the land of Miltiades, a great seaman in the country of Themistocles, and a profound politician in the city of

[36] My argument here is both partly inspired by but also significantly different from the one developed by Herzfeld (1991) on the distinction between 'monumental' and 'social' time. His study seems to invest monumental time always with negative connotations; 'monumental time' comes close to meaning the time enacted by *all* antiquities, and in all contexts. He states, for example: 'Antiquities which counted for naught among the peasantry, became a key to the legitimation that the state sought in the family of nations' (Herzfeld 1991: 11). For him, monumental time is the time of the state, of bureaucracy, of officialdom, which is juxtaposed, in a dichotomous manner, with the time of social life, the time of the people who resist the state. My invocation of multi-temporality here (inspired by Bergon's ideas on time, matter, and memory), attempts to move away from such dichotomous thinking. I have shown that antiquities, far from 'counting for naught among the peasantry' before the foundation of the state, were meaningful and important for ordinary people in many ways, although not as ancestral relics. I also draw a distinction between the multiple and dynamic times enacted by the material traces of the past (even when these traces become monuments), times that are social as well as historical, and the 'monumentalized' (as opposed to monumental) time: the static, fixed time that attempts to erase all other times and do away with the diverse biographies of these traces, and the multiple social memories they recall. In other words, my argument places more emphasis on the abilities of materiality to enact multiple times, being at the same time aware of the discursive and political processes that strive (and often succeed) to achieve fixity and bring about a singular temporality.

Pericles' (About 1857: 158). Athens was, of course, selected because of its classical past, as it offered few other advantages in relation to many other cities in the kingdom, having also the major disadvantage of not being a port, which in a state where commerce and maritime power were key, was a significant drawback. The supporting reports emphasized time and again that

> an ancient city like Athens, which has fed thousands of people very effectively, offers naturally many advantages necessary for life . . . Most ancient monuments of the town are preserved in a very good condition. These advantages do not exist or they cannot exist anywhere else in the world. The imitations of these monuments is a response to the desire of many people who would like to enjoy them, as well as to the intention of national leaders to decorate their capitals
>
> cited in Papadopoulou-Simeonidou (1996: 13)

Among the main opponents of the idea was I. Kolettis, at the time (1833), significantly, Minister of Shipping Industry. He insisted that, whichever the new state chose as its capital, it would be temporary, as Constantinople would be the permanent capital of Hellas. In addition, he believed that Athens was totally inappropriate for a capital, precisely because of its monuments:

> Athens is a city which is admired by everybody and the city which attracts the admiration of the whole world, not so much due to its present state, as for its past glory, and mainly for its masterpieces which are buried under its soil.
>
> Is it not enough that barbarism for ages covered these remnants of its past glory with ugly buildings, aiming in this way to weaken the memory of the subsequent generation? Do we have to bury them for a second time ourselves now, so that to lose for us, for our people and for the foreigners, any hope of developing them as an ideal for future generations, strengthening thus the glory of the national spirit? Instead of supporting the selection of Athens as a capital, would it not be more patriotic to decide, with the signing of a decree, to prohibit immediately building activity in towns and places where history testifies to the presence of buried ancient monuments? And furthermore, to pass one more decree for the necessity of excavations in these places, in order to recover these ancient works of art? These works should have been exhibited in a museum built for that purpose, which would become a major object of admiration, but also a place where the religious piety would attract the civilized world. During our deliberations, gentlemen, on the issue of the capital of the kingdom, we should not see

Greece as it was during antiquity, nor should we get influenced by rhetoric. We should instead see Greece in its present reality, and as it should be.

cited in Papadopoulou-Simeonidou (1996: 51–52).

The newspaper *Athiná* was writing on the same theme:

All these who ignore the expectations and the wishes of the nation, they want to give us, instead of a capital rich, glorious and commercial, the insignificant and bare Attica, which the whole Hellenic world, taught by the long-lasting revolution and not by archaeological ghosts, rejects unanimously

cited in Photiadis (1988: 207)

What we are witnessing here are a number of important tensions: the clash between the immense symbolic capital of classical antiquity on the one hand, and the financial and economic concerns of the small kingdom on the other. Moreover, the fact that the imagined spatial boundaries of the nation were far wider that the territorial boundaries of the new state (most people who called themselves Hellenes were living outside Greece, anyhow),[37] hence the dream of unifying all the assumed Hellenic territories within one state, a dream that would be known in the second half of the century as *Megali Idea* ('Great Idea'); the term was introduced in 1844 by I. Kolettis, hence his assertion that the permanent capital of the kingdom will be Constantinople.[38] And finally, the tension between

[37] The tension between *aftohthones* (indigenous) and *eterohthones* (originating from outside) Hellenes was present for much of the nineteenth century in Greece. The diasporic Greeks were the ones who played a key role in the forging of the national dream. Their ideas and plans, however, often clashed not only with those of indigenous leaders and scholars, but also with the concerns of the local population. An interesting example which illustrates this tension is an early and unsuccessful attempt to found an archaeological society, one of the early precursors of the Athens Archaeological Society which was founded in 1837. In 1832, according to G. Psyllas (a high-level government administrator), the Bavarian classicist Thiersch took the initiative together with the architects Saubert and Kleanthis and the archaeologist Pittakis, to found an archaeological society in Athens, mainly composed of *eterohthones*, and non-Greek Athenian residents interested in antiquities. The local population, however, was strongly opposed to the idea, and the attempt was abandoned after the first meeting, which ended in verbal and physical abuse. As the leader of the opposing group put it 'We do not accept this society of foreigners, who are going to destroy our houses and properties, looking for antiquities' (Psyllas 1974: 200–202).

[38] The political connotations of the concept will become much more evident in the following decades, after the modification of the national narrative and the rehabilitation of Byzantium attempted by Pararrigopoulos (see below; cf. Kitromilides 1998). Within

the dreams of the foreign leaders and scholars who conceived of the new heterotopic modern classical land, and the concerns of many of its own leaders and scholars who had to live with it. The passage from the newspaper *Athiná* above, embodies in the best way that tension: the title of the newspaper—honouring the goddess Athena—speaks of the modern Hellenes's adoption of the ancient Hellenic dream, but the content of the article expresses the frustration with the reality of that dream. At the end, Athens was selected as a capital, a monumental locus that was meant to evoke the classical spirit, away from the realities and concerns of a port, and its associated commercial and monetary activities (Papantoniou 1934: 216).

At the beginning of this chapter it was shown how the symbolic resource of antiquity was also deployed as a legitimizing mechanism for the first king of Greece, Otto, the Bavarian monarch that European powers had selected for Greece. The architect of the Bavarian court, Leo von Klenze who, as we saw, played a key role in the construction of the Hellenic national heterotopia, during his speech on the Acropolis presented Otto as the worthy successor of the classical glory, in front of the seemingly sceptical Athenians. But even before then, Otto's arrival at Nafplio, the first capital of Greece, was celebrated with a triumphal arch decorated with verses from Homer and other ancient authors which made references to powerful and fair rulers (Ross 1976[1863]: 219; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996). The plans submitted by Karl Friedrich Schinkel in 1834 (the year Athens became the capital) for a palace-citadel on the Acropolis, complete with an over-sized statue of the goddess Athena Promachos (=fighting in the first rank) (Ross 1976[1863]: 95, 101; Tsigakou 1981; Cobet 1987; MacNeal 1991; Wieler 1995; Fig. 6), can be seen as another legitimating strategy. Establishing a royal palace on the imposing and visible rock of the Acropolis, with its obvious connotations, would have provided a direct link of the monarchy with the classical heritage (cf. Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996).

While the merchants, intellectuals, and scholars who were instrumental in producing the Hellenic national narrative saw as their

the framework of the late nineteenth to early twentieth century Great Idea, Constantinople would become for many the object of national desire, and Agia Sophia would occupy an equally sacred (or even more so) position next to the Parthenon. The dream would be buried in the ashes of Smyrna in 1922, following the disastrous Asia Minor war.

guiding force the classical past, and in some ways defined their dream in opposition to the more recent pasts such as the Byzantium with its connotations of theocracy and monarchical rule, the first monarch of Greece and his circle saw things differently. While the classical past offered him an important legitimizing power, Byzantium offered him equally important symbolic weapons. There is some historical evidence thus that despite the dominant climate of classicism, he and his circle showed support for the Byzantine material past (Papantoniou 1934: 20–24; Kokkou 1977: 112; Skopetea 1988). Examples here include the already mentioned implementation of the 1834 decree issued by the Regency which provided for the protection of churches (along with other recent buildings; Petrakos 1982), the 1837 royal decree to stop the continuous destruction of Byzantine antiquities, and the protests from several Bavarian officials from Otto's circle whenever these antiquities were destroyed (Kokkou 1977; Petrakos 1982). Interestingly, it was the classicist and non-orthodox Ludwig of Bavaria (father of Otto) who intervened to rescue the post-Byzantine Kapnikarea church of Athens (Xyngopoulos 1929 cited in Kokkou 1977: 114), which was due to be demolished by Leo von Klenze, as it fell in the middle of the Ermou Street in his city plan (Bastea 2000: 86). The monarchy clearly saw in Byzantium an authoritarian system of political government much closer to the Othonian kingship than the system of classical city states (Skopetea 1988: 178). For a non-Orthodox king ruling over people whose primary allegiance was the Christian Orthodox faith, Byzantium, with this connotation of monarchical theocracy and Orthodoxy, offered another important advantage (Seidl 1984[1965]: 165–166). This Othonian ambivalence signifies at the same time the start of the development that will be become more pronounced from the middle of the century: the progressive transformation of Hellenic nationalism into an indigenous fusion of Hellenic–Christian nationalism, and which will be discussed in the next section.

But antiquity was not only a contested arena within the boundaries of the state. Competition among European powers for the rights to excavate in important sites was a feature that came into play early on, has persisted throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and, to some extent, up to the present day. Although this matter still requires extensive investigation, I will give here only a couple of

examples based on recent important research; the first refers to the competition for the rights to excavate at Delphi, between France, other countries such as USA, as well as the Athens Archaeological Society, at the end of the nineteenth century. Finally, France won (in its demand, it brought up the issue of Germany and their success in securing the rights to excavate in Olympia), but the Greek government linked the issue of the permit to more profane demands and concerns: the request to France for a commercial treaty to secure a low import tax for the main Greek export product to France at the time, Corinthian sultanas, but also guarantees for a French stance favourable to Greece in the international geopolitical power game (Dasios 1992). The second example refers to the excavation of the temple of Artemis at Corfu in 1911. The excavation, carried out by the Greek Archaeological Service, attracted the interest of the German Kaiser Willhem II, who asked for the right to excavate there under the direction of the German archaeologist Dörpfeld; following a personal intervention by the king of Greece, the permit was granted; 2 days later, and to the dismay of the Greek excavators, the Greek government asked for the intervention of the European powers including Germany, to persuade Turkey to stop the economic blockade of the Greeks living within its dominion. Germany, which was neutral on the affair until then, protested strongly in support of the Greek demands (Kalpaxis 1993: 56–7).[39]

A further interesting case is that of the 1920s negotiations for the excavation of the Athenian Agora, at the foothill of the Acropolis, by the American School. The school, in its efforts to secure a permit and with very favourable terms (against opposition, not least by the approximately 5000 residents in the area whose houses were going to be demolished to make way for the excavation), used not only the close links of its officers with the then Greek Prime Minister, E. Venizelos (cf. Sakka 2002: 229–30) but also the 'stick and the carrot' of American financial loans to Greece. As Greece was trying to recover from the catastrophic aftermath of the Asia Minor War and struggled to accommodate its refugees following the defeat in 1922, external financial help was a matter of survival. In a letter by

[39] See Kalpaxis (1990, 1996, 1997) for other cases. Competition among different nation-states for the right to excavate key sites was not limited to classical antiquity proper. The important Bronze Age sites of Mycenae and Knossos, for example, became the object of fierce competition towards the end of the nineteenth century.

E. Capps, the Head of the Managing Committee of the American School to Rhys Carpenter, the Director of the School, dated 26 January 1928, Capps refers to a meeting in Washington, DC, with the Greek Ambassador, Simopoulos, and the US Under-Secretary of State, Col. Olds, in which the Ambassador pointed out that: '... it would seriously affect the standing of Greece in America at this time, when Greece has been so generously treated by the debt commission and when the flotation of loans to Greece is impending, if the concession should fail through Greek insistence upon conditions which would be regarded by any impartial person as intolerable, and certainly by everybody as irreconcilable with the Donor's gift'.[40] In the end, the Greek government, despite the extensive reactions in the press, satisfied all the demands of the school and of the main donor of the excavation, John D. Rockefeller, passing a legal act that was very unfavourable for the local residents (cf. Sakka 2002: 223), resulting in the destruction of 366 houses.

The material manifestations of classical antiquity commanded an immense value in the nineteenth century. But their implication in symbolic battles, in contested readings and evaluations, and in competing claims and counterclaims, increased that value in both the domestic and the international symbolic exchange. The higher the stakes in these transactions, the more the effort to be mis-recognized as such (Bourdieu 1990): in the case of the Agora excavation, for example, the acceptance of all terms by the American School and the abolition of a whole housing quarter was justified by the government on the basis of the importance of the site for the nation and the ability of the Americans to carry out the project, not on the grounds of diplomatic and financial concerns.[41] While antiquities were central

[40] American School of Classical Studies Archives, Administrative Records, Box 202/1, folder 2.

[41] In a letter (dated 14 January 1925) by K. Spyridis, the Minister of Public Education (responsible for antiquities), to B. H. Hill, Director of the American School, announcing that the Greek state accepts the request by the school for the excavation, it is noted: 'the excavation of the center of this famous city, will certainly become the most glorious of the excavations on the Greek soil, and it is worth the financial expense, which in today's situation, only your great American fatherland can afford to undertake. We are confident that both the government and our archaeological service will facilitate your work and provide every possible contribution' (American School of Classical Studies Archives, Administrative Records, Series 200, Box 202/1, folder 1).

in setting up the process of dreaming/imagining and inventing the nation, they were at the same time the arena of negotiations of power and an object of dispute, the locus of conflicting claims and social and political agendas. They were, right from the beginning, a legitimizing mechanism for the middle class and an extremely powerful symbolic resource. From the early years of the foundation of the new state, politicians, administrators, and intellectuals were making conscious and often controversial decisions in selecting from the symbolic repertoire of antiquity those aspects which could convey best their political and ideological programme. Right from the start of the Hellenic national project, antiquity was invested with diverse and often competing versions of social meaning, reminding us that the national discourse is rarely singular and uncontested. It is to a dramatic recasting and modification of the national project that I now turn.

A HOME-MADE SYNTHESIS: FROM WESTERN TO INDIGENOUS HELLENISM

> ...And a battle in Chaironeia took place, in which Philip won, destroying the Hellenic freedom. But Philip committed something even more disastrous, he fathered Alexander!...
>
> Byzantine history is...a very long series of foolish deeds and shameful brutalities of the Roman state, transplanted into Byzantium. It is a disgraceful expression of the extreme wretchedness and decline of the Greeks[42]

Thus said I. Rizos Neroulos, intellectual, politician, and then president of the Athens Archaeological Society, in a meeting of the society on the Athenian Acropolis, on 25 May 1841; the speech was aimed at outlining the history of the Hellenic nation, from its birth in the classical times to its resurrection in 1821. The castigation of Philip and Alexander must sound very alien to today's reader, who is aware of their glorification in the early–mid 1990s, during the dispute between Greece and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

[42] In *Synopsis ton Praktikon tis Arhaiologikis Etaireias ton Athinon*, 2nd edn, Athens, 1846, pp. 100–104.

(see Chapter 4).[43] But equally baffling must sound the total dismissal of the Byzantine heritage, given the important role that it plays today in Greek national consciousness.

This last paradox is perhaps more easily explained, in the light of the previous discussion in this chapter. From the end of the eighteenth century onwards, with the increasing influence of western Enlightenment, the negative view of thinkers such as Montesquieu, Voltaire, and of course Gibbon on Byzantium was incorporated into the emerging national narrative (Politis 1997). The clash between the advocates of the western national ideals and the church (the leadership of which was based in Constantinople and had obvious links to Byzantium and its Christian heritage) contributed further to the rejection of the Byzantine heritage in favour of the classical past. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, the democracy of classical city-states offered to the emerging nation-state a preferred model for its political organization than the imperial, theocratic, and authoritarian Byzantine model (see Toynbee 1981: 215; Kremmydas 1992: 42; Politis 1993: 66).[44]

The relationship of modern Hellenes to Byzantium was, of course, mediated by Greek Orthodoxy and its ecclesiastical structures. This relationship was extremely complicated and turbulent.[45] When, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the leading intellectuals and advocates of Hellenic nationalism called for the establishment of a new kind of imagined community of Greek-speaking Christians, based not primarily on faith, as before, but on perceived ethnic identification and the common classical heritage, the leaders and intellectuals of Orthodoxy foresaw the danger. Their objection had to do with the fact that these western-educated scholars relied for inspiration on phenomena such as the French Revolution (with its secularism and all its threatening connotations for the status quo),

[43] In a similar tone, Nikolaos Saripolos, Professor at the University of Athens, noted in his inaugural lesson on 21 October 1848: 'at the plains of Chaironeia the freedom of Greece died' (Saripolos 1848: 11).

[44] On the conflict between Classical and Byzantine past in the early years of the modern Greek state see Mango (1965), Dimaras (1989[1977]), Politis (1993: 110–111), Yalouri (1993), Gounaridis (1996), Hamilakis and Yalouri (1996), and several chapters in Ricks and Magdalino (1998).

[45] Cf. Kitromilides (1989) and Matalas (2002) for interesting and somehow complementary, if somewhat divergent, discussions.

but also ancient Greece, that is the pagan past that the Byzantine Empire had successfully demolished and replaced with Christianity. In 1798 the Patriarchate published the *Paternal Exhortation* (*Didaskalia Patriki*), a pamphlet which justified Ottoman rule by claiming that it was the work of the divine providence in order to protect the Christian faith (Politis 1998: 10). In the first years of the Greek War of Independence, only some 'enlightened' clergy sided with the 'new religion', especially in areas such as Macedonia where conflicting nationalisms were in operation, whereas the leadership of the church was against it, and the Patriarchate of Constantinople had condemned the War of Independence. The successful outcome of the war and the establishment of the state also brought the unilateral declaration of the autocephaly of the church of the Greek state, which meant its independence from the Patriarchate, in 1833, in other words its subjugation to the national project (Kitromilides 1989: 166). This development, however, did not signify a break from Orthodoxy, but as Matalas has noted, a debate within the broader world of Hellenic Orthodoxy over its future: it had much to do with the dilemma on whether the new state should follow the east (especially Orthodox Russia which exercised much appeal among Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians) or the western powers. The autocephaly was therefore a tactical move that signified allegiance to the west (cf. Matalas 2002: 50–51 and *passim*).

Indeed, the subsequent developments showed that nationalism had not clashed with and replaced Orthodoxy, but that *religion instead became the vehicle through which nationalism was expressed and developed* in Greece as well as other Balkan countries. The new state became a kingdom (and a very autocratic one) after all, not a republic, as the advocates of Enlightenment would have hoped. The strong Orthodox mentalities, at least at the level of ordinary people, were grafted on to the national project right from the start. From the 1830s onwards, the country experienced a religious revival (Kitromilides 1983: 54), links between the Patriarchate and the Church of Greece were re-established, and ideas of romantic nationalism become more influential at the expense of civic nationalism. As discussed above, Otto expressed and promoted further these ideas and was positively predisposed towards Byzantine heritage. The launching of the Great Idea in 1844 required the rehabilitation

of Byzantium, which, after all, was the model for the greater Greece, (with Constantinople as its capital) that the advocates of the Great Idea were dreaming of (Kitromilides 1983: 54).

The words of Neroulos at the beginning of this section, therefore, uttered in 1841, expressed views very much on the retreat. At the middle of the century, the conditions for the rehabilitation of Byzantium in the national narrative were ripe. In addition to the above factors, this rehabilitation of Byzantium was required for another important reason: the need to address the temporal discontinuity in the national narrative, from the 'enslavement' and 'death' of the nation in 338 BC at the Chaironeia battle, to its resurrection in 1821. This gap was to be bridged in the second half of the century, thanks to the work of Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, the national historian *par excellence* (cf. Dimaras 1986). A catalyst for this development was the view expressed by the Austrian scholar Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer, who suggested (first in 1830) that, due to the Slavic presence in Greece, there was no racial or cultural link between ancient Greeks and the modern inhabitants of Greece (Fallmerayer 1830).[46] This, as one might expect, caused a stir. The attempts to counter this claim were partly motivated by the desire to clarify the relationship between Greeks and Slavs within the wider Orthodox world, echoing again the debates on the role of Russia (cf. Matalas 2002: 143–144); but a perhaps unintended consequence of these scholarly attempts was the incorporation of Byzantium within the national narrative. Paparrigopoulos, in his first scholarly work, attempted to refute some key aspects of Fallmerayer's argument to do with the Slavic presence in the Peloponnese (1843),[47] but it was in

[46] On Fallmerayer and his work see Thurnher (1993), and on his reception in Greece, Veloudis (1982) and Skopetea (1997).

[47] An indication of the anxiety that Fallmerayer [whose main target was not so much the modern Greeks but German classicism (Skopetea 1997: 17)] had caused was not only the attempt of the archaeologist Kyriakos Pittakis to deceive and discredit him by showing him forged manuscripts upon one of his visits to Athens (cf. Skopetea 1997: 53–59), the attempts of several Greek scholars to refute his ideas, the translation and publication of several non-Greek critiques of his work (but not the original), but also the discussion in the newspapers and magazines, following the alleged discovery of Slavic buildings by the German excavators at Olympia. The claims were answered by Pararrigopoulos himself, by reinstating his 1843 position that there was indeed a Slavic presence in the Peloponnese in the Middle Ages, but that the Greeks need not worry because the Slavs were culturally absorbed and

his monumental work, the *History of the Hellenic Nation*, published in five volumes between 1860 and 1874, that he would provide the strong synthesis to unify the national narrative. His chronological division of Hellenic history became known as the tripartite scheme of 'ancient, medieval, and modern',[48] but he declared Byzantium as an integral part of the Hellenic civilization. Although not embracing contemporary European ideas on race and biological evolution, he nevertheless established a scheme of cultural and spiritual evolution and continuity. His thesis also signalled a change of tactic in the fight against Fallmerayer: already in 1846, in his first lecture at the University of Athens, and more so in his *History*, he emphasized not any sense of linear, direct, or racial continuity, but a cultural and spiritual one, and more importantly, the ability of the spirit of Hellenism to absorb weaker and inferior cultures, such as the Slavs. This Hegelian idea would occupy a central place in his and other national historians' philosophy (Sigalas 2001: 21).

This synthesis upon which the Hellenic national narrative would be based for the next century, and on which it is still, to a large extent, based to this day, contained a strong political message of national destiny and teleology, which could, however, be fulfilled only on the basis of national unity (Kitromilides 1998; cf. also Liakos 2002). It was also expressed in 1852, in the launching of the term '*ellinohristianikos*' (Helleno-Christian), by Spyridon Zambelios, a folklorist and historian, and another key protagonist in this bridging project. The term denoted an entity resulting from the fusion between classical Hellenism and

defeated by Hellenism [the discussion took place in the newspapers *Paliggenesia* and *Ora* between April 1878 and February 1879, but was reproduced in *Athinaion vol.* 7 (1879), pp. 374–385]. Here is what Paparrigopoulos said, for example, in response to Koumanoudis's claim that the Slavic presence is unfounded: 'For me, the important [thing] is not how many Slavs came through Greece and which buildings did they construct; but whether Hellenism overpowered those and other foreigners; and this has been successfully resolved in the Peloponnese, as well in Greece beyond the [Corinth's] isthmus, and in Thessaloniki and Epirus' (1879: 376). Note that neither Thessaloniki nor Epirus were part of the Greek state at the time.

[48] In his *History* this division often takes the form of a five-stage (ancient, Macedonian, Christian, medieval, and modern) or four-stage (ancient, Macedonian, medieval, and modern) scheme, but it is his earlier tripartite scheme that will become known and established (cf. Liakos 1993: 27).

Orthodox Christianity; an entity with the immense power to absorb foreign influences and Hellenize other people; 'Christianity becomes the new fatherland for Greece, and Greece the capital of Christianity', Zambelios noted (1852, cited in Matalas 2002: 150). This teleological and cosmological vision was also invoked in the theological symbolism of the tripartite scheme, which could stand in the collective imagination for the holy triad (Liakos 1993: 27). Paparrigopoulos also rehabilitated the Macedonia of Philip and Alexander by coining the term 'Macedonian Hellenism', defined as a different version of classical Hellenism; in the long parade of Hellenism, Macedonian Hellenism took over from the declining ancient Hellenism (Liakos 1993: 26).

A key factor in this revisionist historical-cum-national process was the appropriation, reworking, and modification of the concept of Hellenism as proposed by G. Droysen in his *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, published between 1836 and 1843 (Sigalas 2001). Droysen, of course, talked of Macedonia and of the Alexandrian legacy. But his rehabilitation of that legacy was read in Greece in the light of territorial aspirations for modern Macedonia, the increasing realization that the Hellenic nation can no longer be contained within the boundaries of the state (hence the *Megali Idea*), and in the light of a political system which, rather than imitating ancient democracy and the *polis*, as the first national intellectuals dreamt of, was monarchical, centralized, and with imperial pretensions, in other words more ancient Macedonia than classical Athens. Droysen offered to the Greek national historians and politicians of the mid–late nineteenth century, to the Greek nation as a whole, not simply the rehabilitation of Macedonia, but more importantly, the terminological and philosophical justification for many other current revisionist projects: the idealization of an imperial and expansionist political model; the rehabilitation of Byzantium and of the Middle Ages in general; and as noted earlier, the adoption of Hegelian concepts of spiritual (rather than racial) continuity, which was not necessarily linear but was based on the ability of the Hellenic spirit in its various forms to absorb inferior elements. But this process did not simply involve a passive appropriation on the part of Greek historians: the singular and culturally and chronologically specific Hellenism of Droysen became a multitude of Hellenisms (ancient, Macedonian, Byzantine/

medieval, modern, and so on)[49] but with an essential spiritual core that remained the same. A key feature, however, which this neo-Hellenic appropriation of Droysian Hellenism seemed to have maintained, was the close association of *ellinismos* with *exellinismos*: the implicit assumption that Hellenism had always and would continue to have a civilizing mission, by disseminating Hellenic language and culture. In the historical contingency of the late nineteenth century, and in the light of the territorial aspirations of the Greek state to expand into culturally, ethnically, and linguistically diverse areas, this assumption was particularly apt and expedient (Sigalas 2001).

The rehabilitation of Byzantium and its incorporation in the national narrative and imagination from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, had to deal with some severe tensions, one of the most crucial being that between ancient Greek religion (an important aspect of the ancient Greek heritage) and Christian Orthodox religion. Folklorists managed to resolve this tension by embarking on a venture of religious synthesis and syncretism (Stewart 1994): they collected 'survivals' of ancient Greek religions in the Orthodox tradition, placing more emphasis, however, on their material aspects—e.g. worshipping locations and the establishment of churches on places of ancient worship—rather than their spiritual ones, which would have caused friction with the Orthodox dogmas (Stewart 1994: 138). A standard theme in primary national education in more recent times has been the tale that St Paul found ancient Athenians worshipping, in addition to their Olympian deities, another one, 'The Unknown God', a narrative that, in the Christiano-centric public education, portrays ancient Greeks as proto-Christians. The rehabilitation of Byzantium as an idea led to the systematic care and protection of Byzantine antiquities, but the main emphasis, inevitably, was on antiquities of an ecclesiastical nature. The society for the protection and study of Byzantine monuments (called interestingly the 'Christian Archaeological Society') was founded in 1884, as a result of a private initiative, and in 1890 it acquired its own museum, but a decree to found a state Byzantine Museum was passed only in 1914 (Kokkou 1977: 283–285).

[49] Interestingly, the Greek translation of Droysen's *Geschichte des Hellenismus,* published in 1897 under the influence of Paparrigopoulos, had as its title, *History of Macedonian Hellenism* (Sigalas 2001: 32).

Given the prominent and central role of Christianity within Byzantine institutions, the incorporation of the Byzantine past within the main body of the national narrative promoted further the fusion between Orthodoxy and Hellenic national identity. This key modification of the national narrative not only created a sense of continuity from antiquity to the present, fulfilling thus the national desire for unity and completeness (a phenomenon that I call the *nostalgia for the whole*; cf. Chapter 7), but it also produced (despite the influences from the European romantic movements and historiographic traditions that rehabilitated the medieval past) a more *indigenous* rather than European version of national history (Tziovas 1995). It thus signified, to some extent, the 'emancipation' of the national narrative. The indigenous Hellenism that was produced was very different from western Hellenism (both in its intellectual and its ideological forms), as well as the neo-Hellenism of the European and Greek Enlightenment of the beginning of the nineteenth century, with its Eurocentric orientalism, but also its secularism and democratic ideals. The indigenous Hellenism that has dominated the national imagination since then is the semi-religious, sacred, messianic dogma that celebrated its emancipation from western Europe but which could not hide its conservatism (cf. Liakos 1987) and its castigation of all dissident views as anti-Greek, *anthellinikes*, a term that first appeared at this time, and acquired increasing currency in the following decades and centuries (cf. Kitromilides 1983: 55).

DREAMING RUINS

March 1922, Ilme-Çiftlik, in north-west Turkey. In a camp of the Greek Army, taking part in the Asia Minor campaign, a soldier asks to see his commander:

'I saw a dream last night', he says, 'I dreamt of the Virgin Mary surrounded by ancient Greek soldiers; and the Virgin Mary ordered me to make sure that a cave nearby ceases to be used for stalling animals; She said that it used to be a shrine devoted to her… and the ancient Greek soldiers ordered me to carry out excavations in a nearby spot, a place where, they said, their bodies were buried'.

The soldier was dismissed, but then in the following days he came back, saying that the he kept seeing the same dream . . .

The commander then ordered for excavations to be carried out; ancient Greek antiquities were found, as predicted.[50]

Dreaming is a form of subconscious historicization (Stewart 2003); theophany, quite widespread in the popular imagination in modern Greece (Stewart 1989: 77), provides the means for the appropriation of the distant past in individual and collective popular memory. This dream condenses the multiple links of the Hellenic national imagination with the materiality of antiquity; it is an expression of Hellenic monumental historicity, of the fusion of national with the archaeological.

The religious experience and the experience of the ancient Greek past become inseparable. For the soldier who was fighting away from home, at a crucial historical moment, a few months before the dramatic and disastrous end of this expansionist dream, in a territory which, according to the national narrative (especially since the launching of the 'Great Idea'), was part of the space of Hellenism and was imbued with meaning, not least because of the ancient Greek presence, there was no distinction between reality and dreaming, past and present, the Virgin Mary and ancient Greek fighters. If the ancient Greek past was sacred, as the educated elite of the nation had been saying for a century, then the uneducated soldier (being more 'pure', a true *folk*) had the ability to communicate with it, not via knowledge but *directly*, as he did with God.

This episode also contains in a condensed form the main phenomena that have been discussed in this chapter. In the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries, antiquities, from otherness, eliciting partly fear, partly awe, and partly veneration, were transformed into their antithetical pole, they became self (cf. Andreadis 1989). Their earlier symbolic meaning, however, was not lost, but rather incorporated into their new role: as the theological discourse of Christian resurrection was transformed into the quasi-theological

[50] The commander was D. T. Ambelas and the story is narrated in his memoirs, published in 1937; it is discussed by Andreadis (1989: 289–299), and more recently by Hamilakis and Yalouri (1999) and Stewart (2003).

discourse of national resurrection, antiquities continued to be worshiped, not as feared feats of unfamiliar past people, but as icons of the new religion, the religion of the imagined community of the nation. Classical antiquities, western travellers have been saying, are sacred, hence their own acts of pilgrimage. Many national intellectuals and scholars, especially the ones who studied in the west, and the administrators of the new state, were also calling antiquities sacred. Christians too (after Hellenism became Helleno-Christianism) were saying that they are sacred, and were only happy to take part in the national liturgies that worshiped them. After all, the ancient Greek language was the language of Orthodoxy, the language of the Gospel, the language of the sacred scriptures, be it those of classical authors, now recovered and collected as stone inscriptions, or the language of the Christian liturgies. The sacralization of antiquities was nurtured by diverse streams: the veneration of western Hellenism, the religious properties of the nation and its rituals, Orthodoxy with its icons and its ceremonies. The colonial, the national, and the religious meet in the material past.

Antiquities come from the earth, the earth that contains the bones of the ancestors; antiquities are bones, they are the marble bones of the body of the nation. The marble statues can speak, cry, and mourn. Antiquities come from the earth, the earth has been fed and watered with the blood of the ancestors, that same earth. The stones and the marbles have been there, often buried, often standing upright, on this same locality, linking the past with the present and the future, defining the boundaries of the national territory. The topos of the nation had to be produced. The *topos* of the nation needed to be dreamt. National memories need objects to hold to, monumental places to gather (cf. Casey 1996), the topography requires landmarks, the national dream needs to be illustrated with the images, the sites, the artefacts. Antiquities possessed the ability to create a spatiality, to transform the timeless, homogeneous, empty space of the nation into concrete place (Appadurai 1995: 213). Physical, authentic monuments, which provided a sense of continuity and eternity, were crucial elements in the process of dreaming the heterotopic locus of the nation (Gourgouris 1996; cf. Foucault 1986). They were instrumental in constructing a *topos* which was at the same time within history and outside it (Gourgouris 1993). If most

archaeological remains possess the above properties, classical antiquities had the additional advantage of occupying such a central position also in the western imagination and cosmology.

Yet at the same time, antiquities are expected to act as the most important currency in the symbolic capital of the new nation, classical antiquity; a capital that is destined to participate in countless symbolic and overtly profane exchanges. But how can you sell the icons of the nation, its inalienable possessions (cf. Weiner 1992)? How can you share it with the western imagination that claims it as its heritage too? And how can you reconcile the antiquity of antiquities with the modernity of the capital? The need to continuously venerate the remnants of the glorious past, but at the same time build a modern European state? This tension which emerged in the nineteenth century will become more prominent in more recent times, and will surface in several case-studies discussed in this book.

Antiquities and their symbolic power had been a contested field for leaders and followers, for different groups and social classes, for national intellectuals and international agents. They activated multiple temporalities but they also contributed, at certain moments, and with the help of the discursive and material power of colonialism and nationalism, to the construction of a monumentalized spatio-temporal realm; but their monumentality often clashed with (or was compromised by) the contingency of their historical and social milieu. Their agency shaped and produced the nation in the same way that the nation produced antiquities, not as fragments of the past, but as the archaeological record. The national *topos* structured and defined by antiquities had to be purified and cleansed, re-created, demarcated, and its material truths exhibited. Antiquities were thus separated from the web of daily life; they became the archaeological record, to be gazed at, admired, endlessly reproduced. The 'statues' are now 'in the museum', as the high priest of modern Greek poetry and letters in general, Giorgos Seferis, put it.[51] The nation produced an archaeological record, but it also produced a professional archaeological structure, which will in turn continue producing and reproducing the nation.

[51] In his *Sensual Elpenor* (collection 'Thrush'; see Seferis 1995).

In the construction of the monumental *topos* of the Hellenic nation, the role of non-Greek archaeologists and other scholars but also diasporic Hellenes was fundamental, often leading to serious tensions and clashes. Modern Greece was invented by a convergence of colonial and national processes. While colonial Europe may have invented modern Greece through the device of western Hellenism, and while it may have endowed the new institution with the colonial narratives of linear continuity, of boundedness, of racial and cultural hierarchies (features that will become the stock of many national narratives), the Hellenic national narrative was emancipated at the end of the nineteenth century. Western Hellenism may have shaped it, but it was the indigenous Hellenism that will prevail at the end of that century. Indigenous Hellenism proposed a spiritual and cultural continuity, rehabilitated Byzantium, formalized the links with Christian theology, and constructed a classical antiquity that was more at home in the Orthodox Christian east than in the Catholic and Protestant west. Now the engagement with antiquities came full circle: the soldier who dreamt of the Virgin Mary surrounded by ancient Greek soldiers was reconnecting with the pre-independence Christians who, despite what the Church said, often worshipped the statues of classical antiquity. Alas, this emancipated indigenous Hellenism was built on the inherited essentialisms of western Hellenism, the conservatism of romantic nationalism, and the messianic teleology and theology of Helleno-Christianism. Dreaming ruins. A few months after the dream of that soldier, the Greek army would withdraw from Asia Minor after a humiliating defeat, leaving behind them Smyrna in flames, ashes, ruins.

4

The Archaeologist as Shaman: the Sensory National Archaeology of Manolis Andronikos

> . . . going into beyond, returning from the beyond . . . To narrate means to speak here and now with an authority that derives from having been (literally or metaphorically) there and then. In participation of the world of the living and of the dead, in the sphere of the visible and the invisible, we have already recognized a distinctive trait of the human species
>
> Carlo Ginzburg (1991: 307).

The story of this chapter starts exactly where that of the last chapter finished: at the ashes of Smyrna, in Asia Minor in 1922. Among the thousands who left was a 3-year-old with his parents, who eventually settled in Thessaloniki. My own point of entry in this story, however, will be in a Thessaloniki church, Agia Sophia, 70 years later.

1 April 1992. A funeral. But not any funeral. A funeral for which the prime minister of the country, along with four senior ministers, flew in from Athens. A funeral for which the national flags were raised at half-mast all over Thessaloniki. A funeral for which thousands of people have been flocking to the church since 11 o'clock in the morning. The honoured dead is not a prominent statesman, a famous literary author, or poet. This is the funeral of Manolis Andronikos, the archaeologist. Newspapers announced the event under the title 'The Macedonian soil receives today its most passionate lover'. Dozens of motions were adopted in his honour, the city council decided to name a street and a cultural centre after him, banks and other organizations decided to institute prizes in his memory. A local MP, away in a visit to Washington, DC, telegraphed the

government minister for Macedonia and Thrace and suggested that 'since Manolis Andronikos has been identified with Macedonia, its history, its glory, and its defence against attackers', today, the day of his funeral, should be declared a day of public mourning for the whole of northern Greece. The Association of Archaeologists employed in the State Archaeological Service declared that:

> *[they] submit to the coffin of the teacher Manolis Andronikos [their] limitless respect and gratitude, the least they could do to honour him for his feat of enormous importance, a contribution that goes beyond the narrow boundaries of a scientific discovery, and gains social and national weight... The world of archaeology but also all Greek people, become poorer after the loss of Manolis Andronikos. His work was transmitted to our people and has awoken the historical memory. His democratic ideas, his deep knowledge of the Greek language, and his sensitivity to everything that comes from the people, but also his constant interaction with them, brought about the public appreciation and absorption of this work which is now common ownership of all Greeks, especially at this very moment, when our national issues are in such a critical stage, due to the attempted distortion of our history. The loss of Manolis Andronikos is unbearable for Culture and for Hellenism. Today that the Macedonian soil receives its worthy child, let it become clear in the consciousness of all those who are in doubt, that this soil will always offer its un-falsifiable testaments of its continuity; let Andronikos's work be the shining example to all*
>
> *from* Eleftherotypia, *1 April 1992*

Public funerals have always been dramatic and important events in Greek history, public performances of high emotion, rituals of collective grief, reassertions of the national community, political demonstrations, liturgies of resistance. It is, however, rare for such a ceremony to be the funeral of an archaeologist, despite their relatively high status in Greek society. Yet, Andronikos was/is not like any other archaeologist. In the pantheon of archaeologists in Greece he is up there at the top, far higher than any other. He became the national archaeologist *par excellence*, the only Greek archaeologist to have received so many honours, to have been featured on a postage stamp, to have had several statues commemorating his legacy in public places (Fig. 4.1),[1] to have received such wide publicity in the

[1] A statue of Andronikos can be seen in the room (named after him) at the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki (see Fig. 4.1); in 1994, a city council in the periphery of Thessaloniki decided to erect a monument to him comprising motifs

Fig. 4.1 A bronze statue of Manolis Andronikos at the Museum of Thessaloniki, dedicated by the Rotary Club of the city.

media and official and unofficial recognition, including the highest state honour, the Great Cross of the Phoenix, in 1992: in the official declaration of this prize, the state expressed 'the admiration, recognition, and the gratitude of the Nation for the work of tremendous historic and national importance, carried out by Professor Manolis Andronikos'[2] (Figs 4.1–4.4).

from Vergina (*Ta Nea,* 26 January 1994); finally, in 1997, exactly 5 years after his death, another monument was inaugurated in the park opposite the museum, and at the end of the street bearing his name (*Ta Nea,* 31 March 1997).

[2] Cf. the magazine *Tahydromos* (1 April 1992, 128–131).

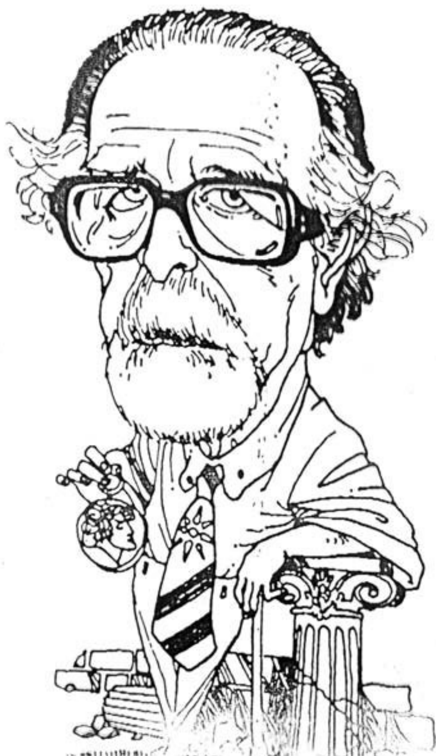

Fig. 4.2 A caricature of Manolis Andronikos by the cartoonist Spyros Ornerakis, published in the Greek newspaper, *Ta Nea*. Note the 'Vergina star or sun' on the tie, and the medal, which depicts a figure of Alexander the Great.

The extraordinary reactions after his death, however, were as much to do with its timing as with Andronikos's persona and work: the early 1990s in Greece witnessed the climax of the dispute between Greece and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) over the name of the latter, after it became an independent state following the break-up of Yugoslavia. The Greek state was, since the post-war years, quite nervous about the small country on its northern borders calling itself the Republic of Macedonia (an echo of the long-standing 'Macedonian issue', involving several south-east

Fig. 4.3 A postage stamp issued by the Greek state postal service in 1992, depicting Manolis Andronikos among finds from the Vergina tomb; note the 'Vergina star or sun' at the top left corner of the stamp.

European countries; cf. Danforth (1995), Mackridge and Yannakakis (1997), Roudometof (1998b), and Cowan (2000) for recent discussions)). The Macedonian Republic was not seen as an immediate threat before the break-up of Yugoslavia, especially since, in the international arena, it was the Federation rather than the Republic that was represented. After the break-up of Yugoslavia, however, the Greek state felt that the international recognition of a bordering state bearing the name of Macedonia constituted a serious threat, especially to its Greek province with the same name. The presence of an, as yet unrecognized by Greece, ethnic minority which identified itself as Macedonian within its borders, was seen as potential trigger for an expansionist campaign by FYROM. So the dispute revolved around the name of Macedonia, and by implication, the ethnic national character of the area, its history, and identity (cf. Silberman 1989: 12–29). The Greek national narrative would insist that Macedonia had always been Greek, and thus the naming of the Yugoslav state

Fig. 4.4 Illustration depicting Manolis Andronikos and published in the left-wing magazine, *Andi*, in 1992, immediately after his death. The figure is seated next to a depiction of the chest that contained the bones Andronikos believed to be those of Philip II, and holds a book that contains representations of the ivory heads that Andronikos identified as those of Philip and Alexander; these ivory heads were crucial in supporting his argument on the identification of the dead from the 'royal tombs'.

after it constitutes a theft of national 'property', heritage, and identity. And here is where Andronikos comes in: according to the Greek national narrative, it is the archaeological finds, the 'un-falsifiable testaments that come out of the Macedonian soil', as the statement above put it, that offer the strongest proof for the Hellenicity of the area. Andronikos was the man who brought all these testaments to light, with his excavations at the village of Vergina, 40 miles south-west of Thessaloniki. The project is perhaps the most widely

publicized excavation since the major digs of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Mycenae and Knossos. In 1977, Andronikos announced to the Greek public and to the world at large that at Vergina [which he considers to be Aegae, the sacred capital of ancient Macedonia, but see Faklaris (1994) and below], he unearthed a royal tomb, which he believed to be the tomb of Philip II of Macedonia, the father of Alexander the Great. His impressive finds of human skeletons and stunningly preserved golden objects found themselves at the centre of one of the most sensational archaeological stories ever told. It was these finds that became the national icons that would be reproduced endlessly.

One specific feature was destined to be the most crucial and the most controversial. The sixteen-ray 'sun or star of Vergina', a well-known decorative motif in the art of the period, found on the golden chest in the tomb that Andronikos called the 'tomb of Philip' (the chest that, he believed, contained his cremated bones), was unknown until then beyond the circle of archaeologists and other specialists. From the late 1970s onwards, and as the dispute over Macedonia intensified, this motif became extremely popular, almost to the point of becoming an unofficial national crest and symbol, in both Greece and the Yugoslav Republic. Countless commercial adverts, logos, shopfronts, T-shirts, pins, medals, and posters, were carrying it, along with its official endorsement in a 100-drachma Greek coin with the head of Alexander on one face and the 'sun' on the other, on postage stamps, and on official campaign posters distributed throughout Greece and abroad. The 'sun' also featured in unofficial flags (cf. Fig. 4.5), most prominently paraded in demonstrations attended by many thousands of people in Greece, in FYROM, and particularly in centres of the Greek and Macedonian diasporas, such as Toronto and Melbourne (cf. Danforth 1995, 2003). The only difference was that Greek demonstrations featured a flag with the 'sun' on a blue background, whereas the Macedonian ones featured the same symbol on a red background. In August 1992 this was adopted as the official national flag of FYROM, resulting in the intensification of the dispute, and the adoption on the part of Greece of an economic embargo which was devastating for FYROM.

This is the moment at which Andronikos's funeral took place, that is a few months before that last escalation of the dispute. According

Fig. 4.5 A Greek flag (far left) decorated with the 'Vergina star or sun', along with another one featuring only the star in a blue background; the flags were being sold at a Vergina tourist shop, close to the 'royal tombs'.

to statements by politicians and organizations, Andronikos was the person who provided 'ammunition' for a counterattack against the threat from the north, the state which was distorting history, stealing the soul of Greece ('our name is our soul', was a popular slogan at the time), appropriating its national symbols. Andronikos and his finds that came out of the Macedonian soil, the national narrative goes, proved that Macedonia was Greek, that the area is linked with the rest of the Hellenic territory, and is at the centre of Hellenism. The national narrative, therefore, has come a long way since the rejection of Philip and of the Macedonian heritage by national intellectuals such as Rangavis, who saw Philip as the conqueror of Greece and one of its worst enemies (the first in the long list of invaders), whose greatest crime was to father Alexander the Great (see Chapter 3). Now, both Philip and Alexander are at the centre of the national imagination. Of course their initial rehabilitation had already happened at the end of the nineteenth century as part of the invention of indigenous Hellenism and Paparrigopoulos's synthesis. In 1913 northern Greece became part of the national territory, and its

Macedonian classical heritage part of the heritage of the area (as a signifier of local identity) and of the country as a whole. But it was after Andronikos's discoveries that this heritage began to occupy centre stage in the national discourse and imagination.

These political contingencies alone, however, cannot adequately explain Andronikos's appeal and role in Greek society. A closer look at his life and work will not only contribute to the understanding of a key figure in the archaeological and, more broadly, public arena, but more importantly, it will provide a lens through which we can revisit the workings of the national imagination and its links with archaeological practice and discourse. Moreover, this exploration will help rethink the entanglement of Andronikos's archaeological work with the national disputes outlined above. Andronikos was not a 'typical' archaeologist, nor is there an intention here to present him acting as a representative of archaeologists in Greece. Nor does this chapter subscribe to the 'history as-the-life-of-great-men' idea. The decision to focus on his life and work has to do with the realization that he was the embodiment of national archaeology, a figure through which a portrait of a national-archaeological imagination can be produced (cf. Herzfeld 1997). As I will try to show, Andronikos was instrumental in bringing about a further modification of the national-archaeological narrative, perhaps the most important since the invention of indigenous Hellenism in the mid to late nineteenth century: the *material* incorporation of northern Greece into the imaginary *topos* of Hellenism. But his case does not simply elucidate the links between archaeology and national imagination, be it in Greece or elsewhere; more importantly, it helps us rethink the relationship between archaeology and modernity, and perhaps reconsider the current assumption that archaeology has been a primarily modernist enterprise. As I already intimated in Chapter 3, and as I will show further in this chapter, while this is partly correct, archaeology, especially when linked closely to the national project, shares many of the features of pre-modern thinking and practice. In this chapter I am not interested in examining the validity and the epistemological status of the various archaeological controversies that have emerged after Andronikos's discoveries, such as, for example, whether the tomb he discovered is that of Philip II or not. These controversies will be discussed only to the extent that they constitute

important aspects of the main focus, and to the extent that they illuminate the intersection between scholarly and social phenomena.

THE JOURNEY FROM THE 'OTHER SHORE'

Manolis Andronikos was born in 1919 at Prousa (Bursa) in Asia Minor (present-day Turkey), his father was from the island of Samos and his mother from Imvros. He was 3 years old when he followed the thousands of others who left Smyrna behind them in flames; his family settled in Thessaloniki. His attachment to the place, which the national imagination considered (until 1922) part of the territory of Hellenism, is evident in its frequent invocations in his writings; he would often call it, citing Giorgos Seferis, 'the other shore' (*I alli akrogialiá*; cf. Andronikos 1974a,b). Imvros, his mother's homeland, another 'unredeemed' fatherland for some national accounts, would be the subject of his first academic publication at the age of 19 (Andronikos 1938); the topic, a study of folk songs from the island.

In Thessaloniki, his first neighbourhood was the city centre, opposite the university and very close to such important landmarks and monuments as the Rotonda, a Roman and later Christian and Muslim monument, and Kamara, the fourth-century AD Arch of Galerius. He attended the school of humanities in Thessaloniki's Aristotelian University, following its broad curriculum from ancient and modern Greek to Latin, folklore studies, and archaeology. He soon became an acolyte of Konstantinos Romaios, the Professor of Archaeology who had already started excavating at the site of Vergina. He went to Vergina for the first time in 1937, when the dictator Ioannis Metaxas was in power (see Chapter 5). After graduating in 1941 he was posted in Thrace to teach in a secondary school, a posting of his choosing, since he had planned to escape occupied Greece from the Evros border, through Turkey. He joined the Greek resistance forces operating from the Middle East, and returned to post-war (and soon civil-war) Greece; after a short spell as a teacher in secondary education he successfully sat the exams for the archaeological service in 1947, and was appointed as curator of antiquities at Veroia, the area of which Vergina was archaeologically part. He first attempted to investigate the large human-made mound called

'Megali Toumba' in 1952, but was forced to abandon it as the search yielded no significant results. That first attempt, however, was crucial in implanting in him what he called 'the secret of Megali Toumba'; he noted much later: 'I was dreaming of it since the moment I did the first test in 1952' (Andronikos 1997: 7). Meanwhile, he had already submitted his doctoral dissertation on Platonic ideas on art (Andronikos 1952), and, along with his continuing excavation at Vergina (in the Iron Age cemetery and the Hellenistic 'palace'), he spent 2 years in Oxford, studying with J. Beazley. In 1958 he was elected assistant professor and in 1961 full professor at the University of Thessaloniki. He returned to 'Megali Toumba' in 1962 and 1963, but with no further success, and for the next 10 years he was involved primarily in writing a number of works, including chapters on ancient Greek art for the *History of the Greek Nation*, the monumental multi-volume work of the Academy of Athens, aimed at providing an up-to-date version of the national narrative; he also completed a large volume on Greek archaeological museums. In the first year after the fall of the Colonels' dictatorship (1967–74) he was involved in a number of state committees aimed at restructuring and democratizing the state institutions. Finally, in 1976, he returned to 'Megali Toumba', where in 1977 he made his dramatic discovery of the two tombs (and a further one in 1978), one of which was the unrobbed tomb that he would call the tomb of Philip II. The discovery was widely reported internationally and Andronikos, a well-known archaeologist by any means, became from that point onwards a major celebrity and the national archaeologist of Greece. His excavation received unprecedented funding, thanks to the intervention of the then Prime Minister, Konstantinos Karamanlis, a native of Greek Macedonia himself.

Andronikos was much more than an archaeologist, however. Even before his discoveries, he was a public intellectual who had participated in the production and reproduction of the national self in a number of different ways. He was a regular columnist in one of the most respected high-circulation newspapers (*To Vima*), writing on a variety of issues, not simply archaeological; he was also publishing regularly in various popular magazines.[3] He sat on a number of

[3] Cf. Andronikos (1976a, 1982a, 1993, 1994), for collections of his newspaper and magazine articles.

committees of cultural institutions, and he was regularly invited to comment and speak on matters such as language and its role, art and literature, and education. Through his writings and his work, he linked himself to national history and national destiny in diverse ways. Although primarily a classical archaeologist, he had studied and written on all periods of Greek history, from prehistory to the present. His second publication, following the one on the folk songs from Imvros mentioned above, was on an inscription from a Byzantine church (1940). His engagement with *laographia* dates from the days of his apprenticeship under Konstantinos Romaios (Andronikos 1997: 32), for whom it was a major preoccupation; in so doing, he was also following the nineteenth-century tradition that sees archaeology and *laographia* as closely linked in their patriotic duty to prove national continuity through the study of monuments, be it monuments of the word or material monuments (cf. Herzfeld 1982a; Chapter 3). At the same time, Andronikos's deep respect for and reconciliation with Byzantium (as discussed in Chapter 3, a contentious period for much of the nineteenth century, and one that few classical archaeologists would consider as worthy of study) is evident in his writings. During his visit to Istanbul for the 10th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, he visited the church of Agia Sophia, the iconic monument of Byzantine heritage:

> When I entered for the first time and stood underneath the dome, a thunderbolt struck me, shattering me into a thousand pieces; no; it was not the Parthenon and Saint Peter, and the gothic cathedrals and whatever else I had seen or dreamt of in my life. It is the miracle that you do not see but once in your life, the unspoken that only those who can see it, can live its mystic transformation. Beyond that, there is silence. I only know that now Byzantium has been rehabilitated for good inside me; and I dare not try any comparison or interpretation.

Andronikos wrote these lines in the newspaper *To Vima* in January 1974 (Andronikos 1974b). For him Hellenism, past and present, prehistoric, classical, and Byzantine, the folk songs and the ancient artefacts, mainland Greece, Greek Anatolia, and Cyprus are one; the continuity of the Hellenic spirit is beyond dispute. His place of birth and his upbringing, his participation in key historical moments of the Hellenic nation, from the Asia Minor adventure (which links him

with the nineteenth century and the Great Idea), to the Second World War and the resistance, and the support of democracy during and after the Colonels' coup,[4] his broad education in all aspects of Hellenic culture, his engagement with all its different periods, his ability to investigate such sacred themes for the national imagination as folk songs, classical monuments, Byzantine monuments, but also modern poetry and art, his ability to be both a scholar (and a charismatic teacher) and a public communicator and intellectual, they all made him the indisputable advocate of indigenous Hellenism. He was the person chosen, it seemed to him and to many others, by destiny to embody Hellenism in all its facets. Andronikos was seen as the obvious person to deliver speeches such as the 1977 official speech in the ceremonies by the University of Thessaloniki to celebrate the Greek War of Independence. In that speech, entitled *History and Poetry* (Andronikos 1982a), he attempted a synthetic account of the national destiny from the Persian wars to the invasion of Cyprus by the Turkish army in 1974, by addressing the links between poetry and national history. He invoked the notion of national unity, which he saw expressed for the first time after the victory in the battle of Salamis. And he continued:

> The centuries passed heavy through the history of the Hellenes, who reached once the depths of Persia and spread their language and their seeds as far as India. Greek kingdoms ruled the whole of the East. And again human destiny brought about the loss of their freedom and their subjugation under the Romans... [Following the Byzantium years] again the Asiatic steppes sent towards the Mediterranean coasts new ethnic groups. One of them conquered the state of Byzantium and subjugated all people under a disgraceful and tyrannical rule; [he continued with the War of Independence, the Second World War, and Cyprus].
>
> Andronikos (1982a: 19–20)

[4] Andronikos, unlike many other university professors who were fired or resigned from the university during the military dictatorship of 1967–74, kept his post. But in some of his texts, we can detect covert critique and resistance to the regime. For example, in an article published in *To Vima* on 26 April 1973 (that is, a few days after the anniversary of the colonels' coup (21 April)), he deals with the Christian theme of crucifixion and resurrection, invoking covertly the 'resurrection' of the Greek people after their 'crucifixion' by the regime (Andronikos 1973).

This role of the spokesperson that embodied indigenous Hellenism became much more prominent after the 1977 discovery, and acquired new characteristics. Even at other, less obvious occasions, Andronikos was again the main speaker. In May 1941 two resistance fighters in Nazi-occupied Athens, Manolis Glezos and Lakis Sandas, removed the swastika from the Athenian Acropolis in a highly symbolic act of ritual purification of the most sacred specimen of the Hellenic national imagination (cf. Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999). That event, which attracted wide publicity internationally and was seen as marking the start of active resistance against the occupation forces, was commemorated in the 1990s with the instalment of a plaque on the Acropolis by resistance organizations. The main speaker in the event was Manolis Andronikos, the archaeologist who embodied the association of archaeological monuments with the nation and national history from antiquity to the present, and with resistance, be it the resistance against the Nazi occupation in the 1940s or the resistance against the perceived threat from the northern Yugoslav state. He noted in his speech:

> These hard and at the same time tender stones have kept countless memories; from the mythical Erechtheus, to Makrygiannis and Gouras, feet of brave and free men stepped upon them, as did feet of despots and conquerors . . . [5]

This passage, or better, Andronikos's pronouncement of this passage on the Acropolis, in front of the commemorative plaque, the national flag, and the surviving resistance fighters, situates the commemorated event in the narrative of the nation, and makes it yet another episode in the long history of conquest and resistance; but it does more than that: evoking recent phenomenological approaches to place, memory, and materiality (e.g. Seremetakis 1994a; Casey 1996; Feld and Basso 1996; Hamilakis 1998), it speaks of the mnemonic qualities of ancient stones, of their power to preserve the memories of people that touched them. As I will discuss later, the sensory reception of the past was one of main themes in Andronikos's life and work; the other key themes that form his national-archaeological nexus are dreaming, sacredness, and death and war. It is to those themes that I will now turn.

[5] The speech was published in the magazine *Andistasi* (13, 1990, p. 1).

THE DREAM

Recall that the 'secret of Megali Toumba' was something that Andronikos dreamed of for more than 20 years. The notion of dreaming seemed to have been central in his life, work, and imagination. In his posthumously published memoir of his discovery, Andronikos revealed that he had dreamt of finding something unique, something 'rich in objects as well as information' (1997: 83). After his discovery of the unrobbed tomb, he noted: 'For me, the great dream of my life, the dream for 25 years, to find the tomb of 'Megali Toumba' intact, was becoming reality' (1997: 111). But this was not just a figure of speech, a metaphor. Dreaming as an actual process occupies a key position in his memoirs; after the discovery of the first robbed tomb in 'Megali Toumba' he could not contain his disappointment that, despite the impressive painting that the tomb contained, due to the robbing he could not prove that he had found a royal tomb:

> ...as I remember, I used to dream very little then, unlike my collaborators who would dream daily of royal tombs, full of unbelievable rich objects and ornaments. The landlord and foreman of the excavation woke up one night, took pen and paper and drew the tomb which he had dreamed; it was, he said, very big, it had a main chamber and an ante-chamber, and in front of its façade, something like a built road; as for its contents, it was impossible to put it on paper; it was something from a fairy tale. And it was not just my collaborators whose expectations had been transformed into hopeful dreams; the workmen of the excavation would often narrate to me similar dreams, even the other villagers had been infected by the same disease, if we could call disease everybody's desire to find something that I was daydreaming for many years. I, however, did not see such a beautiful dream myself. It seemed that I was waiting to see it in daylight
>
> Andronikos (1997: 96)

After he had discovered the tomb and while still in the field, he received a letter from a woman in the USA, unknown to him. This letter, he says, was a tremendous surprise to him. It read:

Dear Professor,

the night of 17th to 18th of November, between 12 and 3 in the morning, I saw a dream. A man told me: 'In northern Greece, the tomb of Philip, King of

> Macedonia and father of Alexander the Great was found; and what treasures!' When I woke up in the morning, I took the local paper and there I read a short telegram from Athens, which read 'In northern Greece a tomb was found which is probably that of the King of Macedonia, Philip'. Between my dream and the telegram, there were two differences. In the telegram it said probably, whereas in my dream, the man was categorically certain....
>
> Ps: Although not part of my dream, I have the sense that in the complex of the same tomb, there is a second, smaller skeleton of a baby or woman. This is an intuition, not part of my dream
>
> Andronikos (1997: 185–6).

Andronikos makes much of this, devoting two pages in his chronicle to it. He is particularly surprised that the letter was sent before he made his official announcements, and before he entered the antechamber where the second skeleton was found. But more important for him seemed to be the categorical confirmation (in the correspondent's dream) that the tomb is that of Philip (an issue that, when Andronikos was writing these lines, was highly contested among archaeologists). If the woman from America had the ability to foresee the recovery of the second skeleton, then perhaps, she had the abilities to confirm the identity of the dead too? Andronikos was quick to add that he did not 'believe in superstitions and all that', but he could not explain the letter and the issues it raised (1997: 186).

Andronikos says that he did not use to see any dreams, yet he describes a nightmare in the first agonizing days of this 1977 season at 'Megali Toumba':

> In the evenings, when I was lying in the small room where I was staying, I used to shut my eyes trying to catch some sleep. Sometimes, half-awake half-asleep, a nightmare used to come and fill me with agony: when I was extending my arm towards the wall, I was seeing myself in the bottom of the trench with its wall against me and ready to fall on me. I would wake up upset. When again I was extending my arm in the opposite direction, the reverse image would fill me with horror: I was imagining being at the brink of the trench which was lying in front of me scaringly wide open and ready to suck me up
>
> Andronikos (1997: 70)

Dreams of treasure, a common theme in Greek popular culture (cf. Stewart 2003), due partly perhaps to the widespread publicity reserved for impressive archaeological finds especially involving

golden artefacts, can be seen, as Stewart (2003) has suggested, as forms of unconscious historicization: as attempts to relate to the past and produce thus personal and collective identities, to visualize and conjure up into consciousness material history (cf. also Chapter 3). Through dreaming, or rather the narrating of dreaming, autobiographical time is linked with historical time, personal experience becomes part of collective national experience. The dreamers of archaeological national treasures do not simply situate themselves within the body of national history, they do not simply relate their personal lives and experiences to that of the nation, collapsing thus time, and minimizing the distance of millennia: more importantly, they become active agents in the production of national history by revealing the spots that hide the treasures, knowledge that was revealed to them during their dreaming. Andronikos's nightmare of falling or being sucked in by his archaeological trench speaks perhaps of his anxiety and his self-rhetoric of himself faced by the tragic moment of destiny, but his narration of the workmen and other collaborators' dreams are of equal or more interest. These dreams may fit the pattern of dreaming of treasures as unconscious historicization, the dreamers' strategy of relating to the archaeological past that was revealed before their eyes daily, their efforts to establish links with it and contribute to its unearthing. Andronikos interprets these dreams as the local people's desire for these treasures to be unearthed; a desire not perhaps just of the workmen and local people, but also, it seemed to some, a desire of the finds, artefacts, and treasures themselves to be brought to light, to be resurrected; here is what a local author wrote (in a book chapter first appearing in a local paper) about this very same site, largely unexcavated besides some of the tombs and the 'palace' (Martos 1993: 139): [the city of Aegae] 'for decades now, tries painfully to break the earthly membrane that surrounds it and be reborn'.

This is the desire that Andronikos will satisfy with his discovery, fulfilling thus his destiny and his obligations to both history and the people. As the narration of the dream of the American woman indicates, however, Andronikos also believed in the ability of 'simple' people to know the truth, to communicate with the dead more directly, and it seemed to him perhaps that dreaming was one way by which that truth was revealed to them. That belief of the

authenticity of the 'pure folk' will surface again later, when he will become tormented with the identification of the dead of 'Megali Toumba'.

'THE CHEST WITH THE HOLY RELICS'

In the last chapter I showed that once antiquities came to occupy such a central position in the national imagination from the nineteenth century onwards, they became invested with sacred qualities. The notion of sacredness seems to be an important element in Andronikos's thinking and work. A key theme in his accounts of the opening of the undisturbed tomb was that it took place (as it turned out, by planning on his behalf; see note 7) on 8 November, the day that the Greek Orthodox Church celebrates Saints Michael and Gabriel, the gatekeepers of the underworld:[6]

> Today, 8th of November, the Orthodox Church honours the archangels Michael and Gabriel, the lords of the underworld. This was meant to be the day, ten years ago, that we opened an undisturbed tomb at Vergina, the tomb that it is now certain that it belongs to Philip II, the world famous king of Macedonia . . .
>
> Andronikos (1987)

This statement is repeated not only in popular accounts such as the above, but also in semi-scholarly publications, such as the only synthetic book on the 'Royal tombs' written by Andronikos.[7] The implications here are obvious. The staging of the opening to coincide with that date, and its repeated invocation in popular and semi-scholarly accounts, speaks of the deliberate attempt to link the find with the Christian calendar and beliefs: Andronikos's 'journey' to the underworld merged the national and the religious narratives: the classical past provides plentiful stories of descents to the world of the dead, with the most famous perhaps being the one attempted by

[6] See, for example, Andronikos (1978).

[7] 'The opening of the tomb was planned for 8 November, the day that the Orthodox church celebrates the memory of Archangels Michael and Gabriel' (Andronikos 1984: 69). As indicated by this passage (see also Andronikos 1997: 115), the day was not accidental: the opening was deliberately planned to coincide with that date.

Odysseus, and narrated by Homer in the *Odyssey* (Book XI). The sacralization of the past with the merging of Christianity and antiquity, a project that started in the nineteenth century, is re-staged and reproduced here, in the arena of Vergina.[8]

But these invocations of sacredness extend to many other occasions, and are not always linked explicitly to Christianity; on the restitution of the Parthenon marbles Andronikos wrote:

> [T]he request for the restitution of the Parthenon sculptures is based upon a simple and undisputed argument: these sculptures belong to the most sacred monument of this country, the temple of Athena, which expresses the essence of the Greek spirit and incorporates the deepest nature of the Athenian democracy
>
> Andronikos (1983)

He expressed emotions of religious respect and piety towards his own finds at Vergina. Here is how he describes the moment of opening the golden chest found in the unrobbed tomb and thought by him to contain the cremated bones of Philip II:

> Full of religious piety and respect we are standing in front of that sacred relic, as a Christian would stand in front of the relics of a saint
>
> Andronikos (1997: 142)

At the occasion of the visit of a group of archaeologists from the University of Thessaloniki, he describes how, upon seeing the chest with the bones, one of them:

> . . . was, spontaneously, ready to cross himself, and only at the last minute he held himself back. This was what we all felt; we had the impression that we are in front of a chest with holy relics
>
> Andronikos (1997: 146)

And responding to a commentator who criticized his 'disturbance of the dead':

[8] Many years earlier, on 15 December 1940, Andronikos's mentor, K. A. Romaios sent a letter to the prominent American Aegean prehistorian Carl Blegen. In the middle of the Greek–Italian war, after Italy's invasion in October that year, Romaios narrated the fierce resistance of the Greek army on the Albanian front, and concluded: 'Dreams have become reality [*pragmata ta oneira*]. The ancient heroes, the defenders of freedom were resurrected, but today they are called Virgin Mary and Saint Dimitrios. That is why our people win and will stay winners until the end' (University of Cincinnati Archives, Carl W. Blegen Papers, Folder 121, Box 1).

I can assure you all that one day – I would like to believe not a very distant one – Philip's skeleton will be placed in a case worthy of him, in front of or in his tomb if possible, for a truly pious pilgrimage

Andronikos (1988a)[9]

'Grave sites, ancestors, and nation-state formation are interconnected', Katherine Verdery (1999) noted with reference to the study of the 'dead-body politic' in former Yugoslavia, an observation that resonates with various examples discussed in this book. In the passages above, the dead body found in that tomb of Vergina, a body that was identified with certainty as that of Philip II of Macedonia, inspires piety and religious respect; in fact, it becomes elevated to the status of the holy relics of a new saint, a national, not strictly religious saint.[10] To the critic who, evoking an argument well known from the recent debates on the ethics of the treatment of dead bodies by archaeologists and anthropologists (especially in the USA, Australia and New Zealand, and, increasingly, Europe), Andronikos responds with a disarming argument: the dead person has not been disturbed by a 'cold' scientist in the pursuit of scientific truth; he has been reconnected with his national family, and will be from now on venerated and worshiped appropriately. From the moment of its discovery, this body will start its new political life.

THE ENDLESS WAR AND THE IMMORTAL DEATH

Andronikos spent most of his archaeological career dealing with death, investigating burials and writing about them. His major,

[9] For Andronikos, these religious sentiments towards antiquities were shared by the workmen who were employed in the excavations: 'Genuinely moved, and with admiration and satisfaction, they recover with extreme caution, I would say with religious piety and fear, the antiquities hidden in their land' (Andronikos 1982b). 'We regard Vergina as a holy place', the deputy mayor of the village said to *The Guardian* newspaper (12 August 1993), in justifying his opposition to the planned visit by the deposed King of Greece, and continued: 'How can a man like [King] Constantine, who doesn't even recognize our constitution, possibly pay homage to this place?'

[10] Recall the practice of digging for saints' relics in the Middle Ages, a phenomenon that has already been connected to the prehistory of modernist archaeology (Schnapp 1996).

internationally known work before his discovery at Vergina was a book on the burial customs during the Iron Age, linking the Homeric epics with the archaeological finds (Andronikos 1968), and of course his great moment involved the recovery of a burial. But along with death, war and warfare featured prominently too: after all, it was due to the Asia Minor War that Andronikos, when only 3 years old, had to become a refugee and emigrate to Greek Macedonia. Some of his formative years were spent during the Second World War and, like most people of his generation, he lived through the traumatic Civil War years (1946–49).

Philip II and especially Alexander the Great are associated primarily in the modern imagination with wars. Some of his impressive finds from 'the tomb of Philip' and some of the most well known and widely reproduced are objects that evoke (or are related to) warfare: an iron helmet, swords and other weapons, a cuirass and greaves. But the most prominent connotation of warfare is an indirect one: Andronikos, according to the national narrative, provided the 'weapons' for the defence of Greek Macedonia against the threats by those who question its Greek identity, as the passage at the beginning of this chapter indicates: in the words of the Thessaloniki MP, Andronikos and his finds are inextricably linked to the 'defence of Macedonia against its attackers'.[11] In the grand, international travelling exhibitions that followed the discovery,[12] such as 'The Search for Alexander' in the early 1980s (cf. Yalouris *et al.* 1980), 'Macedonia: from the Mycenaean times to the death of Alexander the Great' in the late 1980s, and the 'Greek Civilization, Macedonia, the Kingdom of Alexander the Great' in the early 1990s (Vokotopoulou 1993), the Vergina finds held a prominent position, and led a cultural offensive, a counter-attack against the perceived attacks on the Hellenicity of Macedonia. That

[11] It is worth noting that Andronikos, in a text published a few months before his great discoveries, treated with irony the attempt to send antiquities abroad as 'cultural ambassadors' of the nation (1977a,b,c).

[12] A legal act introduced in 1977 (Petrakos 1982: 85) made travelling exhibitions of antiquities (outside Greece) much easier to organize than before, despite the serious opposition. The need to show the Vergina finds internationally had, for obvious reasons, a significant impact in changing the legal framework. Green (1989: 155) suggests that this was due to the personal lobbying by the then Prime Minister, K. Karamanlis.

last exhibition's success was announced in the Greek press with the title, 'Alexander the Great, Conqueror of Canada too'.[13]

THE MAN WHO COULD SEE WITH HIS TOUCH

Andronikos was a professional archaeologist who followed the career of many archaeologists of this generation from the State Archaeological Service to a university position. He also often appealed to criteria of objectivity and professional standards. Yet, even before his discovery he advocated a different archaeological canon, a canon that emphasized the experiential reception of the past, the sensory and somatic perception of its materiality (cf. Seremetakis 1994b). Examples of this philosophical position are scattered throughout his popular *and* scholarly writings:

> The time of the archaeological research is the 'inhabited' time, that time that is not recorded with astronomic precision, but with cultural completion . . . The tactile and visible image of historical time is composed of countless relics of human creation . . . In other words, the archaeologist sees and touches the content of history; this means that he perceives in a sensory manner the metaphysical truth of historical time . . .
>
> Andronikos (1972)

> The understanding of works of art requires more than the knowledge gained from the literature, it demands the long and intimate familiarization with these works, together with what the Germans call 'Einfühlung' and the Anglosaxons 'Empathy'
>
> Andronikos (1980b: 359)

> The archaeologist does not approach the ancient world with the mind, or rather only with the mind. She/he has a connection, I would say, bodily . . .
>
> Andronikos (1982b)

> [we archaeologists] touch, almost always, with our own fingers the trace, not the unknown or non-existent King of Asine,[14] but the real human

[13] *To Vima*, 23 May 1993.

[14] The reference is to the well-known eponymous poem by the Nobel Laureate Giorgos Seferis (see Keeley and Sherrard 1981: 109–111).

being, with its joys and sorrows, its hopes and pains . . . We believe that we are obliged to stay cold and rational arbitrators of the scientific truth that we serve, devoid of sentimental – and therefore non-professional – procrastination.

If, however, at some moment, we could rid ourselves from these – scholarly? – obligations and approach in a humane way, I would say poetically, some monuments of the past, if, instead of framing them within the cold schemata of our conceptual constructions, we see or read them as images and voices of a human being who sees and talks to us from the depths of time, we could perhaps gain much more, and thus help the present-day people, ourselves, so that we would not feel lonely and lost in the chaos of centuries and the non-stopping flow of countless human beings

Andronikos (1988c)

This embodied relationship that Andronikos had with the material past is evoked in many of the texts and speeches that celebrated his memory. For example, a university archaeology professor and student of Andronikos, in a symposium organized by the university to celebrate his memory, entitled her talk 'The man who spoke with history',[15] while a well-known author and public commentator devoted his essay (in a special issue of a literary magazine devoted to Andronikos) to his hands, which signified his tactile communication with the material past.[16]

Empathy, emotional attachment, and a somatic connection with the people of the past and their material culture, were for Andronikos important in the process of an archaeology that has clear purpose and meaning in the present, an archaeology that saves present-day people from their alienating feelings, establishing a collective embodied identity in a chaotic world. For Andronikos, the embodied, emotional relationship with the past, much more important than the intellectual engagement with it, made archaeology relevant for present-day people, not only because it presented in front of them a living, animated, and therefore intimate and emotive past, but more importantly, because it provided them (including the archaeologist) with a sense of a direct, embodied intimate link with the ancestors, a sense of

[15] Speech by A. Papaefthymiou-Papanthimou at a symposium in May 1993; the event was reported in *To Vima* (23 May 1993) under the same title.

[16] K. Georgousopoulos (1995) in a text with the revealing title: 'The touch that could see'.

personal and collective identity, in this case an embodied national identity; it provided a rescue from loneliness, a sense of meaningful existence, a sense of *destiny* in a chaotic, timeless universe. As was noted already, archaeology is much more important to the nation than, say, history, because of its ability to create, through materiality, bodily and sensory engagements with the past. Andronikos is perhaps the first important Greek archaeological figure to not only have fully realized this potential, but to have made it a key aspect of his archaeological work, a work that was primarily addressed to a public and popular audience and less to the archaeological community.

And it was a work that has been received enthusiastically by its intended audience, as the countless expressions of public veneration towards him indicate. On 22 November 1993, I attended in Athens one of the commemorative ceremonies devoted to Andronikos, organized by a private school. The ceremony, entitled 'Macedonia-Andronikos' started with the Byzantine hymn '*Ti Ypermaho*' (a hymn that has acquired national and mostly military connotations in Greece) and continued with speeches on Andronikos and his finds by archaeologists and others: a key element in this hagiography was the notion that Andronikos 'animated in front of our eyes the deeds of the kings' and that 'you had the feeling that you were seeing alive' in front of you the actions of the people.[17]

THE MOMENT OF DESTINY

The moment of destiny for Andronikos was 8 November 1977. It was a moment which, he admitted, he had been dreaming about for 25 years. In one of his daydreams, he says, he was thinking of the most impressive Macedonian finds and 'was hoping that ours will be a bit more rich, a bit more beautiful' (Andronikos 1997: 116). It was a moment that he was determined to live. The finding of a very

[17] The event was organized by students and alumni of the Kalpaka School at Athens, and was hosted at the building of the Greek American Union. The main speaker was the archaeologist Mary Siganidou, the Ephor responsible for the area of Vergina during Andronikos's discoveries, and excavator of another very important Macedonian site, Pella.

important archaeological monument, of an undisturbed, unique tomb extremely rich in finds, a hugely important archaeological event, was no doubt the culmination of a life-long dedication to the site of Vergina, and especially the 'Megali Toumba', a site that he knew intimately and had experienced in a fully sensory and embodied way. At the same time, that moment of destiny was something that he himself had choreographed and staged, from the day of the opening of the tomb (so that it could fall on the day of the saints of the underworld) to the 'ceremonial' procedure that the opening followed (cf. Andronikos 1997: 120) and the public announcement of the finds, a few days later.

Despite his earlier doubts, in 1976 Andronikos (while he was excavating at 'Megali Toumba') adopted Hammond's (1972) position that the capital of ancient Macedonia, Aegae, was at Vergina and not in Edessa as was previously thought (Andronikos 1997: 60–65). From that point onwards Andronikos expected to find royal tombs under the 'Megali Toumba' (110 m in diameter and 12 m in height). He announced his hypothesis in his newspaper column (as well as in a scholarly journal), raising public expectations by suggesting that 'now our expectations from the excavation can be exceptional. Even the unbelievable hope that the huge mound hides tombs of Macedonian kings, now finds its theoretical foundation' (Andronikos 1976b). From that point onwards a huge public performance was set up: the whole nation was watching Andronikos, and he knew it. The 1977 season had not started well, and he was about to give up, as he was not finding what he was looking for. He was finding, however, broken marble tombstones which he soon linked to the Gallic army (mercenaries of King Pyrrhus of Epirus) which looted the Macedonian royal tombs in 272 BC. But nothing more. Some colleagues started mocking him ('Manoli, when you find the tomb, let us know', one said to him; Andronikos 1997: 72), but he persisted, until he discovered the first tomb, robbed but with an impressive wall painting, depicting the abduction of Persephone by the god of the underworld, Hades. Andronikos was disappointed: 'the wall paintings showed that it was not an ordinary tomb, but there was no proof that it was royal' (Andronikos 1997: 95). But things then started changing. Next to the first tomb he uncovered a 'heroon', a structure which he linked to the worship of the dead, which made

him think that the people buried in a tomb nearby must be important enough to be worshiped as gods. Then, and while the whole village was dreaming tombs full of treasures, the discovery of a second tomb with an impressive wall painting on its façade portraying a hunt scene, raised expectations further, especially when Andronikos suggested that the central figure in the painting must be Alexander the Great. Based on that, and on dating from other evidence, he concluded that he was finding royal tombs of the era of Alexander, and of Philip II, his father, and the most famous Macedonian after him. But Alexander was buried in Alexandria, Egypt, and within that timeframe, only Philip II and Philip III Arrhidaios, an unheroic and ignored successor, had died. When it was revealed that the tomb was undisturbed, Andronikos 'was deeply happy' (Andronikos 1997: 112). The most important thing for him at that moment was the fact that the tomb was undisturbed, that he would be able to touch and feel the dead as they were left on the day of burial, to sense history with his own body:

> That moment, I was not interested in anything else, nor on whether the tomb was royal . . . I was content with the fact that I had found a Macedonian tomb in which, once opened, we were going to find the dead untouched, together with the burial offerings, as they were left in the day of the burial. A Macedonian tomb ten meters in length! It was unbelievable, yet it was true
>
> Andronikos (1997: 113)

The opening was planned for 8 November; a whole range of dignitaries were invited: the leader of the county council, the vice chancellor of the university, Andronikos's colleagues from his department, the head of the archaeological service in the area, the police, and many visitors (Andronikos 1997: 115–116). After a sleepless night, Andronikos (deploying an old trick used by grave robbers) ordered the removal of a stone from the roof, and then, in a moment that cited Howard Carter and his discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun, in a moment with clear cinematic connotations, Andronikos, deeply shaken, shone from the opening his torch light into the tomb; after the initial disappointment as part of the tomb was empty, he shed his light on to a plethora of golden, silver, and other finds, weapons, a marble sarcophagus, and many more. Then he stood up

and gave the torch to a whole series of people in a strict hierarchical order, starting with his assistants (Andronikos 1997: 119). He afterwards went down into the tomb for a first inspection, and after its photographic recording, he returned with his assistants to start the removal of the finds. Another highly emotive moment came when he opened the sarcophagus to find a golden chest: in it the burnt cremated bones of the dead were finally revealed: Andronikos was overcome with religious piety and emotion, standing in front of the chest, 'like a Christian, in front of the holy relics of a saint' (Andronikos 1997: 142). In the following days he used to stay up all night to look at some small ivory heads from the tomb; he was convinced from the start that two of them depicted Philip II and his son Alexander. The first time he saw them in the tomb he 'lost it; I put them down. I held myself with my two hands and looked at them again; I am not a kid anymore to start screaming, but inside me I could hear trumpets . . .' (1997: 151). One night, while he was awake looking at them, his landlord and his wife woke up. They made coffee:

> When Kostas saw the head of 'Philip', without any hesitation told me 'This is Philip, right?' When I asked him how did he know, he told me that he had seen him in an encyclopaedia...For me, this recognition, from a simple man with a clear mind and without any preconception, was the best confirmation that my identification was right
>
> Andronikos (1997: 158)

As noted earlier, Andronikos would often appeal to the judgement and wisdom of the 'simple' people, who were communicating with the ancestors in an uncomplicated, and thus more 'authentic', way than the educated scholars. But his landlord had a different recollection of this episode, as he narrated it, almost 20 years afterwards. In an interview with a newspaper, he would say:

> We went to bed that night. He was very unsettled, and did not catch any sleep at all. At 2.30 in the morning, he woke me up. 'Wake up Kosta, I want to show you something,' he said . . . We went in the kitchen. On the table he had some finds laid out. He showed them to me, and he said, with some hesitation, that the tomb must be Philip's tomb. He was sure about it, studying the finds for 5–6 days.[18]

[18] Interview with K.P. in the newspaper *Eleftherotypia*, 6 June 1996, with the title 'Thirty years with Andronikos'.

A few days later, on 17 November, only 3 days before the national elections for the new parliament, the Ministry of Culture released a short press report on the finds, exciting public imagination; rumours were already circulating widely, that Andronikos had found the tomb of Philip of Macedonia. Andronikos, now convinced of this identification, cancelled a newspaper interview: he had decided to address the whole nation directly, and not show a preference to the newspaper in which he was a columnist. That announcement to the nation came on 24 November, at Thessaloniki, in a press conference organized by the university. That morning, he spoke to the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister, telling them what he was planning to say; both of them encouraged him to make the announcement, and despite his reservations, to suggest that the tomb was Philip's (Andronikos 1997: 172–3). The sensational discovery captivated audiences instantly, and the news travelled the world over. Newspapers and magazines reported the finds extensively and the whole world heard for the first time about Vergina, about modern Greek Macedonia, about Macedonian tombs. Invitations to speak and publish, and interviews followed. The following year, now with a huge financial support thanks to the intervention by the Prime Minister, Andronikos found another smaller tomb; a destroyed one followed in 1980 (Andronikos 1984: 83). In 1982, the finding of a theatre was proclaimed by Andronikos to be the theatre in which 'Philip was murdered, and in which Alexander was proclaimed King of Macedonians, to lead Hellenism to the utmost ends of the Orient' (Andronikos 1991).

Andronikos had realized his dream, he had fleshed out the dry bones of ancient past, as known from the classical authors; finally, he had offered to the people of northern Greece and to Greeks as a whole, their own dream, a dream that, as was to become obvious a few years later, they badly needed. Finding the richest tomb ever found in Greece was not enough. Finding the bones of an historical figure was not enough. Naming the dead was crucial. In Greece names matter. In Macedonia names matter even more. To name is to know. To name is to recognize as familiar. To name is to accept the named person in the national family. That is what Andronikos was doing. Despite his reservations and worries, despite his scholarly instincts which made him emphasize that it is the dating of the

tomb that is more important than the identification of the dead, he always maintained that the dead was identified, the dead was named, the dead was Philip II. Naming is resurrecting.

In welcoming the named dead into the national family, Andronikos continued a long tradition of personal naming as resurrection, studied extensively by ethnographers.[19] Sutton (1997; 1998) discusses how the naming of offspring after their grandparents (or after a beloved deceased sibling) in Kalymnos becomes a device through which a somatic continuity with the past is maintained. The sound of the familiar name provides another auditory, sensory connection. Moreover, the entanglement of the naming of offspring with land inheritance (whereby grandchildren inherit the land of the grandparent they are named after) roots that sense of continuity and history to the land, the earth, and the territory. The links with the national-archaeological process, and with this case in particular, are obvious. The land where the now named dead was found, one who bore a Greek name like the vast majority of the present-day inhabitants of the area, was the inheritance that the named dead left to his national family.

THE MONUMENTALIZATION OF THE DREAM

I visited Vergina for the first time on 29 September 2002. First the 'palace', a few hundred metres outside the modern village, and then the 'royal tombs'. The contrast was phenomenal. The 'palace' had one or two relatively simple panels of information and a guard's kiosk. 'Megali Toumba' welcomes visitors with an impressive sign proclaiming it a UNESCO World Heritage Site, one of only a handful in Greece (this applies to the whole site, not just to the 'royal tombs', yet this is the only place where I saw it exhibited) (cf. Pantzou, forthcoming, for further analysis). As you enter the huge iron gate, you face a large courtyard with a guard's kiosk on the left, and opposite, the impressive shelter-museum (Fig. 4.6). Of course

[19] Cf., for example, the work of Sutton (1997, 1998) and the earlier work by Kenna (1976), Herzfeld (1982b), and Vernier (1984, 1991).

Fig. 4.6 Overall view of the crypt-museum at Vergina.

this is not the museum that the Vergioniots were fighting for. In 1984, they started taking a much more dynamic stance. The workmen went on strike and with banners confronted Andronikos and demanded a museum where all the impressive finds, still in the Thessaloniki Museum, would be housed (Andronikos 1997: 226). In August 1988, they occupied the site and stopped Andronikos's work. A few days afterwards, the Central Archaeological Council (KAS) decided to establish a museum in Vergina, although its nature and the quantity of finds that were to be housed there were not clear. The locals were adamant. Their demand was for a large museum, to house *all* the finds from Vergina.[20] The local community demanded its due from the share of international publicity and furore that the 1977 discovery brought. Now that the name Vergina is world renowned, it is only fair, the villagers said, that the local community should benefit from it. In the end, the present shelter-museum

[20] See an article with the title 'The denouncement of Professor Andronikos' in *Ethnos* (12 September 1988) and also Doris (1988). An interesting reaction is that of D. Martos (1993), a local intellectual, who compared the transfer of the Vergina antiquities to Thessaloniki Museum to the removal of the Elgin marbles (see Chapter 7), calling the finds '*Vergineia*' (he described them as 'symbols for the emancipation of a local society') thus making a clear linguistic link with the marbles, often called in Greek *Elgineia*. According to Martos, who condemned Andronikos for being too 'soft' on the earlier colonial archaeology (e.g. the excavations by the Frenchman L. Heuzey in the mid-nineteenth century), the Vergina story is another form of internal imperialism. Martos, however, develops a further argument: he claims that the local people of the area, the inhabitants of the villages of Koutles and Barbes, knew of the existence of several of those antiquities, they were part of their daily lives, and had an almost worshipping relationship with them. The immigrants from Asia Minor who settled in the area after 1922, he continues, had no deep connections with the land and its antiquities. But it was the archaeologists who disrupted the direct relationship of people with antiquities, making them instead meaningless stones or commercial products.

Fig. 4.7 The entrance of the crypt-museum at Vergina.

opened in 1997; it is not what the locals were fighting for, yet it seems to have prevented any further protests on their part.

The shelter is built in the style of a crypt (cf. Dimakopoulos 1997), and certainly the impression it gives to the visitor is that of entering an underground tomb or catacomb (Fig. 4.7). To the people who have visited many archaeological sites in Greece there is clearly no site like this. As you approach the cement, mound-like shelter covered in grass, you see the entrance and the exit, with their sloping floor, all covered in dressed poros stone, and atmospherically lit. The guard at the entrance in a formal suit, more like the concierge of an expensive hotel, accentuates the otherness of the site within the archaeological sites in Greece. At the entrance a plaque commemorates the inauguration of the works at the shelter by the then Prime Minister K. Mitsotakis. The guard, very proud to be there, says that around 300,000 people visit the site every year (in fact, according to data from the Ministry of Culture the number is much lower than that). During the winter, according to him, there are many Greek people, and mostly schools who come on organized visits. So 'What about the museum?', I asked. 'Do you really believe that there will

ever be a museum in Vergina? That all the finds will be returned here?', was his answer. He then reminisced about Andronikos as he remembered him, when he himself used to work at the excavations: how he had very good relationships with the village, but that during the excavation he was very strict and imposing, and that there was not much place for disagreements.

In the interior, four hexagonal rooms house some of the finds, including the cremated bones thought to be those of Philip. The visitor can proceed through two staircases down to the 'tomb of Philip' itself, and the 'tomb of the Prince', found in 1978. The whole space is dark ('too dark', some visitors complain). According to one of the archaeologists responsible for the exhibition, this is 'Museum-Mausoleum, dedicated to the memory of certain people' (Kottaridi 2003: 47). It seems that its creators want to elicit one main reaction from the visitors, and that is religious piety and respectful fear (*déos*), along with national emotive sentiments. It seems that these were the emotions that at least some of the visitors left the shelter with, as indicated by the visitors' book:

Shaken up with excitement, religious fear (*déos*); the spirit of Philip met the spirit of Andronikos, and this museum of unique conception was born [S.T.K., 28/9/02]

Shaken up with excitement, religious fear, in this place, at the tombs of Macedonia and of Philip II. [D.K.]

These are the feats of Hellenes. [27/9/02]

History makes us proud, that God blessed us to be the true descendants of the Hellenes. [P., 27/09/02]

Light, Civilization, Hellenicity.

Nice idea but it will turn bad. Too dark, a bit more light would have helped the visitors.

Kottaridi (2000), cites some other visitors' comments that are indicative of the reception of these finds by some audiences:

Thank God for the lovers of dreams. For us, the new generations, the presence of Manolis Andronikos is the hope for our own historic future. [female schoolchild, no date]

I felt that I have visited the tombs of relatives; I left no flowers, only fragments of myself. [30/6/98]

What if life is short, in here I found immortality. [23/8/00]

If there is death, in here it was defeated. [16/8/00]

Not only is the notion of dreaming not lost in visitors' reception of the site, but they also embrace the experiential encounter with the dead that Andronikos advocated, the feeling that biographical, historical, and national time had become one: the dead of the 'Megali Toumba' are not people who died thousands of years ago, they are relatives in the national family, they have names and faces, their bones are there to be touched, adorned, venerated. The visitors, together with the honoured ancient (Philip) and recent dead (Andronikos), feel that they are all participants in the eternal life of the nation.

The figure of Andronikos is omnipresent in the crypt-museum. Not only in the large portrait flanked by texts from his books near the entrance, but throughout. Many finds are accompanied by some of his most evocative passages, instead of interpretative text, referring to that moment of destiny, the moment of discovery. In a separate space, a 24-minute video called 'Due to Memory' is shown; it deals with the death and the funeral of the king, with afterlife, memory, and the pain of separation (cf. Kottaridi 2002: 527–538). As with everything else in this exhibition, it is moving and evocative, yet it contains almost nothing on the society of the time, nothing on the historical background. And of course, the story in the information panels, and in the guides and leaflets, is that the visitors experience the 'royal tomb' of Philip II.

Thus the dream that started half a century ago was monumentalized. It has become not simply a concrete material reality but a national monument which merged the memory and legacy of Andronikos, the national commemoration of Philip II and of Alexander, and the need for national self-reaffirmation of a region (Greek Macedonia, northern Greece), and of the Hellenic imagined community overall. To complete the process of monumentalization, a bronze statue of Philip II was erected in one of the most central locations at Thessaloniki (Fig. 4.8), despite the fact that he had no link with the city, which was founded by one of his successors (cf. Faklaris 2000). A new national hero, Philip, was now canonized, to the extent that when in autumn 2002 a scholar suggested at an academic conference that Philip may have been killed by one of his male lovers, the 'sacrilege' was reported in the press and caused an

Fig. 4.8 A bronze statue of Philip II, erected at Thessaloniki, near the White Tower, on the seafront.

angry reaction by a small crowd who stormed into the lecture room to protest.[21] Monumentalization requires a sanitized, heavily remade version of the past.[22]

[21] Information from the website http://www.q.co.za/2001/2002/10/18-alexander.html (accessed 22 October 2002). See *Kathimerini*, 10 October 2002; see also the article by M. Tiverios in *To Vima* (27 October 2002) and Kokkinidou (2005: 45–47).

[22] For an academic makeover of Philip, see Loukopoulou and Hatzopoulos (1980).

Not that there were no attempts to resist that monumentalization;[23] even from the first moment of the announcement of Andronikos's finds in November 1977, there were doubts by prominent archaeologists in the region about some of the assertions, especially in relation to the identification of the dead (cf. Andronikos 1997: 178). At the same time, in international journals several specialists expressed serious reservations about the dating of the tombs and the identification of the dead (cf. Faklaris 1994 for references). Andronikos responded to some of these objections (1980a,b, 1984), but the problem has not been settled. That early debate remained largely an academic one, as Andronikos himself, the majority of the Greek archaeological community, many other archaeologists worldwide, the Greek state, and most of the Greek public, seemed to have been convinced. A final detailed publication of the finds of 'Megali Toumba' is still lacking. More recently, however, the debate has been ignited again, and this time it is Greek archaeologists who are raising objections and doubts. A detailed and final publication of finds from a similar tomb (Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997) dated them later than Andronikos had dated his, and by implication the tomb cannot be that of 'Philip', but of a successor.[24] Furthermore, a study of the wall painting from the façade of that tomb by an Athens University professor (Palagia 2000) reached similar conclusions: the author suggested that the theme of the painting (the hunt scene) is an eastern influence introduced to Macedonia after the Alexandrian invasions, and thus after the death of Philip. She further raises the issue that the iconography in the tomb was more likely to have operated as political propaganda, by portraying and thus evoking the glory of ancestors such as Philip and Alexander. The author of the article gave an interview in the Sunday paper *To Vima* to explain her position, thus causing a furore from the current excavators of

[23] A different criticism, on grounds of theory and epistemology, came from A. Zois, who coined the term, 'Vergina syndrome', to describe the emphasis on the impressive find at the expense of archaeological and historical interpretation (see Zois 1987); that critique had little impact, as it was first published in a university handbook and then in a small, left-wing political and cultural magazine (*To Andi*).

[24] The book, reviewed in *To Vima* by M. Tiverios (1998), a professor at Thessaloniki University, discussed the importance of the finds in relation to Vergina, but fell short of exploring their further implications.

Vergina and guardians of Andronikos's legacy, who rejected the suggestions and claimed that, despite what the newspaper said, the public can still 'keep its dream'.[25] A more dramatic challenge, however, came from 'within': P. Faklaris, a member of the Vergina team and one of Andronikos's assistants, claimed in an academic article in 1994 that Aegae, the sacred capital of ancient Macedonia, was not at Vergina but in a location more than 20 km north-west of it. The article, which was reported in the Greek press,[26] shook the Vergina team, but it seems only temporarily:

> the importance of the archaeological site of Vergina appeared for a moment to have been weakened from inside, when its identification with the old capital of the Macedonian kingdom was disputed. Nevertheless, the impressive finds offered by the many years-long archaeological research and primarily the intense royal presence in the area, as revealed by the cemetery and the agora of the ancient city, attain their historical meaning only through the acceptance of its identification with Aegae . . . It is thus necessary to return, after our strengthened, expanded knowledge of the area, especially after the severe criticism that Faklaris's view had received, and reconsider the dating of the impressive building . . .
>
> Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2001: 547)

The debate over the location of the ancient capital of Macedonia and the identity of the dead of 'Megali Toumba' is on-going,[27] but it seems that these academic challenges have not managed to stop the work of monumentalization at Vergina, let alone change the public's perception of it. More serious than the location of the capital or the identification of the dead, of course, is the ethnic identity of the

[25] See the interview of O. Palagia by H. Kiose in *To Vima* (12 July 1998), and responses: Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (1998); letter by the director of Vergina excavations, S. Drougou in *To Vima* (26 July 1998); and in support of Palagia, Faklaris (1998). Saatsoglou-Paliadeli published an extensive account of the painting where she responds to the various scholars who placed the originally suggested dating and theme of the painting into doubt (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2004).

[26] See, for example, *Eleftherotypia* (15 April 1995); for reactions in academic journals see, for example, Hammond (1997) and Hatzopoulos (1996); cf. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (1996),

[27] For example, in early 2005, P. Faklaris delivered at the Athens Archaeological Society a well-attended, high-profile, and much-publicized speech on the location of the capital of ancient Macedonia, repeating his main argument; the speech triggered a spate of counter lectures and responses by Andronikos's followers and stewards of his legacy (J. Papadopoulos, pers. comm.).

people who lived in Macedonia in classical times (broadly defined), that is their own self-perception of identity, *vis-à-vis* the people in the south. This issue, much less debated than the identity of the dead following the discovery, became more crucial in the following years, and especially in the late 1980s and early 1990s as the dispute with Yugoslav Macedonia intensified and reached its peak. During that dispute, Andronikos and Vergina played a key role. He, along with the vast majority of archaeologists, took it for granted that Macedonians were Greek, based on inscriptions at Vergina that mentioned Greek names. For them, therefore, shared writing and (by implication) language meant shared self-identification and ethnic identity, despite the plentiful literary evidence that points to the opposite.[28] Vergina will again become the focus and Andronikos will play a key role in this battle. It was a major ritual and cultural battle, with episodes such as the one in Australia in 1988, when Slavic Macedonians demanded that the texts in the travelling exhibition 'Macedonia: from the Mycenaean times to the death of Alexander the Great' should be written in the Macedonian language too (Doris 1988).[29] Andronikos responded by writing in his newspaper column (1988b):

> After they baptized their state Macedonia and its inhabitants Macedonians, they thought it very simple and expedient to appropriate the history of this people who lived in northern Greece 2500 years ago, when the Slavic people they themselves originate from, were still in the remotest Asian steppes

This is the moment when the so-called 'star or sun of Vergina', the six-ray symbol that was found on the golden chest, a well-known, widely used motif in ancient Greek art, became known as the crest of the Macedonian royal dynasty, the bone of contention and the unofficial national crest of Greece (and the official one for FYROM).[30] This is also

[28] See, for example, Badian (1982), Green (1989), and Borza (1996).

[29] According to Doris (1988), this episode prompted the Greek government to change the name of the Ministry of Northern Greece to the Ministry of Macedonia-Thrace.

[30] A couple of years later, in 1995, Greece claimed an international patent for the 'Vergina star' (*Eleftherotypia*, 30 July 1995) and in the same year the Greek government refused to send representatives to commemorate the Holocaust at Auschwitz because at the ceremony there was going to be a FYROM delegation with their national flag, featuring that same star (article by N. Kotaridis, entitled 'The nationalism of Vergina', in the left-wing newspaper, *I Epohi*, 29 January 1995); see Brown (1994), on the politics of identity in relation to this specific symbol.

the moment when Andronikos, Vergina, and the Hellenicity of Macedonia merged in the public consciousness, and many media reports on the dispute with FYROM featured a photograph of Andronikos along with some of the Vergina finds. A special booklet on Macedonia (with a portrait of Philip on the cover and the Vergina finds prominently illustrated) was produced in 1992 and was distributed to every school and every pupil in the country,[31] and in the same year the official postage stamp depicting Andronikos among the Vergina finds was issued (see Fig. 4.3). A year before, the University of Thessaloniki organized a conference on the Macedonian tombs with Andronikos as keynote speaker. The vice-chancellor of the university, announcing the conference to the newspapers, invited school teachers to attend so that they 'can see history re-emerging from the guts of the earth'.[32] That conference was announced in the papers with titles such as 'The earth... responds to the forgers',[33] making a link with the dispute about the name.

THE ARCHAEOLOGIST AS SHAMAN

Mircea Eliade (1972: 51 and *passim*) has noted that in shamanism travel to the underworld is a key initiation ritual. Shamans possess abilities that allow them to mediate between different worlds, to participate in realms inaccessible to most people. If antiquity in Greece operates as a secular national religion, then Andronikos can be seen as a great shaman of that religion. He went down to the underworld the day that Orthodoxy celebrated the saints of the underworld. He entered the tomb in a ceremonial, stage-managed way, in an act that referenced not only the travel to the underworld (with its various mythological and epic connotations, from Persephone to Odysseus)

[31] See *Eleftherotypia* (21 April 1992).

[32] *Rizospastis* (the daily of the Communist Party of Greece; 1 June 1991). The title of the article is 'Of course it is Greek: new find by M. Andronikos proves the Hellenicity of Macedonia'.

[33] *Eleftheros Typos* (1 June 1991). Three years earlier, *To Vima* (11 December 1988) had a similar title 'The scholars agree: the spade of archaeologists proves the Hellenicity of Macedonia'.

but also Howard Carter and his discovery of the tomb of King Tutankhamun. His was a journey of initiation and elevation to the status of a great shaman for the nation. Andronikos was the most appropriate person for that role, as he embodied modern Greek history and its charter myths: from the venerated classical past, to Byzantium (and Christianity) and the 'Great Idea' (and the associated wars, fights, and national sacrifices), to the tragic defeat and 'uprooting' from Asia Minor, and the new roots in northern Greece. A real shaman who could not only possess a direct, physical, intimate, embodied, and personal link with the ancestors, who could 'see with his touch' but also someone who, after returning to the above world, could communicate that intimate knowledge he acquired to the whole nation, his real audience, and not simply to archaeologists or scholars.

Andronikos was 'uprooted' but in his new homeland in Greek Macedonia, the homeland that he shared with many of the 'uprooted' from Asia Minor, he was determined to plant new roots, not only for him but for all his fellow Asia Minor immigrants too. That was what he was doing: he went down that tomb not to find roots, but to plant them. 'The village had no history', he said of Vergina (1997: 21), erasing thus with these five words the presence (and past) of people who inhabited the hamlets of Koutles and Barbes, and who, judging from the names of these hamlets, may have spoken their own non-Greek language;[34] these toponyms had already been erased from the map by the local bishop, who renamed them Vergina[35] in 1922, when the immigrants from Anatolia, Andronikos among them, arrived. He had to produce history not only for the village but also for the region of northern Greece as a whole, annexed to the state of Greece only in 1913. And he did. Enough of the dominance of Athens, of the south, of the fifth century. Enough of the gold of Mycenae, the whiteness of the Parthenon, the fame of Olympia and Delphi: northern Greece could now boast the richest tomb ever to have been excavated in Greece, a world-famous site and

[34] On the state-sponsored suppression of Slavic languages in Greek Macedonia during the first half of the twentieth century (and in some cases, up to the present day), see Kostopoulos (2002) and Carabott (2005); on the 'Hellenization' of 'foreign' toponyms in Greek Macedonia see Kostopoulos (2002: 139–143).

[35] The name Vergina originates from a local legendary queen, who, according to local tradition, drowned herself in a river rather than surrender to the Ottomans.

discovery, a much more impressive iconographic illustration of the ancient authors than the south could produce. To the south, he juxtaposed the north; to Athens, he juxtaposed Thessaloniki; to the Acropolis, Vergina; to the fifth century, the fourth century, the era of the Macedonian kings. Northern Greece could not be ignored any longer. Until then, and despite the emphasis placed on it by regimes such as the Metaxas dictatorship in the late 1930s (see Chapter 5), the ancient Macedonia of Philip and Alexander could not compete with classical Athens, the Parthenon and the fifth century in the national discourse and imagination. Thanks to him, and to the historical contingencies that were to follow, Macedonia was transformed from otherness to national self-hood, from a peripheral role it came to occupy centrality.[36] Thanks to him, northern Greece will enjoy, for years to come, an unprecedented archaeological renaissance (Kotsakis 1998).[37] Andronikos was a historical constructionist (cf. Faubion 1993). He dreamed of a new past for the region and for the country, and he materialized it. He single-handedly wrote the script, produced, stage-managed, and played a protagonistic role in the drama that would re-enact the symbolic, *material* incorporation of Macedonia and northern Greece into the national imagination and psyche. At the same time he rewrote the script of the national narrative; national imagination through him was not simply reproduced, but was produced anew. Indigenous Hellenism is now re-enacted in a new, twentieth and twenty-first century version. And most will be immensely thankful, not simply the expedient

[36] On the otherness of Macedonia in the archaeological imagination, especially with reference to prehistory, see Andreou *et al.* (1996).

[37] The funding, and in general the government support, for this unprecedented wave of archaeological activity following the Vergina discoveries was obviously directly linked to their deployment in the cultural and national 'wars' that were taking place with other Balkan countries, and mainly FYROM. The first conference (part of an annual series) on archaeological activity in Macedonia and Thrace was opened by the Minister for Macedonia and Thrace (and well known for his extreme nationalist views) S. Papathemelis, who remarked in his speech that the archaeological finds, beyond their aesthetic and cultural value, were important as the 'most valid interpreter of the substance and uniqueness of Hellenic history... We need this historical function of art more than ever, so that we can respond to all this, internationally orchestrated, attempted falsification of our history' (*To Arhaiologiko Ergo sti Makedonia kai ti Thraki*, 1, 1987, p. xvi).

politicians but the vast majority of people (Andronikos 1997). And the state, other archaeologists, the media, and many others made sure that his dream became a monument for present and future veneration. The social and political contingencies, especially in relation to the Macedonian conflict, contributed further to the monumentalization of that dream and its continuing veneration.

As for the ironies, these were largely unnoticed and undiscussed, at least in the broader public arena: the radical transformation of ancient Macedonians from the enemies of Hellenism to heroes and grand icons; the veneration of kings and royals in a heritage that prides itself in having invented democracy; the appreciation and conspicuous display of hugely ostentatious artefacts and material culture by an ideology which prioritizes the spiritual and the ideal; the possibility that this wealth could be (if the scholars who date the main tomb after the Alexandrian conquests are correct) the loot from the 'barbaric orient', that is, the oppositional entity that ancient Hellenism was constructed against. Finally, the possibility that (if the latter hypothesis on the date is correct) much of the decoration and iconography of the tomb could be political propaganda, or to put it more appropriately, the construction of a politically expedient, collective memory and ancestry by the descendants of Philip II: a phenomenon not unlike the present-day production of national memory based on these artefacts. Irony and national imagination do not seem to be good bedfellows.

This story is not simply a key moment in the remaking of the Hellenic national myth in the twentieth century. Its lessons go far beyond the Greek context. After all, this is a case of the production of the national-archaeological record, not simply its recovery; it is a parable on the key role of the archaeologist in this process of production, in the materialization and objectification of the national discourse. This process was not a matter of the state deliberately distorting the past, nor of the archaeologist calculatedly serving a certain agenda. Andronikos was encouraged by the political leadership to overcome his reservations and declare the tomb as belonging to Philip II (and his excavations were amply rewarded financially by the state), but he deeply believed in his sacred mission and his destiny as the shaman of the nation. His project embodied the dreams of thousands of people, in fact of the vast majority of the nation. It was

through him that the Hellenic national myth, in its remoulded form, was expressed, in him all facets of national history converged and found a voice; it was through him that the national dream was embodied and materialized, simultaneously from above and from below.

Yet, there is another key aspect that this case helps illuminate: that is, the role of archaeology as a key device of western modernity (cf. Thomas 2004a). While recent discussions have been instrumental in elucidating this important genealogical link, the story of Andronikos (in common with many of the case studies in this book) shows that the statement that archaeology is a project thoroughly situated within western modernity needs some qualification. The archaeologist in this case participates in a set of discourses and practices that can be seen as more pre-modern than modern: the sacralization of the past, shamanism, the process of dreaming as a way of relating to history, the abolition of temporal distance, the embodied encounters with the dead. As argued in the previous chapter, national imagination incorporates and reworks pre-modern world views and ideas; likewise, national archaeology seems to participate in both the modern and the pre-modern realms, fusing notions of objectivity, evidence, bounded ethnic communities, and linearity, with cyclical notions of time, religious feelings, and multi-sensory bodily encounters with the past. While recent discussions on the embodied reception of the past and the mnemonic role of materiality are informed by recent phenomenological writings (sometimes classed as part of the post-modern turn in theory), Andronikos reached these insights through another route, a route that relates to the past in a more personal, physical way, a route that abolishes temporal distance and constructs direct genealogical links with the ancients; in other words, a route that relates more to the way people perceived the past before the advent of modernity, with its notions of linearity and objectivism. Interestingly, Seremetakis (1994b) has compared Andronikos's work at Vergina to the practices of secondary burial in present-day Mani, where the tactile contact with the bones of the dead relatives and the accompanying embodied rituals of mourning, purification, and re-assemblage, establish a somatic link with the personal and short-term historical past. Andronikos was, in a sense, performing an exhumation for a secondary burial, a burial that was announced by him (when he responded to the criticism that he disturbed the dead)

and was carried out by his successors in the shelter that operates more like a burial crypt than a museum. Both secondary burials, the ones by the women at Mani and the one by Andronikos at Vergina, constitute embodied and sensory *ceremonies of authentication* (Seremetakis 1994b: 143; emphasis in the original), the first of the biographical-familial links, and the second of familial links of the national imagination.

This is not to say that Andronikos or other archaeologists in Greece lived in another time, outside modernity, for this would have not only been factually incorrect (as noted before, Andronikos followed many of the modernist conventions in his work), but also ethically and politically suspect, a well-known strategy of the colonial imagination (cf. Fabian 1983). It simply means that the genealogy of the archaeological is more complicated than we thought. The writings on the history of western modernity need to come to terms with the multiplicity of ways in which the modern, both at the centre and the peripheries, has been interwoven with pre-modern and even post-modern phenomena.

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5

Spartan Visions: Antiquity and the Metaxas Dictatorship

In mid-May 1939 an unusual excavation was being carried out by the General Director of Greek Antiquities, Spyridon Marinatos. The excavation, which was reported extensively in the domestic as well as the foreign press,[1] took place at the site of Thermopylai in central Greece, and its aim was to locate the spot of the famous battle between the invading Persian army and the defending ancient Greek soldiers. The battle, which was narrated in detail by Herodotus (VII.213–217), is known in the modern Greek national narrative and imagination as the episode when Leonidas, the Spartan leader, sacrificed himself together with 300 remaining Spartan fighters. The Greek soldiers were managing to successfully resist the invaders but were overcome by them only due to treason by Ephialtes, whose name forever since has been synonymous with shameful national treachery.

Marinatos, the excavator, decided to undertake this task after he secured funds provided by an American woman by the name of Elisabeth Hamlin-Hunt (Marinatos 1955: 3). Marinatos narrates the experience in a guidebook, published years afterwards:

> Mrs Hunt personally assisted in the whole excavation, despite the heavy work. The marshy district was mosquito-ridden. The investigation lasted on into the hottest season, July, which roughly corresponds with the time of the

[1] The international press followed almost daily the progress of the excavation and published short dispatches from Athens presenting the finds and results; for examples see *The Times*, 13 May 1939, 18 May 1939, 25 May 1939, 1 June 1939.

hopeless battle of 480 BC. . . . Some members of the staff were attacked by ophthalmia, just as once the hoplites of Leonidas were

Marinatos (1951: 3–4)

Only a month after his excavation Marinatos reported his findings, not in an academic journal but in the journal *Neon Kratos* (*New State*), the official theoretical organ of the Metaxas's dictatorial regime of 4 August (1936–1941). In that article Marinatos noted:

In 480 BC the biggest army that the world had seen to date was mobilized to enslave Greece. For three whole years the whole of Asia was trembling due to the war preparations, Herodotus says. The outcome of that crusade would have had fatal consequences for today's civilization. If Asia was to enslave Greece, then there would have been no European civilization today

Marinatos (1939a: 557)

Then, after narrating the story of the battle as told by Herodotus, he went on to describe his own topographic and archaeological investigations, announcing that he had found what he believed to be the exact spot of the battle, based on the finds of arrowheads, some of which were illustrated in the article. For an article in a theoretical journal, the specific detail that Marinatos included in his narration and the attempt to evocatively revive the episode is surprising:

The hill of Kolonos was scattered with arrowheads, from the bronze and pointed, beautiful arrows of the Immortals, to the iron, crude arrowheads used by the barbarous army of Xerxes . . . Unarmed, tired and wounded, the lions of Sparta and Thespiai found refuge in the hill of Kolonos, but even at that state, they were fearsome to Persians. They did not dare to fight them face to face. They instead shot their arrows from afar, until they buried them under them. We found arrows that were blunted after hitting the body armour of the Brave. The arrowheads were bent backwards, as Homer describes it.[2] We found other arrows that were meant to be shot with a burning cloth. The Persians, in their rage, attempted, it seems, to burn alive the untamed heroes of the Hellenic freedom

Marinatos (1939a: 560)

[2] Marinatos makes a Homeric reference here to the *Iliad*, for example 3.348, 7.259, and so on.

He continued:

These small objects, narrate to us today many details of that fearsome battle, which became a legend in the history of humanity. Today, we are able to reconstruct in the pass of Thermopylai the stages of the battle with such accuracy, as if we were witness to it, due to the wonderful clarity of Herodotus . . . The reverent Leader of Government, and Creator of the New State Mr. Ioannis Metaxas, did not fail to honour the excavation with his visit, during which he observed for hours the field of the battle of Thermopylai. The most shining page [in the history of] the Nation[3] should become the subject of equal interest by today's New Generation, from which Greece expects so much. The voice of the Dead is a lesson for the living, and the History of the Past should be a symbol for the Future

Marinatos (1939a: 560)[4]

[3] In this book I have decided to translate in general all three Greek words, '*ethnos*', '*genos*', and '*phyli*', as 'nation', a concept that conveys more accurately the meaning of all three terms in the Greek context. On one or two occasions, I have translated *phyli* (especially when in plural), as 'ethnic group(s)', which conveys more accurately the meaning in these contexts. A generic translation of *genos* or *phyli* as 'race' (the other alternative), would have been misleading: race has specific, biologically based connotations, it is supported by a well-known 'scientific' discourse, and it is linked directly to European colonialism. Hellenic nationalism, due to its different trajectory, lacks certain key affinities of the western racial ideologies. When in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Orthodox Church felt that it should object to the spread of the ideas of the nation, the term they used for them was '*phyletismos*'; *phyli* here meant nation, not race (cf. Kitromilides 1989: 181). Yet, the terms *ethnos*, *genos*, and *phyli* acquire different connotations in different contexts. Equally, the frequency of the use of each in different contexts can be meaningful and important. For example, left-wing discourses often avoided the positive use of *ethnos*, as it had been endorsed and very successfully promoted by right-wing governments and dictatorial regimes, and they often deployed *genos* instead. Of more relevance to this chapter, it is interesting that, while in the discourses of the Metaxas regime all three terms are encountered, the term *phyli*, which is closer to 'race', is frequently used, especially in the phrase '*Elliniki phyli*'. The distinctive character of the regime and the impact of the racialist theories in Europe at the time must be of relevance here. In that respect, the discourse of the Metaxas regime, thus, differs from the dominant earlier synthesis of Hellenic nationalism created in the nineteenth century, and best expressed by Paparrigopoulos in his *History of the Hellenic Nation*: the cultural continuity that Paparrigopoulos evoked acquires now connotations of racial continuity; there is no evidence, however, that this notion of racial continuity was linked to an attempt to seek scientific legitimacy in physical anthropological or craniometric studies, as has happened in other European countries.

[4] Marinatos was the main speaker on 30 June 1955, when, in the presence of the Royal Family, a commemorative monument was erected on the spot, with funding from Greek Americans (Marinatos 1955). In that speech a similar tone was adopted; 'if Greece were to be defeated then, the young Greek civilization would have been

The invocation of an ancient, almost mythical, battle which pitched a small but determined group of fighters against the huge army of the Persians, operates here in an analogous manner, evoking at the same time the notion of the destiny of the nation, and the duty to be worthy of the glorious ancestors. The narrative, however, and the episode it narrates are more than that: the very act of attempting and conducting this excavation, with all its connotations at that particular moment, the visit of the dictator Metaxas, the figure of Marinatos as the most important archaeologist of the regime, the publication of the article in the official journal of the regime, its tone and style, are all loaded with meanings and associations: they can help us to understand the roles and meanings of antiquity in its material and discursive forms in the ideology and practice of a dramatic phase in modern Greek history: the 5 years that Greece was under Ioannis Metaxas and his dictatorial regime (1936–1941). This will be the aim of this chapter.[5]

Most archaeological writings on nationalism seem to focus on the 'abuses' of archaeology and the past by fascist or dictatorial regimes (cf. Galaty and Watkinson 2004), be it the Third Reich (e.g. Arnold and Hassmann 1995), Mussolini's Italy (e.g. Guidi 1996), Franco's Spain (e.g. Díaz-Andreu 1993), or Salazar's Portugal (e.g. Lilios 1995). These are all important and worthwhile studies, but they often give the impression of nationalism as being an exceptional, rare phenomenon, the work of dictators and fascist regimes that puts archaeology into a blatant, political use to serve their needs and agendas. The introduction of this book attempted to show the fallacy of this argument, and the several cases that followed since have hopefully helped to make the point. In the previous chapters, I focused on the long-term historical trajectory, as well as on 'normal'

defeated at its birth, the civilization that has been the foundation of the European Civilization' (Marinatos 1955: 4).

[5] On the Metaxas regime in general see Linardatos (1975), Kofas (1983), Fleischer and Svoronos (1989), Close (1990, 1992), Higham and Veremis (1993), Vatikiotis (1998); on its ideology see Noutsos (1986), Mahaira (1987), Sarandis (1993), Kangalidou (1999), Angelis (2006), Petrakis (2006); and on the role and deployment of the past by the regime see Avlami (1990), Gounaridis (1994), Bregianni (1999) and more recently Carabott (2003) and Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou (2004); see also the collection of primary texts of the regime and its youth organization edited by Petridis (2000).

political conditions, to show how national imagination and national ideology are inherent in the archaeological process, and in archaeology as key device of western modernity. In this chapter, I follow the opposite route to address the same concern and illustrate the same points: I look at an 'exceptional' phase, an autocratic and dictatorial regime with fascist characteristics.

ANTIQUITY AND THE IDEOLOGY OF THE METAXAS REGIME

The dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas was launched on 4 August 1936, with the excuse that the communists were going to use an announced general strike on 5 August to start a revolution (cf. Kallonas 1938: 175). It was a markedly nationalistic regime, which became progressively more authoritarian, especially after 1938 (Kofas 1983); although not a classic fascist regime, it possessed many fascist elements: it glorified the leader, the 'chosen few' (strangely enough, combined with populism), and the supreme authority of the state, and was an outcome of the political developments of the 1920s and 1930s in Greece and Europe as a whole. At an historical moment which has been called the 'age of dictatorships' in Europe, the regime shared some of the features of European fascist regimes, with a distinctive preference for Salazar's regime in Portugal (Kallonas 1938: 192); its aspiration, however, was to create an indigenous version of these European experiments. Greece was still under the shock of defeat after the Asia Minor War and its after-effects, including the struggle to incorporate the refugees of that war within the borders of the nation-state. Metaxas (1871–1941), a former general, experimented with parliamentary democracy in the 1920s, but the return to government of E. Venizelos in 1928 signalled his withdrawal from it. He was against the Asia Minor military campaign because he saw it as a quick and easy attempt to acquire territory and because he believed that it was not militarily feasible, preferring instead the 'persistent and intensive work of creating a civilization' (Close 1992: 142). As an anonymous text, expressing the views of the Metaxas regime and published in 1941, will explain (Anon. 1941?), his vision was close to

that of the 'Great Idea' (the irredentist dream of expanding the Hellenic territory in the east and making Constantinople the capital of Greece), but he gave to that idea (which had already suffered enormously after the Asia Minor defeat) a different meaning: one that did not take the form of territorial expansion, but an ideological, cultural, and spiritual one. That expansion, according to the same text, was limitless:

> The mistake [of the believers in the original Great Idea] is that they thought they could, by analogy to other nations, include Hellenism within territorial boundaries, while it is exactly the ingenuity of our nation that it has no boundaries
>
> Anon. (1941?: 18)

In focusing on the spiritual dimension of the nation, Metaxas's regime incorporated and expressed ideological and cultural attitudes that were widely circulating throughout the 1930s in Greece: authors and intellectuals were redefining Hellenism by placing emphasis on its spiritual character, rather than its territorial, expansionist one (cf. Tziovas 1989). At the same time, the extreme nationalism of the regime further encouraged the on-going (in the 1930s) discussion and emphasis on notions of Hellenicity (*ellinikotita*), and its abstract and spiritual nature, spearheaded by works such as the writings of Periklis Giannopoulos.

The notion of land, of course, was central to the regime's mentality and ideological apparatus, as the references to the soil and earth (in common with fascist ideologies), indicate. For example, in a directive issued in 1939 to all members of EON (*Ethniki Organosi Neolaias*, the regime's youth organization), Metaxas urged them, especially the youth who lived in the countryside, to make sure that no piece of earth remained uncultivated: 'At home, in the church, in the street, in the field, at school, everywhere you are, I ask you to remind yourselves of that task, at every moment . . . Every inch of Hellenic earth should yield something soon. Even if it is one potato, one kilo of wheat. . . .' (Metaxas 1969b: 140). The call clearly does more than emphasize the need for food production and self-reliance at a difficult time. The emphasis here is on earth and the need to attend to it. The same emphasis on earth is indicated by the organized campaigns of reforestation and tree-planting that the regime and its youth

initiated (Mahaira 1987: 85), as well as by the invocation of Metaxas as the 'First Farmer' (and the photographs depicting him in a symbolic attempt to plough a field).

Moreover, the Metaxas regime made a persistent and organized effort to Hellenize the recently acquired territory of northern Greece by changing place names (cf. Close 1990: 10), and forcing ethnic minorities such as the Slavo-Macedonians to speak Greek and abandon any reference to their own identity (cf. Carabott 1997, 2005; Kostopoulos 2002).[6] Indeed, that attempt can be described as a stricter enforcement of the internal colonizing mission that had been in place since the early to mid-1920s, a mission that the apologists of the regime likened to that of the religious missionaries (*ierapostoloi*) (cf. Mahaira 1987: 43), reminding us of the close links between nationalist and colonialist ideologies and practices. In conventional colonialist ideologies, however, the emphasis on earth and territory is linked to territorial expansion as means of acquiring resources, and achieving greatness, glory, and the empire's civilizing mission; in the national imagination, earth and territory are bound with the soil that holds the ancestors' sacred bones, with the immortal dead (cf. Verdery 1999). Metaxas's version of a national colonizing mission aimed to purify what it saw as Hellenic homeland and territory, and more importantly, to cultivate and bring about a cultural/spiritual renaissance. The basic ideological tenet of the regime was the notion of the Third Hellenic Civilization, an allusion perhaps to the Third Reich (Clogg 1992: 118). According to this scheme, classical Greece was the first Hellenic civilization, the Byzantine Empire was the second, and the aspiration of the regime was to create the third: a utopian civilization that was meant to combine the best elements of the two previous ones. Metaxas's dream was not the re-creation of the classical or Byzantine civilization. He thus

[6] The suppression of linguistic diversity (especially with regard to Slav-speaking people) had been going on for some time but it seems that during the Metaxas regime these attempts intensified and acquired a more autocratic character (Kostopoulos 2002: 162); the Hellenization of place names had started with the foundation of the state in the nineteenth century and intensified from the first decades of the twentieth century (cf. Chapter 3); in Macedonia, most of the changes in place names happened in the late 1920s; on intellectuals' efforts during the Metaxas period to prove, through toponymic research, the Hellenicity of Greek territories (especially against any interpretation that emphasized Slavic links) see, by way of example, Georgakas (1938).

departed from previous rhetorical and discursive appeals for the resurrection of the glorious classical past. His dream was the creation of a new civilization, the third Hellenic civilization. 'A nation cannot exist if it does not create its own civilization', he said in a speech to students in 1937 (Metaxas 1969a: 285). Moreover, he was quick to avoid any idealization of the two previous cultures, pointing to the weaknesses of both, but also, and more importantly, making the point that each of the two on its own is defective, and it is the combination of the two that provides the best model for the third civilization. In the same speech he noted:

> The creation of the Third Hellenic Civilization is not something beyond the capacity of the Hellenic people. Do not be scared of the past civilizations. Not at all. They were not perfect. *You* will make it more perfect. The ancient civilization, great on art, great on science, was defective on religion. Its philosophy was not religion. It was even more defective in its political development. I do not think that any of you, if you were to study history, will admire the thought of politicians who led Greece to the Peloponnesian war. Nor do I believe that any of you would admire the politicians of Ancient Greece who went against the Macedonian Hegemony... Medieval Hellenism was no doubt much inferior to the Ancient one in terms of art and science. But in terms of religion, it was much superior... It also created, in terms of politics, a State. Because the medieval State, the Hellenic State, during its period of acme, was one of the best and most powerful States of that time, if not the best.
>
> Don't you have, Young Hellenes, the ambition, from those two civilizations, to create your own?
>
> Metaxas (1969a: 285–6)

This scheme evokes the synthesis of 'indigenous Hellenism' produced at the middle to end of the nineteenth century thanks to the efforts of historians like Paparrigopoulos. Metaxas even used the same terminology (such as 'medieval Hellenism') as the national historian, but the synthesis produced has elements of originality: rather than glorifying uncritically the achievements of ancient and medieval Hellenism, Metaxas's adoption is critical, and his vision is a prospective, not retrospective one. Moreover, he will attempt a selective glorification of certain aspects of that past, the ones that were seen as more appropriate to his utopian project. In a speech to the people of Sparta in 1938, he noted:

From all ancient models and ideals I thought and I still think and believe that the best were those that inspired your ancient fatherland, Sparta, and I have expressed this publicly several times, not because I thought that the other ancient ideals are inferior, but because I thought and still think and believe that in our times, times of danger, times during which we should be powerful, ready to sacrifice everything for the Fatherland . . . the most appropriate ancient model for these ideals was ancient Sparta

Metaxas (1969a: 382)

And on the same day he repeated, during his speech to the people of Gytheio (the port of ancient Sparta), in Mani:

I asked for powerful, state discipline, combined with, as much as possible, private freedom, leading and destined always towards the benefit of the whole Fatherland. It is the ancient ideal of Sparta, which you, the Maniats, have inside your soul and inside your blood

Metaxas (1969a: 385)

Ancient Sparta[7] and, to a lesser extent, ancient Macedonia[8] were the aspects of the ancient Greek heritage that the regime glorified and promoted above everything else. It was an attempt at historical constructionism, a process of selective national remembering, aimed at legitimizing the character of the Metaxas regime: an autocratic, anti-parliamentarian regime, with the emphasis on discipline, on military virtues, on sacrifice for the Fatherland. Moreover, the glorification of the assumingly austere, militarized society of ancient Sparta suited the populist nature of a regime that put emphasis on the efforts of 'simple' people and on collective sacrifice, rather than on the individual achievements of the few, be it artists, philosophers,

[7] For other references to Sparta see Metaxas (1969a: 103, 126).

[8] On Macedonia, for example, Metaxas noted in a speech to the members of the organization 'National Renaissance' in November 1936: 'We should consider ancient Athens as the supreme form of society on fine arts, but turn to Sparta and Macedonia as far as the national and political ideals are concerned. Towards Sparta, which started the work of the political unification and military supremacy of the ancient Hellenism, and towards Macedonia which finished that work . . . If you wish to examine history you will see that the Hellenes distinguished themselves as individuals only when they were under the discipline of others. And the ethnic groups (*phylai*) of ancient Greece were destined to be subjected to the hegemony of one of them, the Macedonians, so that Hellenism as a whole will gain political existence worth talking about' (Metaxas 1969a: 126–127).

or politicians. Byzantium, on the other hand, would have provided the (perceived) strong emphasis on a centralized state and the glorification of monarchy: after all, during Metaxas's period the king provided the main political and institutional support to the regime, and the devotion to royalty was one of the things that the regime emphasized. Above all, however, Byzantium, which in the Greek national discourse is perceived as a theocratic state, provided the association with Christian religion, the other main ideological cornerstone of the regime.

The regime's attempt to promote a distinctive version of the classical past even included the censorship of some classical works that were considered subversive. According to Linardatos (1975: 75), Metaxas's government tried to stop a planned performance of Sophocles's *Antigone* by the National Theatre; the play went ahead thanks to protest, but the government ordered the omission of certain verses that were seen as 'inappropriate'. A more notorious case is the ban from schools of Thucydides's *Epitaphios* by Pericles (Linardatos 1966: 509; 1975: 75). In a directive by a general school inspector it is noted:

> . . . during the teaching of ancient Greek at the six grade of the secondary school, Pericles's Epitaphios should be omitted, and replaced by some Platonic dialogue, because some of the praise of the democratic ideas [contained there] wonderful indeed, may be perceived by pupils as indirect criticism of the robust government policy . . . [it is suggested that it should be taught during the University studies], otherwise there may have as a consequence the same detrimental and damaging results as they had during the era of the Peloponnesian War, uttered before the unruly Athenian people from the mouth of the great Pericles
>
> cited in Gavrilidis (1997: 215–216)[9]

The attempt reveals not only the paternalistic attitude towards the youth that the regime had adopted, but also the anxiety that certain aspects of the classical past may fuel opposition, an anxiety that was not totally unfounded, as will be shown below.

The Metaxas regime did not create a political party to propagate their ideas, but it did have at its disposal the official theoretical organ,

[9] The directive is, according to Gavrilidis (who refers to it in his diary in 1937, while in exile at Anaphi), by D. Papoulias, the General Schools Inspector of the First Periphery (of Athens?).

Neon Kratos (cf. Kokkinos n.d.), which attracted a number of intellectuals and writers; it also published other magazines such as *Nea Politiki*, which expressed similar, supportive, if at times somehow critical, views. Its main corporate ideological force, however, was the youth organization, EON. At first, EON found it difficult to recruit *en masse*, but when membership became compulsory for school pupils (Linardatos 1975: 164), and with the additional attraction of the ceremonial and celebratory nature of its activities, not to mention free cinema tickets (Koronakis 1950: 122), EON had more than a million members in 1940, 60% of whom were school pupils (Linardatos 1975: 177). One of its most important weapons was *Neolaia*, a weekly, richly illustrated magazine published from 1938 to 1941 (Fig. 5.1). The similarities between EON's black uniform and the uniform of fascist organizations in Europe at the time was more than a passive resemblance. Its symbol was the 'Minoan' double axe, its hierarchy was military, and its operation was under the strict guidance of the government with the leadership of A. Kanellopoulos, who was venerated with less than masterful poems, such as the one below:

> Like a Spartan in the Great Feat
> Fighter, Leader and Phoivos
> Mother Greece calls him near her
> And triumphs and the Stadium wave at you
> ....
> You, the Leader's beautiful Prophesy
> Whom the godly institutions call
> First at a new Olympia
> You will come and the signs will prove true[10]

The role of EON went beyond that of a political youth organization, as its intervention in all state affairs, especially those to do with the indoctrination of school pupils to the ideals of the regime, was substantial. For example, in a directive issued in 1939, the organization suggested the themes that should be included during the writing of school textbooks;[11] the directive is indicative of the version of

[10] *Neolaia* (1 (51), 30 September 1939). The poem, by P. Stylitis-Giannakoudakis, is published in a page decorated with a Doric column, on the top of which sits a figure of an ancient Greek fighter, looking down at an EON youth, presumably Kanellopoulos.

[11] It is worth noting that in 1937 Metaxas's government established the state-controlled central organization for the writing, production, and dissemination of

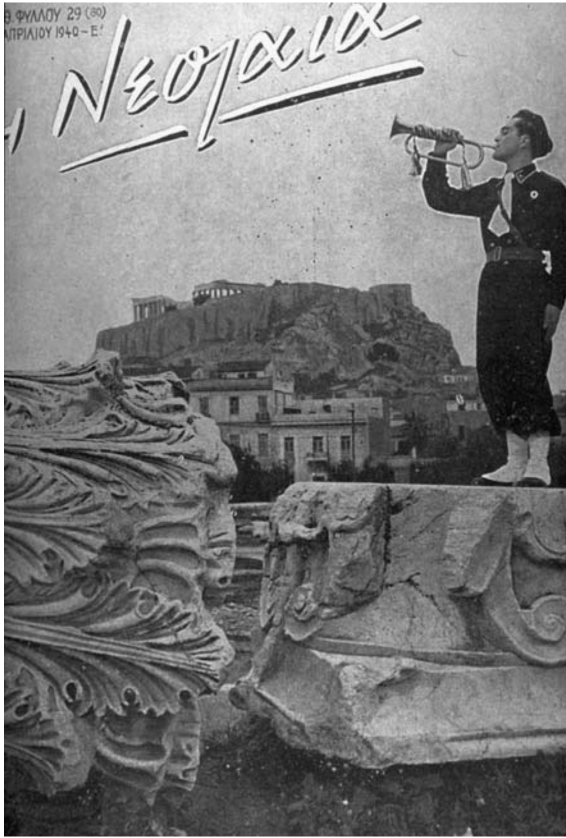

Fig. 5.1 Cover from the magazine *Neolaia* (issue 29, April 1940), the organ of Metaxas's youth organization, EON.

antiquity that the regime wanted to disseminate: on the Trojan war, the directive notes, emphasis should be put on the 'triumph of the unity of all Hellenes and the disastrous results of disunity' (p. 48); the Stoic philosophers should be presented as the first Christians (p. 49), and Philip II of Macedonia as the 'great King of all Hellenes' (p. 48);

schoolbooks (OEDV), an organization that is still in charge of the operation (Kapsalis and Haralambous 1995: 82–89); schoolbooks were a major medium for the dissemination of the regime's ideology (Kapsalis and Haralambous 1995: 86).

as for Alexander, he should be presented as 'the creator of the endless Hellenic Empire, the person who disseminated the lights of the Hellenic Civilization, in the known inhabited world (*Oikoumeni*)' (p. 48); on the links between Hellenism and Christianity, the line that the document dictates is that 'only when Hellenism prevailed in the East did Christianity manage to spread. And it is Orthodoxy that rescued Hellenism' (p. 49). As for the folk traditions and myths, it is suggested that mostly the ones that have similarities with the ancient myths, should be included (p. 51), and in folk art 'ancient and Byzantine survivals' should be emphasized. (p. 51).[12]

EON was particularly active in organizing a series of rituals and ceremonies, parades, visits to monuments and archaeological sites, athletic events, competitions, and theatrical and other performances (Figs 5.2–5.4; cf. Mahaira 1987; Axioti 1974: 20). For these purposes, a number of open-air theatres were built, imitating ancient Greek theatres; examples here include the one at Philopappou Hill in Athens, opposite the Acropolis,[13] and the theatre at Lycabettus, still one of the main venues for open-air events in Athens. This latter theatre was created for one particular performance that deserves special mention here: the performance of the 1808 play *Penthesileia* by Heinrich von Kleist. In its performance, 300 female members of EON took part, dressed in classical costume (Fig. 5.5); it was widely reported in the magazines of the regime.[14] The play reworks the ancient mythological tradition of the love between the queen of the Amazons, Penthesileia, and Achilles, during the Trojan war. In Kleist's version, Penthesileia kills Achilles and then she eats him, before she kills herself. The selection of this play is curious, given

[12] EON (1939): *Apospasmata ek ton Eisigiseon ton Epitelikon Grapheion, Diefthynseon kai Ypiresion tis Kendrikis Dioikisis, Ethnikis Organosis Neolaias Ellados, kai ton Peripheriakon Dioikiseon Arenon kai Thileon EON Protevoussis. Epi tis Prooptikis tis Ergasias Auton*. Athens. [Copy at the Greek Pamphlet Collection of Princeton University, File A: EON].

[13] The theatre, known as the 'theatre of Koili' (after the name of the ancient demos thought be located in the area), was never completed, and is today abandoned, turning into a rubbish pit and causing the concern of the media (e.g. 'Rubbish pit at the ancient Koili', *Eleftherotypia*, 1 October 1995).

[14] *Neolaia* (1 (44), 12 August 1939, p. 1424); *Neon Kratos* (3 (24), August 1939, pp. 565–567), where a review by the author and intellectual Petros Haris is included.

Fig. 5.2 Members of EON attending a speech in front the Erechtheion on the Acropolis, 1940.

the patriarchal ideology of the regime and its portrayal of women primarily as mothers of the nation.[15] Just to leave no doubt as to what kind of messages the regime and the intellectuals close to it wanted to send, the prominent actress Marika Kotopouli wrote in the *Neon Kratos*:

I don't know if the selection of the tragedy of Kleist was deliberate or just a happy coincidence, but inside us an analogy had spontaneously emerged between the ancient Amazons, and the new ones that impersonated them . . . Today they are not going to subordinate men at the field of the battle, but they will become mothers who will give breath and flesh to tomorrow's Hellenes [the noun 'Hellenes' is in masculine form here]. For this wonderful destiny, the blossom of the Greek youth is destined. And for this great

[15] Within this patriarchal framework we should place the paternalistic ideology of the regime as a whole, the homology between family and the state, and the decision by the regime to close the mixed-gender schools (Mahaira 1987: 70). The gender dimension of nationalism, and its portrayal of women as 'mothers of the nation', in other words the emphasis on their reproductive capacity, has been addressed by a number of studies, e.g. Yuval-Davis and Anthias (1989), Yuval-Davis (1997), Mayer (2000); on present-day Greece see the ethnography of Paxson (2004, especially 203–205).

Fig. 5.3 Members of EON at a ceremony in front of the Temple of Zeus Olympios, 1940.

achievement these girls should feel as proud as the mythical Amazons, whom they so beautifully impersonated.[16]

It seems that the military connotations of the play were the ones that convinced the creators of this performance to stage it, despite its subversive overtones. It also seems that these overtones worried the regime, since *Neolaia*, while praising the staging of the performance overall, noted that:

[16] *Neon Kratos* (3 (24), 1939, p. 565).

Fig. 5.4 Female members of EON pose at the theatre of Herodes Atticus, 1940. The caption reads: 'From the spiritual games of EON in the theatre of Herodes Atticus'.

Fig. 5.5 Members of the cast of the play *Penthesileia*, 1939. The caption reads: 'Amazons – Fallange members taking part in the performance of "Penthesileia"'.

... it is imperative that plays are selected from the rich repertoire of the immortal theatrical plays of our ancient authors, which provide so complete the moral concepts and high lessons of the pan-human virtues, something which we did not see in the work of Kleist.[17]

But this play seemed to have been the exception, as most of the other performances seemed to have been tightly controlled and within the line of the regime's ideology.[18]

The two main print media for the dissemination of the regime's ideology, *Neon Kratos*, but primarily *Neolaia*, contained a series of features that popularized its version of antiquity and the past. These included many articles on ancient Sparta,[19] on Macedonia,[20] on other aspects of classical culture with the main emphasis on militarism, discipline, and sacrifice,[21] on other archaeological themes, including an attempt to justify the use of the 'Minoan' double axe as the symbol of EON,[22] on ancient athletic ideals, and the military aspects on the Byzantine Empire, as well many themes on religion and Christianity. *Neon Kratos* included a number of theoretical articles on Hellenicity, on art, as well as the publication of the inaugural lectures at the University of Athens by S. Marinatos and D. Zakythinos; Zakythinos, under the title 'Byzantium and Hellenism' gives academic legitimacy to the regime's ideology on the past, in saying:

The fifth century gave to humanity unique monuments of art and spirit, and institutions of highest political perfection. But the real political maturity of

[17] *Neolaia* (1 (44), 12 August 1939, p. 1424).

[18] See, for example, the performance of the play 'The Sacred Flame' (*Neolaia* 2 (47), 1940, p. 1479), which featured members of EON dressed up as ancient Greek soldiers, and the theme of which was the 'immortal Hellenic spirit—the sacred flame symbolizes the unified and indivisible nature of Hellenic nation'.

[19] For example, see a historical novella entitled 'A phallangitis [=EON member] in ancient Sparta', *Neolaia* (1 (21), 4 March 1939, p. 687); a serialization of an account on Spartan pedagogy in the same magazine throughout 1940; other articles on Sparta (e.g. *Neolaia* 2 (21), 1940); see also a serialized article by I. Karavidas (1939), entitled 'Nation and education', published in the journal *Nea Politiki,* where the virtues of Sparta are praised and the accusation that it did not produce cultural works is answered.

[20] For example, see a serialization of a historical novella called 'At the Times of Alexander', in *Neolaia* during 1940–1941; on the glorification of Alexander see Th. Theodoropoulos (1938).

[21] Cf. the article entitled 'Socrates at war' (*Neolaia* 1 (14), 14 January 1939, p. 469).

[22] Cf. the article, 'Did the Minotaur exist?' in *Neolaia* (2 (6), 11 November 1939, p. 167), where it is stated that the double axe was a symbol of power.

> Hellenism coincides with the fourth and the third century before Christ [i.e. the era of the acme of Macedonia, idealized by the regime] . . . Byzantium continues, under Christian form and within Roman administrative and political frameworks, the great work of the Hellenistic campaign
>
> Zakythinos (1939: 251)

Mahaira (1987) has noted the crucial role of photography in the regime's attempt to disseminate the national pedagogy. In *Neolaia* in particular, photographic reproductions are a key feature. These are black and white photos with a colour make-over; a significant number revolve around antiquity: more commonly, the photographs are from visits of an EON branch to archaeological sites and monuments, and photographs from re-enactments (theatrical performances, athletic games, and so on), involving members of EON dressed up in what is supposed to be ancient Greek costume (Fig. 5.6). In these, the youth (men and women) are never portrayed in plain clothes: they were either in the EON uniform, in assumed ancient Greek (more commonly, military) costume, or in traditional folk dress. The archaeological sites in the background, are most commonly the Parthenon, the Erechtheion, the Temple of Zeus Olympios, the Acropolis overall, or an ancient Greek theatre. Rarely are archaeological sites portrayed with no human presence; examples here include the Athenian Acropolis, and on one occasion Knossos. Some of these photographs often featured in the cover of the magazine. While some of these photographs are group portraits, where members of EON would be facing the camera in a semi-formal pose, most depict them either in contemplative pose looking at a monument (Fig. 5.7), participating in a regimented event in front of a monument (Figs 5.2 and 5.3), or performing their assumed role, with a pose that in some cases resembles ancient Greek statues.

The photographs establish an association between the Metaxas regime and the classical material past; but they are much more than that. These representations not only evoke the notion of photography as 'primitive theatre' (Barthes 1981: 32), but they also portray an ordered, regimented, clean, and sanitized world, a photographic illusion of the utopian society that the regime aspired to; in this utopic or rather heterotopic world, antiquity occupies an ambivalent position: sometimes pure backdrop with the EON

Fig. 5.6 Cover of *Neolaia*, depicting young people dressed up in supposedly ancient Greek costume, 1940.

members as the main theme, and sometimes a dominant position with the youth occupying a secondary role. On these occasions, however, additional elements such as a text caption or the title of the magazine (in the case of the covers) is drafted to clearly distinguish between the 'first' civilization and the 'third' (Fig. 5.8). This photographic ambivalence expresses the ambivalence of the ideology of the regime, whereby classical antiquity is glorified as a source of artistic ideal but denounced as a source of political and religious ideals, and is simply seen as a pool of selective borrowings rather than as prototype to imitate; it is above all, a model that the youth of the

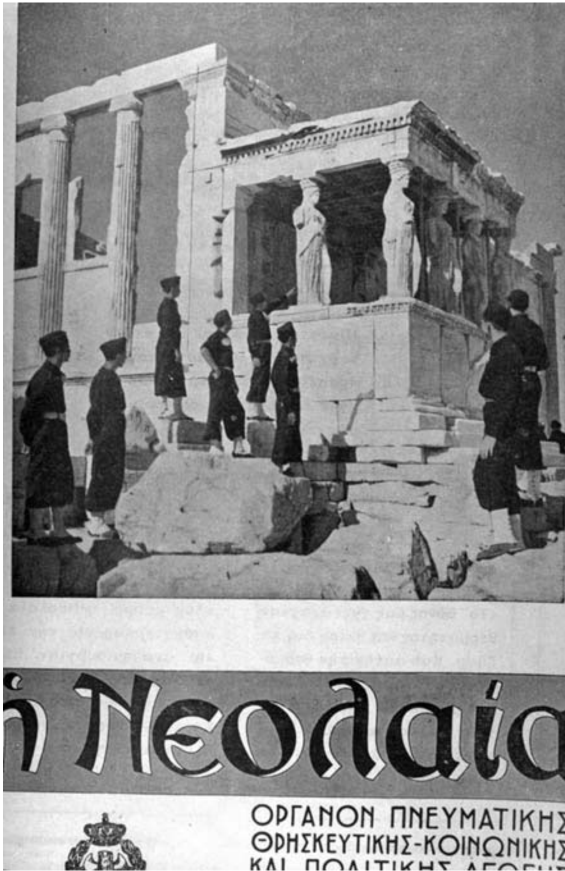

Fig. 5.7 Cover of *Neolaia*, depicting EON members in contemplative pose in front of the Erechtheion on the Acropolis, 1938.

EON should aspire to supersede. Photographs objectify (Barthes 1981: 13), and in this case we should invoke both meanings of the verb: they produce an objectified, clean, and sanitized representation of a moment, which will be then disseminated in the economy of signs as the fixed memory of a certain ceremony or event; but they also monumentalize human figures: they erase individuality by presenting the human figure in various uniforms (either that of EON, the ancient Greek costume, or the 'traditional' folk costume);

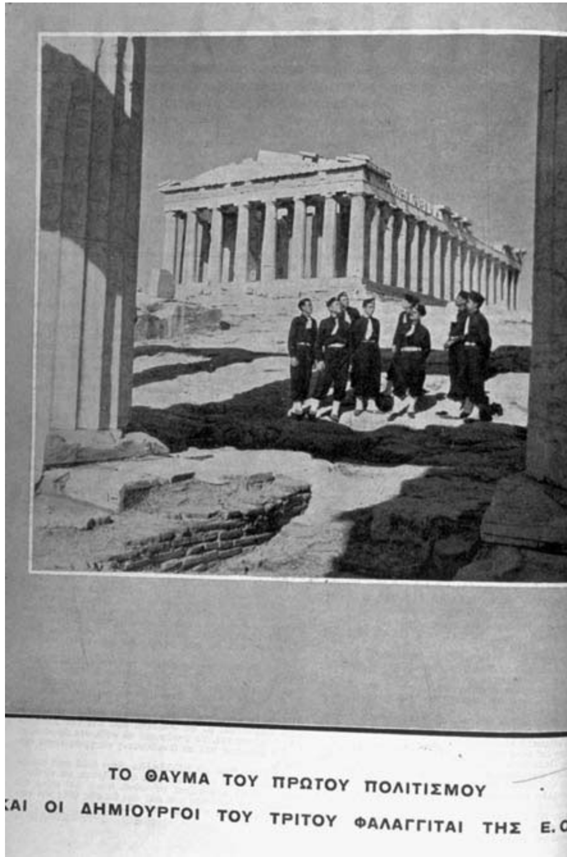

Fig. 5.8 Back cover of *Neolaia*, depicting EON members in front of the Parthenon on the Acropolis, 1938. The caption reads: 'the miracle of the First Civilization and the creators of the Third, Phallange members of EON'.

Moreover, by depicting the youth in poses that evoke ancient Greek statues, they freeze and monumentalize temporality and social space. If in photographs human figures 'are anesthetized and fastened down like butterflies', to recall Barthes (1981: 57), these photographs not only evoke a dead and non-inhabited classical past, they also deprive the modern human figures of their temporal and social milieu, they recast them as modern monuments (Fig. 5.9).

THE DISCOURSE OF THE 'OTHER'

Metaxas's regime was characterized by extreme anti-communism; it also implemented a series of measures aimed at persecuting all those considered to be the enemy, from the members of the Communist Party, members of ethnic minorities, especially Slavo-Macedonians, and in general everybody who would question its legitimacy and

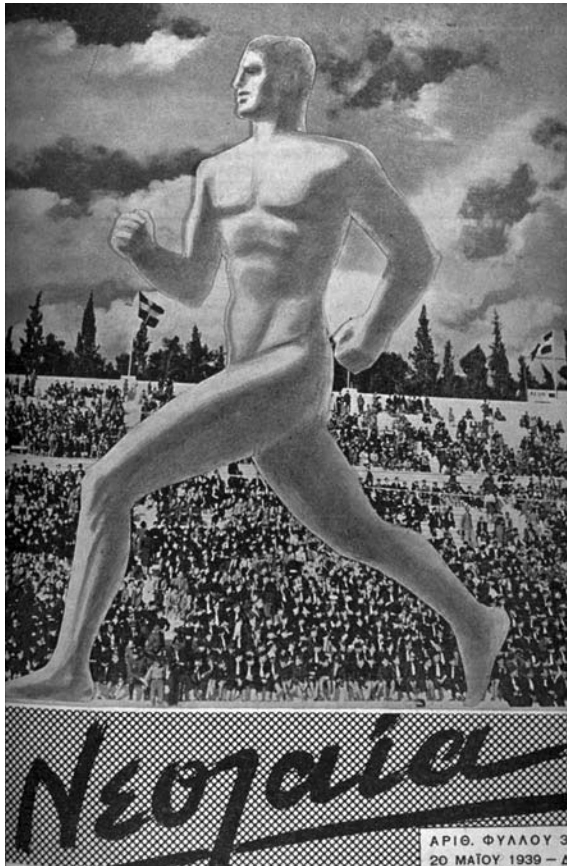

Fig. 5.9 Cover of *Neolaia*, depicting an EON ceremony at Panathinaïkon Stadium, 1939; note the statue-like figure of the runner.

ideology. So, how did some of these persecuted 'others' see the version of history, antiquity, and the past that the regime promoted? Although this is not a straightforward question to answer due to a lack of systematic studies on the issue, but also to the diversity of views that Metaxas's various 'others' held, there are some hints that allow us to get a glimpse and form a tentative hypothesis. These are primarily the memoirs of some of the persecuted, and, to a lesser extent, the official documents of the political organizations. In a text written by the imprisoned leader of the Communist Party, Nikos Zahariadis, in June 1939 (recorded inside Corfu Prison, not on paper but on fragments of cloth kept in his pillow and rescued by other inmates), a complete refutation of the regime's ideology based on the past is attempted:

> the first civilization, the ancient Greek one, was based on slave ownership and exploitation, and that is why it was conquered by the Macedonians and the Romans. The second 'Hellenic' civilization of the Byzantine Empire, [a civilization] of asiatic despotism, collapsed from internal disintegration and rot, because it fed on the enslavement of people. The third civilization which the Fourth of August 'creates' has as its ideal ancient Sparta, which lived on the meat and the blood of helots of Evrotas, and from pillaging; it always refused every superior spiritual/cultural and civilizing life and at the end became a mercenary army for the Persians against the Hellenes
>
> Zahariadis (1945[1939]: 15)

> The 'Great Idea', against all historical and scientific data, proclaimed that modern Greece is a descendant, inheritor and successor of an Ancient Greece of slave-owners, and of the Byzantine Empire of the Asiatic despotism. And that its historical mission, which has been given to her 'from above', is to recreate the 'Hellenic Empire' that never existed
>
> Zahariadis (1945[1939]: 20)

This passage constitutes perhaps one of the most radical critiques in modern Greek society of the ideology of the nation based on antiquity. Zahariadis, although he often invoked classical mythology as a figure of speech,[23] is rejecting not simply the ideological foundations

[23] For example, 'Communism should stand with both its feet on reality and life, like the teeth of the dragon which the mythical Kadmos used to sow while passing' (Zahariadis 1945: 54).

of Metaxas's regime but the whole basis of the foundation of the modern Greek state as the successor of classical Greece, and, since the late nineteenth century onwards, of Byzantium, as well. But such rare, complete rejection was not that common, even among members of the Communist Party and, more so, of the broader left. Vasos Georgiou a prominent leader of the party, was at the time in exile on the island of Gavdos, the southernmost of all Greek islands. In a recently published memoir of that time, he wrote how he was inspired by Homer to continue fighting:

> Personally, I had been seduced by the unprecedented poetic magic, the human bravery and the patriotic excitement that the immortal Homeric verses exuded, and the image of Hector and Andromache in their last meeting: when she, the mother with the baby in her bosom, attempts to prevent Hector from the fulfilment of the first and ultimate duty, and he, steadily, unconvinced, responds that for the fighter, the father, the citizen and the human being, there is no other path of honour and dignity than the path of the struggle for the liberation of the fatherland . . . I was so touched . . . that in the spring of 1940 I wrote to [my wife]: if our baby is boy we should call him Hector, if girl, Andromache
>
> Georgiou (1992: 211)

The above passage speaks of the need of the author to find an historical and ideological justification of his life choices, but the fact that this research led him to antiquity and Homer as a source of moral authority is telling; 'the patriotic excitement' that he felt is not without meaning either. Nevertheless, this recollection, written very recently, may not necessarily reflect the author's attitudes towards antiquity at the time. For example, in a different text written a few years after the Metaxas regime, in 1943, Georgiou critiqued both the classical and the Byzantine past, but fell short of denouncing any sort of continuity between the classical past and the modern Greek present; he thus positioned himself between the radical rejection of Zahariadis, and the uncritical embrace of the notion of continuity, revealing perhaps the diversity of views on the matter within the left at the time.[24] Other left-wing political exiles during the Metaxas

[24] The text (Georgiou n.d.), written in 1943 and first published in Athens in 1945, is a critique of the 'Great Idea', with the main emphasis on economy, but it does contain some discussion on the link between antiquity, Byzantium and modern

regime would be more open in embracing the national narrative of continuity. For example, Kostas Birkas, who spent time as an exile in Anaphi (cf. Kenna 2003), wrote in a memoir written many years later (and published in 1975):

> Every country and every enslaved people ... always fought and still do today for freedom and independence ... How would you expect the Hellen (*Ellina*) not to do so, with a history and a soul like the one that he inherited from the Thermopylai of Leonidas and from the Alamana[25] of Diakos? ... this voice was coming from the depths of time and from the bottoms of this earth, which is and will be called Greece – Greece of [18]21 and of [19]40, 'eternal Greece', of the third thousand years of history and civilization –
>
> Birkas (1975: 32–33)

The statement here is clear, yet it is not known whether it reflected his views at the time of Metaxas or signified an acceptance and embrace of the national discourse of antiquity, after the dramatic years that followed: the Second World War and primarily the Greek Civil War with its defining ideological consequences. The following text thus has particular interest: it is written by K. Gavrilidis (a prominent leader of the left, and secretary of the Agrarian Party of Greece (AKE)) in 1937, while he was exiled in Anaphi. Gavrilidis was a refugee from the Caucasus; he describes thus his feelings upon arriving in Greece:

> We were at last in the eternal and immortal Greece. The glory of Ancient Greece which for centuries nurtured the souls especially of the enslaved Greeks, flooded our chest. Here we would meet again the ancient Greek spirit which was praised so much by all people and for which the Hellenic nation [*genos*] was so proud.

Greece, mostly with reference to the language question; e.g. 'As we Modern Greeks cannot be considered as pure-blooded descendants of the ancient Greeks, so our national language is not the language of the ancients. The elements that derive from the ancients and their language are of a new form ... katharevoussa [=the 'purifying' language] is not Hellenic language, as the Byzantine Empire was not Hellenic ...' (Georgiou n.d.[1945]: 111–112). Georgiou will finish his discussion of the language issue with the statement that the solution to the problem will come from the establishment of a Popular Democracy [i.e. Socialism] which can 'transfer into our living language the treasures of classical antiquity' (Georgiou n.d.[1945]: 115).

[25] A location of a famous battle during the War of Independence.

> Seventeen years have passed. How different we found the Greece we imagined! And comparing the modern Greeks with the ancients, how small and unworthy of mention are the former!
>
> Gavrilidis (1997: 197)

> Is Greece, which was the country of philosophy and all modern progressive ideas, ever going to stop reminding the semi-barbarous state in which the various retrogressive governments, which much admire the ancient spirit but are so much scared and hateful of the new and they fight it, are determined to keep? It never crossed their mind that this ancient spirit that they admire, represented the new spirit in its era, the new progressive, and if you like, revolutionary tendency
>
> Gavrilidis (1997: 198–99)

Gavrilidis thus represented a completely different viewpoint from that of Zahariadis on ancient Greece and on the notion of continuity. For him, there is no question that modern Greeks are the successors of the glory of ancient Greece, but it is the specific governments and regimes (such as that of Metaxas) that are not the worthy managers of that glorious heritage, they cannot understand and appreciate, despite their rhetoric, the spirit of ancient Greece. That is why Gavrilidis in the same text condemned the Metaxas regime for their censorship of ancient Greek works such as Thucydides' *Epitaphios* (Gavrilidis 1997: 215–216).

It seems, therefore, that the Greek left of the 1930s (or at least some prominent and influential parts of it) had a diverse reaction to Metaxas's evocation and deployment of antiquity and Byzantium: from the complete denunciation and rejection which was accompanied by the rejection of the notion of continuity between ancient and modern Greeks, to the almost wholehearted endorsement of the glorious past and of the notion of continuity, but which was accompanied by the rejection of its present-day stewards; the stewards who not only failed to understand and therefore manage properly the ancient spirit, but who also attempted such a sacrilegious act as to censor some of the most important ancient texts. As we will see in the next chapter, it was this later view that became dominant in the following years and which would be endorsed by the majority of the left, especially since the main accusation that the right levelled at the left was that its ideology was anti-Greek, and that leftists exiled

themselves from the ancient Greek inheritance and spirit of Hellenism by accepting that ideology. Thus, despite views such as those of Zahariadis, the resistance to Metaxas's vision (and its reincarnations in later years) operated within the national narrative and discourse, and the foundational myth of origins, the notions of cultural supremacy and continuity were openly or subtly endorsed.[26]

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PRACTICE AND THE METAXAS REGIME

It must be clear by now why the excavation at Thermopylai with which this chapter opened, acquired such an important symbolic weight for the Metaxas regime: one of the most important loci of national memory, linked perhaps to one of the most celebrated battles from antiquity, it afforded the ideological linkage of military virtue, the notion of sacrifice for the fatherland, and the glorification of Sparta as opposed to classical Athens. The excavation thus became iconic for the kind of projects being promoted by the regime.

Throughout the Metaxas period there were no radical changes in archaeological policy (cf. Sakka 2002) but there were a number of initiatives, besides the excavation at Thermopylai, that were inscribed within the regime's dominant ideological framework. The main substantial legal intervention at the time, Law 1947/39, introduced a number of protection measures for Byzantine/Christian, medieval and Venetian/Turkish monuments; the same law, however, and in accordance with the 'women-as-mothers-of-the-nation' ideology,

[26] A prominent leader of the Communist and left movement, Grigoris Pharakos, recalled recently a confrontation he had with Zahariadis in 1953, during a party meeting (the fourth all-member congress of KKE, the Communist Party of Greece), regarding the origins of the 'modern Greek nation' and its links with ancient Greece. Pharakos narrates with astonishment that he had to disagree with Zahariadis in order to state something obvious to him and, he assumes, to all: that 'we cannot say that there is no relationship with ancient Greece, and that we should honour and study our heritage' (Mavroïdis 1999: 477–478). It seems that, as late as 1953, Zahariadis insisted on his views, but he faced resistance from within his party. This discussion was entitled (presumably by the interviewer, a well known left-wing journalist): 'Even the Ancient Greek Heritage . . .', a criticism of the dogmatic ideas of Zahariadis.

refused women the right to enter the archaeological service, and, to the two women employed at the time, it refused the right to be directors (Sakka 2002: 28–30). Archaeologists were subjected to checks and surveillance, especially if attempting to join unions and other organizations (Sakka 2002: 40). Archaeological activity became more tightly controlled by the state and its whole operation became more centralized, as collective bodies such as the Archaeological Council were weakened (Sakka 2002: 31); a new Directorate for Antiquities, Letters and Fine Arts was created, operating under the Ministry for Education (YTT 1938: 95). While funding for archaeological activity was scarce, and from mid-1938 became even more so (Sakka 2002: 14–15), one project in particular received huge funding: 30 million drachmas were approved to the Academy of Athens (2.5 million per year for 12 years) for the excavation which, since 1932 had been trying to locate the Platonic Academy in central Athens (YTT 1938: 95; Sakka 2002: 36). The amateur archaeologist P. Aristophron, who with his wife was excavating at the site (Aristophron 1933), dreamed of creating an international cultural institution where every nation would have its own branch, thus making Athens the cultural and spiritual capital of the world (Sakka 2002: 36). It can thus easily be seen why this project—which is reminiscent of the idea of the poet Angelos Sikelianos in the late 1920s and early 1930s for a Delphic University/Academy[27]—received such enormous funding from the government.

The excavations carried out by the foreign schools at the time are not without interest either. It is no coincidence that in April 1937 the German excavations at Olympia officially restarted, a highly meaningful event given the personal interest of Hitler in ancient Greece (expressed in the funding of the dig from his personal fund; Marchand 1996: 352), and the 1936 Berlin Olympics with their well-known ideological deployment by the Third Reich (Marchand 1996: 351–52). The beginning of the excavations were marked by an elaborate ceremony at the site, attended by the Minister of Education of the Third Reich and other officials (YTT 1938: 96). The Third

[27] On the idea of the Delphic University see: Sikelianos (1980: 131–161); on the Delphic festivals see, amongst others, Alexopoulos (1995), Lambrinos (1997), and the special issues of the journals *Efthyni* 17 (1982) and *Ios* 98–108 (1966–67) (2nd edn 1998 by Papadima Publishers).

Reich ideal that motivated the new dig was based on the 'harmonious development of body and soul', as noted by one prominent speaker in the ceremony (Marchand 1996: 351), an ideal that fitted very well with the Metaxas regime's emphasis on athletics. At the same time, the American School enjoyed very good relationships with the regime (Sakka 2002: 178)[28] and one of its most prominent projects, the excavations at Pylos by Carl Blegen which started in 1939, attracted world media attention due to the discovery of a Mycenaean palace as well as a cache of Linear B tablets. The excavation was praised by the regime as the most important in terms of finds, and the collaboration offered by the government was emphasized in the published 3-year report of the government's activity (YTT 1939: 218).[29]

A particularly interesting aspect of the archaeological activity at the time is the care to preserve and reconstitute a number of buildings of more recent times, especially medieval, with emphasis on Byzantine churches and castles, but also Ottoman mosques. Some of the mosques became museums, such as the one at the Roman agora which became the Museum of Modern Athens (YTT 1938: 96). The care for the Byzantine monuments and especially churches is in accordance with the regime's glorification of the Byzantine past. On the other hand, the regime boasted that it protected Ottoman

[28] Sakka (2002: 178, n. 251) cites a 1938 letter of T. L. Shear, one of the School's most prominent members and officers, stating that 'The School is in high favor with the Government . . .'.

[29] It seems that this excavation, which was already planned in 1929, started as a collaboration between the Greek archaeologist Konstantinos Kourouniotis and Carl Blegen (after the invitation of the first and financial support by Blegen), and it was meant to be a small-scale exploration near a locality where Kourouniotis had found Mycenaean tombs and other material (cf. Blegen n.d. p. xiii, and pp. 18–20). Kourouniotis had no trouble getting the permit after negotiations with Oikonomou, the outgoing, and Marinatos, the incoming, general director of antiquities (see letter by Kourouniotis to Blegen, dated 22 March 1938, Archives of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens [ASCSA], Blegen Papers), and the official archaeological service did not seem to have paid much attention to the project, as it was in a locality that was not known for its prominent archaeological finds. Once the dig, due to its finds, had attracted wide publicity, it seems that the government attempted to intervene more directly, as indicated by the urgent telegram of the assistant minister responsible for antiquities to the Ephor of Antiquities at Sparta (under the jurisdiction of which Pylos was) to 'go immediately to Pylos and supervise the excavations of Professor Blegen' which were to last 'ten days' [telegram by Spentzas to the Ephor of Antiquities at Sparta, Archives of the ASCSA, Blegen Papers]. The telegram was sent on 17 April 1939, a few days after the discovery of the impressive finds.

buildings, and mosques in particular (YTT 1938: 96). The practice, which contradicts in some ways the forceful Hellenization, especially of northern Greece, reflects a number of intersecting attitudes: the good relations that the regime tried to maintain with Turkey at the time, the attempt to demonstrate to international bodies that the government respected all monuments, but also perhaps the genuine attitude of respect towards all religious heritage. After all, religion was a fundamental ideological basis of the regime, and while ethnic minorities were not recognized and were brutally suppressed, some religious minorities enjoyed a much more tolerant attitude.[30]

The cleanliness and respectability of the archaeological sites open to visitors was one of the main preoccupations of the regime, but also of the press at the time. The Deputy Minister for the Press, Nikoloudis, used to personally inspect archaeological sites, and a newspaper report noted that this effort was crucial, as it was at the archaeological sites that the 'civilization of modern Greece is judged in comparison to the civilization of ancient Greece' (Sakka 2002: 35). Tourism must have been one of the concerns of the officials, but as is evident in the passage just mentioned, the anxiety revealed more than the sanitization and purification mentality that had been central in the national discourse in general, and with reference to antiquities in particular, since the nineteenth century. It also reflected the equally persistent worry that, as the archaeological sites constituted the arena where ancient and modern Greece met and where, inevitably, comparisons were made, modern Greeks should prove themselves worthy stewards of the classical glory, especially in the constantly watchful eyes of the foreigners.

In 1938 the excavator of Thermopylai, S. Marinatos, perhaps the most loyal archaeologist of the regime, replaced G. Oikonomos (who had served in this role since 1933) as the Director General of Antiquities. In 1939, he was elected full Professor of Archaeology at the University of Athens and gave his inaugural lecture on 'Crete and Mycenae'. The lecture, which was published in *Neon Kratos* (Marinatos 1939b), aimed to show, 'how unbroken is the continuity of events which took place on the Hellenic soil from the oldest times. I wanted

[30] In a speech to EON on 5 January 1939, Metaxas noted: 'The respect towards the religious beliefs of the non-Christians should be absolute' (Metaxas 1969b: 10).

to show that prehistory and history on the soil of our fatherland, constitutes a continuous chain of events . . . For the unity and the conservatism of the nation, the soul and the language that developed on the soil upon which we live, are really unimaginable' (Marinatos 1939b: 368). At the time Marinatos came up with the idea of creating a unified, 'Museum of the Nation', where Hellenism would be exhibited as a continuous presence (Depasta 1990: 24), a plan which never materialized; however, a similar, schoolbook version of this idea did materialize many years later, in 1997 (cf. Hamilakis 2003a).

But continuity of the nation and the soil of the fatherland were not the only themes that Marinatos's work would emphasize: in a newspaper article published in 1937, he reported the find of a Bronze Age statue, under the title 'A Minoan worshipping Virgin Mary was found in Crete',[31] thus helping to fuse antiquity (even the Bronze Age, as in this case) with Christian religious feeling.

In 1938, the Athens Archaeological Society celebrated its centenary (1837–1937) with grand ceremonies attended by the king (who served as the president of the Society) and by Metaxas himself, who also delivered a speech. In the main speech by the Secretary of the Archaeological Society, G. Oikonomos (delivered in the Parthenon, in front of the king), both the classical and Byzantine past were hailed as the glorious heritage, and their contribution towards the creation of the modern state with 'Hellenic and Christian character' emanating from the 'Hellenism that circulates in the blood of the people' (Oikonomos 1938: 2) was emphasized, a statement that was perfectly in line with the regime's ideology. But he spent most of this speech boasting of the prominent membership of the Archaeological Society and the high patronage that it enjoyed, including political leaders and prime ministers. Interestingly, Metaxas, who, according to some, hated the intellectuals (cf. Tziovas 1989: 151), adopted a different tone in his speech: he attempted to prove at some length the links between 'common people' and antiquities; the 'popular soul', he said, despite the lack of education, held the monuments of 'our civilization' with great, 'true and touching affection and care' (Metaxas 1969a: 27). He would even rehearse the popular saying about the statues of Erechtheion, the caryatids, who still mourned the 'loss of their sister',

[31] *Eleftheron Vima* (11 June 1937).

removed by Elgin in the early nineteenth century.[32] Populism was one of the cornerstones of the regime's ideology. In the celebration of an institution that expressed the interests of the local and European elites and their views on antiquities, Metaxas felt the need to represent 'common people'.

Antiquities, of course, continued to operate as 'ambassadors of the nation', and in 1939 they featured prominently at the New York World Fair. After some discussion and disagreements that went unreported (Sakka 2002: 39),[33] the Greek government sent five original classical sculptures to the fair, aimed at demonstrating the evolution of Greek art from archaic to Hellenistic times. It also sent a number of replicas, including two of 'Minoan' antiquities, and a number of modern arts and crafts, some of which featured themes from antiquity (YTT 1939: 218). The catalogue of the Greek exhibition (Anon 1939?) is of particular interest: the cover features an engraving depicting a row of three ancient Greek soldiers above the word 'Greece'. In three parts, the catalogue devotes its first part to the original antiquities exhibited as well as the replicas, the second to the modern arts and crafts, where women in 'traditional costume' are shown weaving, and the final one to the 'peasant life', accompanied with texts such as: 'In this classical land of Greece peasant life goes on as of old'; as for the modern pottery styles (such as Kutahia pottery introduced from Anatolia), 'the new industry was fortunate in finding in its new home that same artistic inspiration which helped to make Greece of old famous for its vases'. The emphasis on folk art reflects the weight that the regime placed on the notion of 'tradition', on *laographia*, and the folk spirit. At the institutional level this was expressed with the formation of a separate Directorate of Laographia in the Ministry of Education (Tziovas 1989: 149) and the foundation of many folklore museums. This glorification of the authentic 'folk soul' evokes the nineteenth century role of *laographia* (see Chapter 3), but also the populist nature of the regime, and its affinities with European fascist ideologies, especially the distinction between external/materialistic elements

[32] See Chapter 7 for discussion.

[33] The official government report states that one of the main reasons for the export of these original works was the 'moral strengthening of the Hellenism of America' (YTT 1939: 218).

linked with European progress, and internal/spiritual culture, residing in the pure and authentic folk and in the earth and soil (Tziovas 1989: 150). Most intellectuals at the time, adopted and embraced to various degrees these ideas, and looked at folk expressions (such as the writings of the hero of the War of Independence, Makrygiannis or the paintings of the naïve painter Theophilos), for elements of Hellenicity (*ellinikotita*) (Tziovas 1989: 152).

This exhibition thus served a dual purpose of showcasing the nation and of attempting to attract tourists. While the cover of its catalogue evoked the militaristic nature of the regime, the content reflected more the overall monumentalization of Greek society initiated in the nineteenth century. The colonialist idea of the frozen, static classical land, the burden that Greece had to carry since its 'rediscovery' by the west and the price it has to pay for its acceptance as a European nation, is here reproduced not by a colonialist, but ironically by an extreme nationalistic regime. It seems that strategic thinking prevailed here: Greece showcased what it knew would sell, as it tapped into the pre-existing stereotypes. The exhibition and its catalogue were a site where colonialist and nationalist ideas intersected, were recalled, remembered, and produced anew under the global gaze.

CONCLUSIONS

The production and reproduction of national imagination is not exclusively the work of extreme nationalistic regimes, nor simply of state apparatuses, however authoritarian these may be. Metaxas did not invent a new narrative of continuity, he simply built on the already established ideology of indigenous Hellenism, in place since the mid to late nineteenth century. His regime did not have to convince anyone of the charter myth of the nation and its golden classical era, nor of the role of Byzantium as a Christian Empire and as a bridge between ancient and modern Hellenism, an ark that preserved the classical heritage for modern Hellas. He and his regime simply produced a modified version of the national narrative, glorifying the aspects of the classical and Byzantine past that legitimized

his (and his regime's) practices, policies, and vision: the militarism of Sparta and the Macedonia of Philip II, the populism and austerity of Sparta, the autocratic and Christian nature of Byzantium. Astonishingly enough, the regime was even reprimanded by some of its victims (such as the exiled communists) for critiquing and doubting the supreme moral authority of classical antiquity, and of classical Athens in particular.

Nor did the Metaxas regime commit any blatant 'abuses' of the archaeological past; and despite its autocratic and dictatorial manner, it did not dictate to archaeologists its own archaeological narrative. The policies on archaeology remained more or less the same as before (Sakka 2002: 47), and even the director of antiquities was not replaced until 2 years after 4 August 1936. From the excavations that were carried out during that period, the ones that were more closely inscribed into Metaxan ideology, such as the one at Thermopylai and at the assumed Academy of Plato in Athens, were not initiated by the regime as such: the latter had started years before, and the former would not have perhaps started without the financial assistance of an American philanthropist. Both, however, were supported by the regime in various ways and the narratives that were produced around them provided clear legitimacy of its ideology. As for elements such as the spiritual nature of Hellenism, the importance of folk tradition, and the fusion of Christianity and classical Hellenism, these were ideas that were circulating amongst intellectuals before the regime (which explains why several key intellectuals were willing to write for its journals and magazines) and they would continue to be prominent features of the national discourse long after the demise of the Metaxas regime.

Yet, ironically, despite the claims for the spiritual nature of the regime's ideology, the discourse around the material past, the materiality of antiquities, and the archaeological practices, were all important devices that helped illustrate the rhetorical façade that the Metaxas regime attempted to create. For example, the description of a Bronze Age statue as a 'Minoan Virgin Mary' contributed to the fusion of antiquity and Christianity in the public imagination, and to the further sacralization of the material past; the arrowheads from Thermopylai evoked the famous battle and the sacrifice for the fatherland much more strongly than any historical account would

have; and the process of unearthing these arrowheads, of 'working the land' amidst the marshes and malaria-carrying mosquitoes, so that 'she', that is the land, can 'give birth' to the material traces that testified to bravery and sacrifice, was akin to uncovering the truth of the nation, proving through tangible material artefacts the Hellenicity of the territory. Antiquity and archaeology were indeed deeply implicated in the process of recasting the national narrative and embodying the national discourse, but in more subtle ways than is normally assumed.

While many elements of the regime's ideology on antiquity, such as the glorification of Sparta, did not survive its fall (save for the rhetoric of extreme right-wing groups which still claim Metaxas as one of their great ancestors), several others enjoyed a long life. The emphasis on Byzantium contributed further to its rehabilitation in modern Greek ideology, and, more importantly, to the fusion of Christianity and classical past that, as seen in the previous chapter, survives up to the present day. The emphasis on folk traditions and the purity of ordinary people (who are also assumed to have carried the unadulterated memory of the classical past in their dances, their songs, their farming practices, and their crafts), of course, goes back to the nineteenth century, but it received a further boost in the 1930s and remained strong for many years after; and on the more practical level, the establishment of organizations such as the state authority for the production and distribution of school textbooks is still going strong at the beginning of the twenty-first century and is responsible for the dissemination of national pedagogy (Hamilakis 2003a). More importantly, the rituals, the theatrical and other performances, the ceremonies, the re-enactments, and the parades involving antiquities which may not have been invented by the regime (the Delphic Festivals, a few years before were a significant precursor) but which became more common and more important at this time, were destined to have a long and eventful future: from the plays and the re-enactment of the building of the Parthenon by the exiles at Makronisos in the late 1940s (Chapter 6), to the commemoration of Melina Mercouri in front of the Parthenon marbles at the British Museum in the early 1990s (Chapter 7), and the long parade of Greek history from the 'Minoan' times to the present, with actors impersonating statues, during the opening ceremony of the 2004

Athens Olympics, not to mention the countless, less glamorous performances of solemnity and piety in apparently secular and routine moments, such as visits to a museum. These are rituals that speak of the liturgical and ceremonial character of the national imagination, its quasi-religious nature; these are events and performances that could not have been performed without the holy relics of antiquity (in their authentic or imitated form) as the material and tangible props, topographic markers, and chronometric indicators of continuity and eternity at the same time.

6

The Other Parthenon: Antiquity and National Memory at the Concentration Camp

The past beats inside me like a second heart

John Banville, *The Sea*

Today it is not the city but rather the camp that is the fundamental biopolitical paradigm of the West

Agamben (1998[1995]: 181)

All these people in the cafes and the offices, have all passed from here. This place is not of the past, it is present, it digs our grave; it will not stop unless it is repaid

Dionysis Savvopoulos (5 September 1976)[1]

It is April 2000, and I am researching material for the theme of this chapter in a Greek library; I ask to reproduce some illustrations but I am informed by the librarian that, as their photographer would not be back for several days (by which time I would have already been back in Britain), it would be impossible for me to take the photographs. He then takes a look at my reproduction application form and pauses:

[1] From the sleeve notes of the record for the soundtrack of the movie *Happy Day* (directed by Pandelis Voulgaris); the movie dealt with Makronisos, the topic of this chapter.

'I see that you are investigating Makronisos . . .'

'Yes, . . .' I said, somehow hesitantly, being aware of the connotations of the word.

'Come tomorrow morning with your camera, I will be here, and I will let you take the photographs . . . And you should also go and photograph in Athens the house of that P. Kanellopoulos [the late prominent politician] who said that Makronisos was the 'New Parthenon.' He revealed to me afterwards that his father was at Makronisos, and even suggested other material that I should be looking at for my research.

This incident brought home to me once again the now widely accepted idea that, in most cases, it is almost impossible for researchers to maintain the pretence of distant objectified research, divorced from social experience, from emotions and feelings, both of the researcher and of her or his 'interlocutors,' from the ever-present, sometime painful, social memories. After all, I had decided to embark on this topic of research not only because of its obvious relevance to my wider project which forms the subject of this book, but also because of the emotive weight that it carried for me: I still remember during my childhood years in the mid to late 1970s and early 1980s, how in a village in east Crete, talk of people who 'were sent to Makronisos', uttered with a sense of part contempt, part fear, and in any case with that cloud of social stigma around it, used to mystify me. In later years, during my mostly literary and political encounters with the phenomenon, this mystification increased, but was also accompanied by the emotions and feelings of echoes of many painful memories and stories, mostly, it seemed, still untold. As someone who researches and teaches archaeology, one of the most intriguing aspects was the association in modern social memory of Makronisos with classical antiquity, especially with its most prominent specimen, the Parthenon. Of course, the uses of antiquity by Greek authoritarian regimes were hardly a novelty, as we saw in the previous chapter. Makronisos was different, however: not only was it linked to a period of apparent parliamentary democracy, but for reasons which will become clear later, there was until recently very little discussion on it, let alone investigation (cf. Someritis 2001).

MAKRONISOS: 'A SCHOOL FOR THE RE-EDUCATION OF THE NATION'

Makronisos is linked to one of the most dramatic moments of the Greek Civil War (1946–49)[2] the implications and consequences of which lasted for many decades after its formal end (cf. Tsoucalas 1981). Greece was liberated from Nazi occupation in 1944, after a widespread and popular resistance movement organized mostly by the National Liberation Front (EAM) (and its military wing ELAS), founded by the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) and other left-wing and left-of-centre parties. After the short-lived participation of left-wing ministers in the post-war Papandreou government, which collapsed over the issue of demobilization of the resistance forces, leading to the *Dekemvriana* clashes in Athens (December 1944), the Varkiza agreement between EAM and the government was signed in 1945. This move, however, rather than bringing reconciliation, led to the infiltration of official positions and state bureaucracy by collaborationist elements, a large-scale purge against the left, and what has been described as a regime of 'white terror' or 'right-wing terror' (cf. Mazower 2000b). Through the introduction of new 'emergency' legislation, largely based on earlier laws going as far back as the nineteenth century, left-wing political views were criminalized; moreover, divisions of class or political conviction were replaced by the new division between 'nationally minded' (*ethnikophrones*), and 'bandits' or 'EAM-Bulgarians', the state's preferred terms for left-wing people (Voglis 2002: 66). Acts of murder, executions, internment, and internal exile became routine.

Eventually, and against the international background of the Cold War, the country was led to civil war, pitching government forces, with British and American support (Mazower 2000b: 7), against

[2] The bibliography on the Greek Civil War is now quite extensive, with many conferences held and books appearing in the past few years; see amongst others Baerentzen *et al.* (1987), Close (1993), Iatrides and Wrigley (1995), Koutsoukis and Sakkas (2000), Mazower (2000a), Margaritis (2001), Nikolakopoulos *et al.* (2002), and Carabott and Sfikas (2004); also papers in *Dokimes* (6, 1997); on the historiographic trends see Antoniou and Marantzidis (2003); on the collective memory of these events in a local community see van Boeschoten (1997).

left-wing forces of the DSE (Democratic Army of Greece), the successor of EAM/ELAS. The regime was faced with the problem of having to combat militarily a popular, experienced guerrilla army, and it, therefore, needed a large number of conscripts. It knew, however, that many of the people who were called up to fight were sympathetic to the leftist cause or had even fought with the left during the Nazi occupation (Iliou 1994).

Makronisos provided one grand solution to this problem: a major, state-run plan to 'rehabilitate' and 're-educate' communist and left-wing citizens (as well as people who were thought to be so, or had some sort of link with left-wing supporters) and then send them to fight against the DSE. This plan and its materialization invites extensive research which, despite some recent advances,[3] is still lacking. It appears that Makronisos enjoyed the active or passive support of the majority of the political and intellectual establishment of the time, and many of the key protagonists and supporters of this project were also key players in the political and intellectual life of Greece until very recently. Such factors may well have prevented serious analysis and research on the phenomenon.

How was this plan materialized? Makronisos is a small, bare, uninhabited island off the Attica coast, opposite the town of Lavrio; it is only 13.5 km long and 1.5 km wide. Partly because of its proximity to the capital, partly due to its isolated and barren nature, and perhaps partly because of the western intellectual and political idea that sees isolated islands as appropriate 'laboratories,' be it of evolutionary and cultural changes, punishment, or 'rehabilitation' experiments, Makronisos had long been seen as a place of imprisonment and exile (the islands of Gyaros and Ai-Stratis were already serving as places of exile at the time, as they had in the past). The Greek government imprisoned a number of Turkish war prisoners on Makronisos during the Balkan wars (1912–13), most of whom died of contagious diseases and were buried on the island. During the exchange of population following the Asia Minor War (1922), a

[3] See, for example, Bournazos (1997, 1998, 2000); other papers in Bournazos and Sakellaropoulos (2000) and Diaphonidis *et al.* (1994); also Iliou (1994), Giannaris (1996), and Voglis (2002, esp. 100–105); for a recent, literary work see Koumandareas (2001).

number of refugees were temporarily lodged there on their way to a more permanent residence (cf. Omada Ergasias 1994: 16; Voglis 2002: 101). In the midst of the Greek Civil War, Makronisos was thus seen as an ideal place to set up a number of state-run, military concentration camps to 're-educate' the left-wing conscripts, but also other citizens, prior to their posting in the mountains of northern Greece, where, in a tragic irony, they had to fight the side that they previously belonged to or sympathized with.

The camps opened in 1947 and received an increasingly large number of conscripts. From mid to late 1948 a number of non-conscript political prisoners arrived; their transfer continued throughout 1948, and by mid to late 1949 most or all male political exiles were transferred from the other islands to Makronisos. Finally, in January 1950, female exiles were transferred to a separate camp on the island (Voglis 2002: 104). A number of prisoners belonged to ethnic (for example, Slavo-Macedonian) or religious minorities (there was a number of Jehovah's Witnesses for example).[4] Initially Makronisos was tightly controlled by the army, but in September 1949 it came under the jurisdiction and control of an organization called *Organismos Anamorphotirion Makronisou* (OAM) (Organization of Corrective Institutions of Makronisos), under the supervision of five ministries (Military Affairs, Justice, Education, Press, and Public Order), but still with a military structure, and a commander appointed by the army (Sakellaropoulos 2000: 147). It seems that, while Makronisos was initially designed for the indoctrination of left-wing conscripts, it later (and even after the Greek Civil War had been won by the right-wing government) became a major punitive and ideological centre with a much wider remit and purpose (Margaritis 2000).

Partly due to the elections of March 1950 and the resulting centrist-moderate government, and partly due to domestic[5] and international pressure, OAM was dissolved in July–August 1950. The last 'unredeemed'[6] political prisoners were then transferred to Ai-Stratis

[4] Cf. the obituary for a prominent member of this religious minority, Minos Kokkinakis, who spent 18 months at Makronisos (F. Corley Kokkinakis, *The Independent*, 10 March 1999).

[5] See, for example, the reports of the newspaper *Mahi*; cf. Mahairas (1999).

[6] Terms such as this were used by the regime and are thus cited here in inverted commas for obvious semantic as well as political reasons.

(men) and to camps at Trikeri, a small island in the Pagasitikos Gulf (women) (Voglis 2002: 108); the conscript camps at Makronisos continued to operate until 1957 (and the military prisons until 1960), but violence had ceased and the whole 're-educational' operation stopped (in Diaphonidis *et al.* 1994: 16).

To gain a sense of the scale of the operation in its mature phase, a few figures will suffice: in September 1949, according to official statistics, the island housed 10,000 male political exiles, 9000 civilians who were arrested by the army as part of its 'preventive' operations, and 7500 soldiers and officers (Voglis 2002: 104). There is no agreement on the overall number but, according to one estimation, between 40,000 and 50,000 people or more seemed to have passed through this institution (Bournazos 2000, n. 3). The composer Mikis Theodorakis, who spent time at Makronisos, would reflect on the scale of the operation in his autobiography: 'I am now an industrial product of prime quality, a product of the industry of Makronisos' (Theodorakis 1986: 246–247).

The planning and execution of Makronisos were extremely sophisticated: several camps were set up on the west coast of the island, connected by a main road and served by small ports. A number of buildings were constructed (mostly by the inmates), including elaborate residences for the military commanders, churches, open-air theatres, monuments of various kinds, and even a soft-drinks factory. The architecture and strategy of confinement was particularly elaborate and followed a certain hierarchical order (depending on inmates' backgrounds and their willingness to collaborate), and included a notorious barbed-wired isolation sector (*syrma*), a cage-like structure for those inmates that were considered to be 'unredeemable'. Makronisos's military role—the supply of 'redeemed' soldiers to fight in the Greek Civil War—as well as its political-suppressive role, that is the crushing and humiliation of the left, were obviously prominent; one of its main functions, however, was ideological-propagandistic. Soldiers were not trained to carry arms unless the regime was convinced that they had been 'rehabilitated' (Voglis 2002: 101). Inmates underwent ideological training which involved the operation of a radio station, official magazines and newspapers—organs of the different battalions but with wide circulation all over Greece—as well as the organization of a number of

regular ceremonies, rituals, and performances featuring prominent visitors, and 'redeemed' inmates.[7]

At the same time, as is revealed by the plentiful and painful memoirs of the prisoners,[8] it was a place of severe oppression, forced brutal labour, torture, and, on at least one occasion (February–March 1948; cf. Margaris 1966) of mass killings. As Iliou notes, 'Makronisos became a place of organized torture, the first camp of mass torture to be created in western Europe after the second world war' (Iliou 1994: 77). The prisoners were to be 'persuaded', in most cases by fear, force, and psychological and physical torture, to denounce their political beliefs and sign a 'repentance statement' (which most of them signed) declaring that they no longer had any links with communism.[9] While this suppressive and brutal aspect of Makronisos has been, understandably, emphasized, especially in the memoirs, the study of its propagandistic and ideological character is paramount in understanding the phenomenon.

Since the main function of Makronisos was propagandistic, its 'audience' was not simply the inmates but the whole of Greece, and even international public opinion. The authorities were trying to send a message far beyond the camp, hence the widespread advertising of the whole 'experiment': the circulation of the Makronisos magazines to people and organizations all over Greece (reaching 15,000–25,000 copies),[10] the production and circulation of calendars,

[7] See Koumandareas (2001) for a literary evocation of these ceremonies.

[8] See, for example, Geladopoulos (1974), Vasilas (1982), Phlountzis (1984), Raphtopoulos (1995), Vardinogiannis and Aronis (1995), Avdoulos (1998), Staveris (2001), and Makronisiotis (n.d.); on the experience of women prisoners see Theodorou (1976), Mastroleon-Zerva (1986), cf. Vervenioti (2000); cf. Margaris (1966), the most extensive chronicle–autobiographical–historical account of Makronisos; on the experiences of the literary author Andreas Nenedakis at Makronisos see Herzfeld (1997: 127–130). The Communist Party of Greece (KKE) has started producing a series of volumes that contain short, individual memoirs from Makronisos, presumably by members or friends of the party.

[9] 'Declarations of repentance' (as well as 'loyalty statements' and, of course, exile and concentration camps) were already in use during the pre-war Metaxas regime (cf. Kofas 1983: 127; Alivizatos 1986: 421–422), and the criminalization of political convictions and the persecution of the left (including internal exile) dates from at least the 1920s (cf. Voglis 2002: 35–36).

[10] See Bournazos (2000: 139).

the circulation of postcards and leaflets in English, the invitation to many authorities and intellectuals to visit, the organization of such events in Athens as a large photographic exhibition about Makronisos sponsored by the army at Zappeion in April 1949, and the parades by the 'redeemed' soldiers and citizens in Athens. Moreover, the 'declarations of repentance' that the inmates were forced to sign were publicized through the press, were sent to inmates' places of origin, and were read out by the local priest to the whole of the congregation at Sunday mass. 'Redemption' was not the only requirement, however: the 'redeemed' had then to 'persuade' not only other inmates, but also all 'polluted' Greeks, by writing letters and poetry and delivering speeches, both in Makronisos and their place of origin. Often, they also had to become the torturers of their former comrades.

This phenomenon and its legacy in social memory are extremely interesting in many respects, and need to be studied from many different angles. In this chapter, I discuss briefly only one aspect of the Makronisos experience: the deployment of the discourse on antiquity at Makronisos, not only from the point of view of the regime which conceived of and materialized this project, but also from the point of view of the prisoners and exiles. This chapter, therefore, is directly linked to the central theme of this book; however, while many of the previous cases discussed had ancient archaeological monuments at their core, in this case the emphasis is not on the monuments themselves but on the discursive deployment and evocation of the materiality of antiquity and on the materialization of these discourses, though the creation of replicas of ancient monuments. Moreover, this chapter continues the discussion started in the previous chapter, by examining how the persecuted inmates, the victims of the 're-education' experiment, dealt with these discursive and material evocations of antiquity. If nationalism is as much a bottom-up phenomenon as it is a top-down one, as has been argued throughout this book, then a study on how the many thousands of inmates of Makronisos (or 'Makronisiotes' as they often call themselves today) received the antiquity discourse, and how they constructed their counter-discourses, is of paramount importance. In my analysis I, therefore, rely on the official literature produced by the regime at Makronisos, but also the counter-discourses produced

by the prisoners; these take the form of letters and reports smuggled out of the country in an effort to mobilize international democratic public opinion, but also the plentiful memoirs and fiction produced by them during their imprisonment and afterwards. I also examine present-day writings and interventions by inmates of Makronisos in the press and in meetings, and secondary literature. The chapter also relies on informal discussions with some of the survivors during recent visits to Makronisos (and Gyaros, another notorious prison-island), as part of on-going research.

All these types of evidence present us with a number of interpretative problems that cannot be addressed adequately here. Suffice it to say that none of these sources is treated here as a privileged and unproblematic site of the objective truth, but they all carry immense value for this project as discursive (and often literary and iconographic) takes on a multi-faceted phenomenon, where events, experiences, emotions, and memories merge, creating an often contested field of power. To give but one example, as is well known, autobiographical writings are not mere neutral discourses but materialized attempts to construct the writer's identity and subjectivity, in the present as well as in the past; to quote Gready (1993: 490), they are narratives in which 'events are selected, ordered, dramatized, simplified, and passed over in silence' (cf. Young 1987; for the case of the Greek Civil War see Papathanasiou 1996; Lambropoulou 1999). By talking to some of the survivors from Makronisos, it very soon became clear to me that their recollections of the experience relied on a number of mnemonic *topoi*, personal experience being one; others were narrations of personal experiences by other people, the newspaper reports, memoirs, the party documents, and the speeches and stories circulated in the subsequent commemorative ceremonies. What they were, therefore, narrating to me as personal experience, was the interweaving of all these mnemonic threads. This process of production of personal and collective memories is of importance in its own right. Besides, when some of the survivors were recollecting and relaying experience of torture, it became less important whether these experiences were directly personal, i.e. whether they themselves were physically tortured. The whole experience of exile and imprisonment at Makronisos was, and was perceived and felt as, collective experience, and it has been mostly narrated and commemorated as

such. By hearing about the torture of one of their comrades or, even more poignantly, hearing the screams of the tortured person nearby, the exiles experienced and felt, collectively and physically, the torture themselves; they are therefore sincere when they narrate it as such. The body here becomes the collective body, and the pain and anguish of exile, confinement, torture, loneliness, hard labour, or thirst, are inflicted upon the collective somatic landscape (cf. Csordas 1990), not only upon the individual bodies. I will attempt to trace some of these multi-layered processes below.

MAKRONISOS AND ANTIQUITY

It has been already suggested (Bournazos 1998, 2000; cf. Yannas 1994) that in the official rhetoric about Makronisos a range of prominent metaphors were deployed: the metaphor of the medical institution which aimed at curing and cleansing 'polluted' individuals (and the related biblical-religious metaphor of the 'Siloam' and redemption), was combined with the metaphor of the national school, or even university, which sought to 'rehabilitate' its inmates by teaching them their 'true' destiny, identity, and history. These discourses were widespread in the west during the Cold War. There is, however, an additional dimension, albeit one linked to the above metaphors: the close association of this venture with discourses on classical antiquity.

As suggested by the title of this chapter, the regime and its intellectuals linked Makronisos with ancient Greece right from the start. In more recent years, the ex-inmates of Makronisos referred to it ironically as the 'New Parthenon' (for example, Valetas 1975: 38; Kondos 1982; cf. for other references Bournazos 2000: 28–30), a phrase originally attributed to the then Minister for Military Affairs with prime responsibility for Makronisos, Panagiotis Kanellopoulos, although he has denied this (Bournazos 2000, n. 25). His denial, however, makes little difference, as Kanellopoulos, together with many other politicians, intellectuals, and journalists (including, Konstantinos Tsatsos, Spyros Melas, Stratis Myrivilis, Andreas Karandonis, Linos Politis, Sir Steven Runciman, the archaeologist Spyridon Marinatos, and others) would constantly link Makronisos

with ancient Greece and compare the classical 'miracle' (the Athenian 'Golden Age' of the fifth century BC) with the 'miracle' of Makronisos. Their statements and articles were published daily in the press and in the magazines of Makronisos. Here are some examples:

> Like Hera, who according to the ancient legend, by immersing herself in the waters of the Kanathos, used to acquire virginal strength and beauty, in the same way the entrants in the national school of Makronisos are cleansed from any spiritual pollution and rust of the soul, and acquire new strength
>
> V. Phavis, university professor, cited in Margaris (1966, vol. 1: 102)

> We [Greeks] have 3000 years of history and we will not become slaves to the Slavs
>
> K. Tsatsos, then Minister for Education, and subsequently President of the Hellenic Republic, in a speech during one of his frequent visits (*Skapanefs* 4, 1949)

The magazines published by the Makronisos operation were full of articles (by visitors, prominent intellectuals, and 'redeemed' inmates alike) and iconography referring to classical Greece.[11] A drawing of the Parthenon was part of the logo/cover of *Skapanefs* (='digger'), the most important publication of the regime at Makronisos: in its second issue[12] the cover title page features a drawing of the Parthenon in the background, the rising sun behind it, while in the foreground

[11] For other references see, for example, *Skapanefs* 6 (1949): 'The Hellas of the epic of 1940–49 resurrected Marathons and Thermopylai'; 6 (1949) p. 20 article on 'Delos, the sacred island'; 8 (1949), poem: 'We Greeks/offspring of brave men/from the depths of time/in our glory/there are Grammoi/and Parthenons' [Grammos, a mountain in northern Greece where one of the most notorious and decisive battles of the Greek Civil War took place]; 7 (1948), p. 12, article by A. L. entitled 'Athletics and Communism': 'In ancient Greece, the cradle of civilization, the youth of that distant era were brought up and educated with the ideal of '*kalos kagathos*', and athletics thus were experiencing an immense development and reached their highest point . . . [now] the Hellenism united, regains the muscles of the titanic and gigantic wrestler of antiquity, Milon Krotoniatis, and suffocates the miasma, the blood-sucking monster which eats the guts of Greece'; 12 (1948), p. 7: 'Hellas for three thousand years fights for the freedom and the civilisation of the people of the world'; in the same article, and after a review of Greek history since the Persian wars, we read: 'The Mother of eternal light [Hellas] has been again chosen for a heavy duty. A ferocious battle has started by our fatherland . . .'; See also many other references in Zoannos-Sarris (1950), a pamphlet produced by 'redeemed' inmates from the Second Battalion.

[12] Dated 10 August 1947, when the magazine was the organ of the Third Battalion, and before it became an island-wide publication.

a female figure in classical dress ('History' or the 'Motherland'?) delivers a gun to the rising 'redeemed' soldier with one hand, while showing him the Parthenon with her other. Behind the soldier, thrown on the ground, the hammer and sickle but also a spade and another digging tool, now discarded symbols of his 'redeemed' status and his 'rehabilitation' through hard labour (Fig. 6.1; see Margaris 1966: 301, vol. 2). The link of Makronisos to classical Greece and to the Parthenon in particular became such a widespread theme that we

Ο Σκαπανεύς

ΕΤΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ
ΑΡ.ΦΥΛΛ.2

ΕΚΔΙΔΕΤΑΙ ΑΠΟ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ
ΟΡΓΑΝΟ ΤΟΥ Γ' ΤΑΓΜΑΤΟΣ ΣΚΑΠΑΝΕΩΝ

ΤΙΜΗ ΦΥΛΛ.ΔΡΑΧ.200

Ο ΔΡΟΜΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ

Fig. 6.1 The front cover of the second issue of the magazine of Makronisos *Skapanefs* (10 August 1947).

can read in an article published in the French *Le Monde*, some years after the camp was closed down:

> The passing tourist, intoxicated from the glory of the Greek landscape, will visit only one of the two Parthenons. The other one is to be found on the horrible concentration camp of Makronisos, where the cries of the tortured are lost in the infinite blue sky
>
> *Le Monde*, 10 September 1965; cited in Margaris (1966: 98, vol. 1)

More important perhaps than the evocations of classical antiquity in the speeches and the publications of the regime must have been the daily, direct and embodied experience of a landscape that was littered with remnants of 'classical antiquity' (especially in the grounds of the Second Battalion, BETO): these were not monuments built in the fifth century BC, but imitations and replicas of these monuments, built by the inmates themselves. Makronisos, thus, ironically an island largely devoid of any significant material traces of the ancient past, became in the late 1940s a landscape filled with material evocations of classical antiquity. The propagandistic leaflet, 'The truth about Makronisos', written by two 'redeemed' inmates (Zoannos-Sarris 1950), gives a detailed description of this landscape of the Second Battalion: a statue of the goddess Athena, reliefs and statues of ancient Greek warriors, an open-air theatre which was meant to be a replica of an ancient Greek theatre (there were four such theatres at Makronisos), replicas of the Erechtheion, the Temple of Athena Nike (both originally on the Acropolis), and a replica of the Parthenon on a scale of 1:20.[13] Remnants of some of these buildings are still visible on the island (Figs 6.2–6.4). Photographic records from the camps also show constructions in the shape of the Parthenon made of white stones on the hill slopes (Fig. 6.5). In the grand photographic

[13] Other replica buildings evoking different periods and monuments were also built, for example representations of mythical events from the War of Independence, commemorations of victorious (for the government) battles at the on-going Greek Civil War, a statue of History as a sitting female figure holding an open book, a globe and next to it a lighthouse signifying 'Greece as lighthouse of humanity' (Zoannos-Sarris 1950: 82), and, most prominently, the church of St Sophia in Istanbul (cf. Zoannos-Sarris 1950: 67–68); it is the classical buildings, however, which were dominant architecturally, iconographically, and discursively. Finally, the Second Battalion had its own museum that contained works by the inmates and small-scale replicas and photographs of the above works (Zoannos-Sarris 1950: 42).

Fig. 6.2 Monuments built by inmates at Makronisos, depicting representations of ancient Greek soldiers.

Fig. 6.3 A replica of an ancient Greek theatre at the Third Battalion of Makronisos.

Fig. 6.4 The replica of the Parthenon, at the Second Battalion (BETO) of Makronisos.

Fig. 6.5 Photograph of one of the camps during an official gathering; note the representation of the Parthenon (centre back), constructed out of white pebbles on the soil.

Fig. 6.6 Inmates at Makronisos building small replicas of the Parthenon.

exhibition at Zappeion, among the photographs displayed were propagandistic posters showing soldiers building their own replicas of this 'National Monument' (Geniko Epiteleio Stratou 1949) (Fig. 6.6).[14] The place was filled with inscriptions and rhymes, in which antiquity featured prominently. The construction of this monumental landscape inspired some of the 'redeemed' to compare it with the island of Delos during the classical period, a comparison which evokes classical glory, monumentality, and sacredness (cf. Zoannos-Sarris 1950: 45; see also note 8). Here is how a 'redeemed' inmate describes his first encounter with the replicas of classical monuments and other related constructions:

When I arrived at Makronisos I was stunned; I understood that I am Greek and I saw with my own eyes the lies that the comrades were saying to me. My blood heated up and I immediately came to my senses when I saw 'The

[14] Interestingly, such a photograph with soldiers creating replicas of the Parthenon (Fig. 6.6) was chosen for the cover of one of the propagandistic leaflets issued by the regime in English and circulated internationally; its title was, *A Great Work of Civic Re-Adaptation in Greece* (Rodocanachi 1949).

Parthenon', and, painted upon the rocks with big letters, 'Now the struggle is for all' [*Νυν υπέρ πάντων ο αγών*], 'The feats of our ancestors lead us,' 'Hellas is an ideal, that is why it does not die,' 'In the mists of the centuries, the Parthenons will remain grand symbols, to enlighten, and to remind of their glory for ever'

L.K. 'How I spent my time at Makronisos' (*Skapanefs* 11, 1948, p. 20)[15]

In an article (referring to the replica of the Parthenon; see Fig. 6.4) published in *Skapanefs* (3, 1949, p. 24) we read:

The small Parthenon of the BETO is an admirable representation of the real one. The proportions were kept with such precision as a result of countless effort and continuous work, so that someone could dare say that if we were to enlarge the dimensions twenty-fold, we could have the picture of the real Parthenon, and only the unique hand of Pheidias would have been missing to complete the sculptural artistic representations.

White, as if made of marble from Penteli, the small Parthenon in the camp of the First Company appears like a white vision. It expresses the spirit of optimism, of joy, of beauty, of adoration for the fatherland which the reborn inmate of Makronisos feels, a feeling that shakes his soul.

All soldiers admire it and the visitors understand that, in a place where soldiers create such wonderful works, the most advanced morale-building and character re-shaping work must be taking place.

In the dominant discourse an attempt was made to situate Makronisos in the imagined Hellenic national *topos* and in the ancestral sacred geography. A reference to the comparison with Delos was made earlier. The publications of the regime make frequent references[16] to a mythological tradition mentioned by Pausanias (I, xxxv, 1) which connects the island to Helen of Troy, who is supposed to have stopped here with Paris. Furthermore, the proximity to Attica

[15] The ambiguous tone of this article (for example, some of the cited slogans could have been equally used by the left wing) and the use of inverted commas to describe the replica of the Parthenon, affords a different, ironic reading; is this an attempt to covertly undermine the national narrative? In another case, cited by Bournazos (2000: 130), a poem praising Makronisos finishes with the lines: 'It is not, as it was called/ a German Dachau/but a shelter/of national salvation'. Is the comparison with the Nazi camp, widely used by the left (for example, Lambrinos 1949), another attempt at resistance 'from within'? For such covert resistance at Makronisos, see the section on 'Discourse of the subordinate'.

[16] See, for example, *Anamorphosis* (17 January 1949).

with its classical associations was constantly emphasized. In a speech to the inmates, Linos Politis, Professor of Philology at the University of Thessaloniki, said:

> In front of you is Attica, the place that glorified ancient Hellenism. This is where you are. Enlighten yourselves with the light of our ancient ancestors, and leave out of your mind any fake, foreign light
>
> *Skapanefs* (4, 1949)

From Makronisos the remnants of the famous classical temple of Poseidon at Sounio were visible on a clear day. This embodied visual connection became another link; it was discursively expressed in the official rhetoric, as well as in poems written by 'redeemed' prisoners and published in *Skapanefs*. Here are two examples:[17]

> To the Sounio Temple (by E.L.)
>
> From the grey rocks of Makronisos
> In the dusk the soldiers' souls fly towards you,
> Glorious Temple, carried by the sails of
> the boats that cross the sea
> ....
> Oh Temple, you project the shine of the ancestral spirit
> to our poor souls, with your rosy marbles you fly
> like butterflies in the night,
> You resurrect Hellas, glorious, pure and complete.
>
> *Skapanefs* (1, 1947, p. 20)
>
> For Makronisos
> ....
> The Attic sky surrounds her and from afar
> The columns of Sounio send her greetings
> Here, in this bare and forgotten wasteland
> Out of the ruins Parthenons spring up again
> ....
> In its caves, once upon a time Helen and Paris
> Met together and embraced in love, and all round
> Nature covered them in its simple beauty
> And the wild flowers were surrounding them with their scent
> Now, a new orgasmic creation takes place here, and together

[17] The articles and poems by inmates cited here were originally signed by their authors (although some of the names may be pseudonyms).

Come legends and dreams, desires and hopes
Quietly and away from the crowd a miracle happens
And from here the new Leonidas will emerge.

E. N. (*Skapanefs* 2, 1949)

The regime's aim was to show, not only to the inmates but also to all dissidents in Greece, that the ancient Greek 'spirit' that survived through to the present is incompatible with modern radical ideologies. Communists and other left-wing citizens were associated with the national 'other', which in the context of the Greek Civil War and Cold War was 'Slavo-communism'. The inmates at Makronisos, by building the replicas of ancient monuments, by experiencing this monumental landscape of classical antiquity, by reflecting on the meaning and importance of the Temple at Sounio which they could see from Makronisos, by listening to all these speeches on their duties as descendants of classical Greeks, could be helped to rediscover the ancient Greek spirit (Rodocanachi 1949: 6) and re-enter the community of Hellenism. Rodocanachi, one of the advisors of the regime, wrote in a pamphlet aimed at an international audience:

> The idea behind the foundation of this seminary is that there exists a radical antinomy between the Greek racial psychology, essentially individualistic, and communism, essentially gregarious: this idea has as its corollary that every Greek communist is a self-exile from the spirit of the Greek race
>
> Rodocanachi (1949: 6)

The regime tried to convince the inmates that with their own hands they were 're-creating' ancient Greece in the present; that they were fulfilling their destined mission; K. a 'redeemed' inmate and civil engineer who contributed to the building of the some of the replicas of classical monuments, would say:

> I tried to build a Parthenon, a Greece. Because it is this Parthenon and this Greece that I was asked, by my until yesterday party instructors, to demolish
>
> Zoannos-Sarris (1950: 42)

At the same time this process of building, literally with their own hands, 'ancient Greece' in the present, was aimed at inscribing upon their bodies the idea that not only is Greekness at odds with ideologies such as communism, but also that the Greek Civil War was

just another re-run of the millennia-old national drama, where Hellenism fights its 'others':

> Even today we are the same. Here are the Persians who come to enslave us. Only this time they come from the North [he means here the Socialist Republics, north of Greece]. Here is the Plataeae, the Marathons, and the Thermopylai. Here is Miltiades, Themistocles, Leonidas. It does not matter that they have different names... They are the same. The same continuity of the history of our fatherland. The same Greece with her children
>
> M. Dongas, a 'redeemed' inmate [Voglis 2002: 80] who became the chief editor of *Skapanefs*; in that magazine (8, 1948, p. 3), as cited in Bournazos (1997: 110)

Makronisos and the whole Greek Civil War become part of the national history, of the national destiny, of the unbroken and inescapable continuity. The prominent intellectual Andreas Karandonis writes in *Skapanefs* (3, 1948, p. 5) in an article entitled 'The meaning of our History':

> I am sure, and you must be too, that nothing of the sad events of the last years would have happened in our country, if all of us had studied our History... However some of the heroic children and military leaders of that epic battle [he refers here to the 1940s war against the invading fascist Italian army] were later deceived and were dragged into a battle against their own nation (*phyli*) and their own allies. Why? Because, as most of them were common people, they had not formed Greek historical consciousness. They had never read the History of the Hellenic Nation, and even if they had learned something, they did not understand it. They thought that they could change our historical destiny and that they could continue our history themselves, as if they were not acting on the soil of Greece, as if they were fighting for the historical ideals of Albanians, of Bulgarians and of Russians!

THE DISCOURSE OF THE SUBORDINATE: HIDDEN TRANSCRIPTS AND THE MASTER('S) NARRATIVE

But how was this national discourse, based on the official version of national antiquity, received by the inmates who refused to sign the 'declarations of repentance' and by the opponents of the whole 'experiment'? This is a difficult matter to investigate, linked as it is

to the broader issue of the discourse of antiquity in the ideology and culture of the Greek left, a study that has yet to be done. In the context of Makronisos this question becomes even more complicated, as the boundaries between 'redeemed' and 'unredeemed' inmates were not always clear: for example, many of the 'redeemed' inmates later retracted their statement, which had often been signed as a result of unbearable pressure or deception (Voglis 2002). Moreover, it would be a mistake to take the 'unredeemed' inmates as a unified group, given the diversity in their social, economic, political, and educational backgrounds, a diversity which remains largely unexplored. Even on a general level, however, certain conclusions clearly emerge.

When, in the elections of 5 March 1950 (in which the inmates at Makronisos were allowed to take part; cf. Nikolakopoulos 2000), the centre-left parties achieved a majority, Margaris (1966: 638, vol. 2) narrates that the women prisoners celebrated with dances and with shouting 'The Parthenon is over!'. Margaris himself concluded the narration of this episode by stating: 'The "Parthenon" cracked. It will soon start falling down.' Such ironic usage of the term to refer to Makronisos is not a rare incidence. The mocking tone toward the 'New Parthenon', commonly found in the memoirs of the inmates of Makronisos, is clearly an attempt to ridicule the assumption that the regime can be compared with the 'glory' of classical Athens. This very attempt reveals, in some ways, an acceptance of the ancestral cult of antiquity and glorification of its value.

In one of the leaflets written by one of the prominent inmates, Manolis Proïmakis[18] and translated into English by the London-based 'League for Democracy in Greece' in order to raise the issue of Makronisos in the international community, we read first about the torture carried out on the island and then this:

> We appeal to the consciousness of all civilized men to throw themselves into the struggle to save us, with the conviction that in so doing they will be helping to save the honour of a small but heroic country, which was the cradle of democracy and civilization – the honour of Greece
>
> Proïmakis (1950?: 12)

[18] Subsequently a member of parliament for EDA (United Democratic Left).

This statement is, of course, a tactical strategy that exploits the position of classical antiquity in the imagination and culture of the west. It fits with the many cases in which mostly international organizations have played the ancient Greek 'card' to raise consciousness for an issue concerning modern Greece. In this particular case, the author is aware of the position of classical antiquity in the imagination and thought of his audience (intellectuals and educated citizens in the west) and deploys its power to raise awareness and concern for the sufferings of the inmates at Makronisos.

Such appropriation does not seem, however, to be simply a public performance of strategic essentialism. It was noted earlier that the classical temple at Sounio played a key role in the regime's rhetorical devices, which attempted to situate Makronisos in the national time and in the topography of Hellenism. In the following poem, written by one of the prisoners (Raphtopoulos 1995: 40), this very temple features prominently:

> The Message
>
> As much tighter as I can
> (everyday if possible)
> I must
> With a pen and a piece of paper
> tie myself with those opposite
> ....
> and more so
> I must tie myself with this ancient
> Temple, over there, at Sounio, opposite to us
> where the sun shines at dawn
> and covers it with a purple for the night
> I need to tie myself to it
> And respect it and hold it as an example
> because only its bones are left
> and still it remains upright day and night
> projecting towards infiniteness
> its stubbornness, and will to stay upright.
> I need to tie myself with it
> I need to hear constantly
> Its message.

The temple of Sounio thus becomes a metaphor for the exiled inmates; like them it is constantly exposed to the sun (the treeless,

shadowless, dry island, only added to the suffering of the inmates) but survives and stands upright; its marble columns become the bare bones of an exhausted, moribund organism; but it still projects its determination and continues sending its message (much like the 'unredeemed' inmates). The image of classical antiquity portrayed here is very different from that of the official version. Instead of glory and eternal light, we encounter a skeletal presence. It is nevertheless significant that both discourses employ the notion of this temple as a materialization of an eternal message and as a point of personal identification.

The same author also relates a story that points to the possibilities of resistance by the prisoners. A theatre group (operated by the inmates themselves; cf. van Steen 2005) took the initiative to stage an ancient Greek play in one of the camps (see Fig. 6.7 for one such performance). They chose Sophocles's *Philoktetis.* As the author explains (Raphtopoulos 1995: 45), they chose this play in particular

Fig. 6.7 Inmates at the Third Battalion of Makronisos performing an ancient Greek play. This photograph was exhibited at the state-sponsored photographic exhibition on Makronisos, held at Zappeion in April 1949.

because of the implicit associations with the present that could be drawn from its content: the main hero in *Philoktetis* is abandoned on the remote island of Limnos for 10 years. As the play states, 'No sailor of his own will stops here, there is no port . . .'.[19]

More recently, in the first officially supported conference on Makronisos (Athens 1993; Diaphonidis *et al.* 1994), the president of the association of the surviving prisoners prefaced his speech with Cavafy's *Thermopylai*. Paradoxically, the same poem was often used by the regime at Makronisos in its rhetoric on the ancestral glory and historical continuity (for example, *Skapanefs* 11, 1950). Moreover, the same speaker made the point that the methods used at Makronisos were foreign (*xenophertes*) and 'against the tradition, the mentality and the civilization of our people' (Mouratidis 1994: 69). The same argument, that the idea of Makronisos was not conceived of by Greeks but must have come from abroad, often surfaces in many writings and interventions by former prisoners to the present day.

A former inmate of Makronisos, at a conference some years ago, narrated how a group made a decision ('against the will of the administration') to build an open-air theatre; they did not use stones ('we were allergic to stone', he noted), however, as this was the building material associated with forced daily labour and used primarily for the official projects. Instead they used mud bricks. He added that their theatre was nevertheless 'an exact replica of an ancient Greek theatre' (in Bournazos and Sakellaropoulos 2000: 264–265).

[19] *Skapanefs* reported (12, 1948, p. 27) that another classical drama, *Antigone*, was staged at Makronisos. It is worth noting (and worth exploring further) that in this case (but also more broadly), the literary appropriations of classical texts by the left often evoke certain themes to do with injustice, and bondage/confinement, but also the challenging of the authority and the desire for freedom (for example, *Philoktetis*, *Antigone*, *Prometheus*). See, for example, the poem 'On the inhospitable rock' by an 'unredeemed' inmate who signs with the pseudonym K. Kratigos (Geladopoulos 1974) which ends:

> Upright against the wind
> Chained on the sticks, Prometheus
> I stand and pick up my ear to hear
> The steps of the Giant People (*Gigas Laos*) and of the Youth.

On the theatre at Makronisos (an extremely rich field of activity that launched the careers of a number of subsequently prominent Greek actors) see van Steen (2005), and the special issue of *Theatrika-Kinimatographika-Tileoptika* 38–46 (1980). I owe this reference to Gonda van Steen.

Political scientist James Scott, in his study on the strategies of resistance of subordinate groups (Scott 1990), introduced the notion of 'hidden transcripts'. According to this idea, in situations where overt resistance to domination is impossible or extremely difficult, subordinate groups develop strategies for covert resistance: while they apparently obey authority, observing the rules of 'public/official transcripts' of power, they find the space and ways to resist, 'the hidden transcripts'. It seems that some of the examples above can be described as the 'hidden transcripts' of the Makronisos resistance. The staging of an ancient Greek play or the construction of a replica of an ancient Greek theatre show, at face value, compliance with the official rule and discourse. The choice of the play or the choice of the building material, however, constitutes an act of collective agency, demonstrates the ability to function as a political body under extreme suppression, and thus allows for covert resistance.[20]

However, these examples also support the suggestion that in many of the public discourses produced by the victims and opponents of Makronisos the essentialist notion of Hellenism and Greekness (implying uninterrupted continuity and cultural superiority) was often implicitly or explicitly accepted, if not reproduced. The moral authority of classical antiquity was not in doubt. The notion that the oppression at Makronisos must have been inspired by 'foreigners', because it was against Hellenic tradition, character, and 'civilization', reveals an isomorphism of the two discourses concerning the uniqueness and superior character of Hellenism. Rhetoric on antiquity was not undermined by the inmates; rather they researched its repertoire for elements that could serve their aims. While theatrical performances would have been subject to censorship by the regime, the poem by Raphtopoulos, expressing as it does a moment of personal contemplation, discloses the relationship of some prisoners with antiquity and its material manifestations to be complex. This relationship was a matter neither of simple submission to the dominant narrative nor of opportunistic usage, but rather an appropriation and reworking of the common 'charter myth' (cf. Appadurai 1981).

[20] For other possible cases of covert resistance see note 10 above.

A word of caution is needed here: many of the 'unredeemed' inmates of Makronisos (who included many artists, authors, and intellectuals) produced a large body of poetry and other works of art in which imagery and discourse from antiquity was not common (cf. Papatheodorou 2000). Nevertheless, the last 'unredeemed' inmates of Makronisos, who were transferred in 1950 to Ai-Stratis where they 'enjoyed' relative autonomy (compared with Makronisos) (Avdoulos 1998), staged performances of ancient drama on their own initiative, plays such as *Antigone* (also performed at Makronisos under the 'eye' of the regime; see note 14), *Oedipus Rex*, and *Perses* (Avdoulos 1998: 298–302), as well as other non-classical plays.

Furthermore, if we look at a text which is the political manifesto of the left-wing resistance movement, 'What is and what does EAM stand for' we will read:

> Greeks know how to die for freedom which was not offered to them but which they always, from the time of the Marathon and Salamis to 1821 and to the present, earned with their blood and their heroism
>
> Glinos (1975[1942]: 142)

> From the depth of a three-thousand-year-old history, your ancestors, the heroes and the martyrs, gaze down at you. The fighters of Marathon and Salamis, of 1821, the heroes of the Albanian mountains. Don't put your history to shame, don't betray yourself
>
> Glinos (1975[1942]: 173)

Like the collectivity of the inmates at Makronisos, the resistance movement was diverse and multi-faceted. But this key text reveals that, for at least some of its protagonists (and no doubt, many of its followers), the resistance was inscribed into the body of national history, was part of an eternal continuum (cf. Hart 1996: 217–219). In other words, it had adopted the official charter myth on the continuity of Hellenism, a view which, as we saw in the previous chapter, several of the leaders of the pre-war left also shared.[21] The

[21] Another indication of the embrace of the charter myth of Hellenism by the left is the essay by the renowned Marxist historian Nikos Svoronos (and one time guerrilla fighter with the ELAS) entitled *The Hellenic Nation: Genesis and Formulation of Modern Hellenism*, written in the mid-1960s but published only in 2004 (Svoronos 2004). In that book, which became a commercial success in Greece and caused a passionate debate amongst historians and others in the press, Svoronos suggests

official narrative of the regime at Makronisos was repeating something that many of its victims had themselves embraced at the beginning of that historical phase, hence their uses and appropriation of this charter myth in their own 'hidden' and public discourses.

MAKRONISOS: THE HETEROTOPIA OF SPECTACLE AND SURVEILLANCE

As should have become clear from the preceeding chapters, and especially the last one, Makronisos, while in some ways a unique phenomenon, is far from unique in terms of its links with the discourse on antiquity. This discourse, despite its diverse expressions, appropriations, and modifications, structures the national imagination and its temporality from the nineteenth century to the present. Makronisos seems to be another case (albeit extreme) in point. National memory creates a mythology based on a highly selective and sanitized version of classical antiquity, which in its turn is based on the dominant western constructions of antiquity. Furthermore, through the analogic model of history (one period can be substituted with any other; cf. Sutton 1998), the Greek Civil War is seen as another re-enactment of the millennia-old battle between Greek spirit and 'barbarity', which this time has adopted the face of communism. Analogic thinking seems to have been a form of historical understanding shared by both sides in this conflict, and the discourses on antiquity constructed by the regime and by the inmates share the same charter myth, constitute in effect a common national memory,[22] and occupy the same national *topos*.

a continuity of Hellenism as an ethnic category from antiquity to the present, and, interestingly, he declares the 'resistance character' of Hellenism as its continuous and permanent feature (cf. Liakos 2005a,b; Noutsos 2006; on the nationalism of the Greek left cf. Gavriilidis 2006).

[22] The creation of a monumental landscape at Makronisos where evocations of classical antiquity were dominant, can be in some ways seen as the construction of a *lieu de mémoire* (Nora 1989), an attempt to materialize national memory in the shape of the replicas of the Parthenon and of the other classical monuments. On national

The topology of Makronisos is itself an extremely important and barely investigated dimension. While the *topos* of the nation as a whole has sometimes been described, using Foucaultian terms (Foucault 1986), as a space of a different order, as heterotopia (enacted utopia) (Leontis 1995; Hamilakis 2000a; and see Chapter 1), Makronisos seems to be a classic 'heterotopia of deviation', within the broader heterotopic locus of the nation: like all heterotopias, it contains many different spaces (the school, the hospital, the church, the theatre, the archaeological site, the museum, the prison, the isolation ward . . .); it is enacted utopia, attempting to create a perfect and meticulous space, juxtaposed to the messy real space (cf. Soja 1996: 161); and its entrance and exit are tightly regulated and subject to rituals of purification and cleansing.

Moreover, and of particular relevance to this discussion, the heterotopia of Makronisos is structured by a different temporality, by a heterochrony defined by the cyclical national time where antiquity occupies a central position. The heterotopia of Makronisos becomes both the medical institution and the 'school' which can cure the 'polluted' members of the nation and teach them that the ancient Greek spirit, which they were destined by blood and history to carry, cannot be reconciled with 'foreign' ideologies such as communism. Makronisos thus becomes a fundamental device for the monumentalization of the whole of Greek society. Antiquity, with its discursive and material manifestations, acted here as an allochronic mechanism (Fabian 1983): Greece was portrayed as living in the monumentalized temporality structured by classical antiquity, not in the temporality structured by the political and social trajectories of the Cold War.

Makronisos was at the same time a locus of spectacle and surveillance. As was noted earlier, the authorities made every effort possible to advertise it as a successful experiment, nation-wide and even

memory and rituals of national commemoration cf., among many others, Gillis (1994), and papers, especially on war memorials, in Forty and Küchler (1999); on war and memory in south-eastern Europe cf. Finney (2002); two additional recent collections which could be of use in exploring the masses of literature on the new, interdisciplinary field of memory studies are Ball *et al.* (1999) and on memory and material culture, Kwint *et al.* (1999); in the Greek context and on memory in general cf. Benveniste and Paradellis (1999) and Kaphtantzoglou (2001).

world-wide. The photographic exhibition at Zappeion and the parades of the 'redeemed' inmates in front of the royal couple and thousands of spectators in Athens, and even the filming of the camps by the BBC in April 1949 (Bournazos 2000: 137), were expressions of this mechanism of spectacle. In some of its expressions, however, the spectacle merges with its other side, surveillance. The reading out of the 'statements of repentance', for example, in front of church congregations, or the public speeches of the 'redeemed' Makronisiotes in various parts of Greece, were public spectacles but also public declarations under the watchful eye (in many cases quite literally) of the security and administrative authorities, and the collective watchful eye of the national body, which would act as a deterrent for further anti-national (*andethnikes*) activities.

Kyrkos Doxiadis (1995) has suggested that in the Greek and broadly western consciousness the Parthenon, as the most prominent specimen of classical antiquity with all its connotations, can be seen in some ways as the tower of the panopticon, the location of the all-seeing but unseen guard who oversees the incarcerated individuals, forcing them thus to exercise self-surveillance (cf. Foucault 1991). As the material manifestation of a supreme moral authority, it has acquired immense power upon which subsequent acts, values, and behaviour are judged (Fig. 6.8). Obviously, this metaphor does not exhaust the diverse meanings of the Parthenon for various groups, individuals, and national and supranational authorities in local and global contexts, as shown in this book (cf. also Tournikiotis 1994; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996, 1999; Yalouri 2001; Beard 2002; Giannakopoulou 2002). In relation to Makronisos, however, this metaphor acquires a poignant relevance. 'Remember who you are' was the recurring motto of the regime and its intelligentsia in their addresses to the inmates, but also to Greece as a whole. The moral authority of classical antiquity was the watchful eye upon which the inmates were judged. The discursive and material construction of this mechanism of surveillance (the 'new Parthenon', the replica of the monument on the island, and so on) aimed at delivering to the national body reshaped individuals who would have internalized self-surveillance, based on the 'destiny of the nation', the authority of classical antiquity, and the continuity of its legacy into the present. Paradoxically, it seems that the victims' own discourse was itself subscribing to

Fig. 6.8 An interesting take on the idea of the Parthenon as panopticon: a cartoon by S. Derveniotis, posted on the website of Indymedia-Athens in spring 2005; the cartoon comments of the widespread (and, it seems, permanent) installation of CCTV cameras in Athens, initially as part of the preparations for the 2004 Athens Olympics.

the panopticism of the authority of classical antiquity, and texts such as the manifesto of the resistance movement echoed some of the official discourses: 'don't put your history to shame'.

In this 'crowded wilderness' (to quote the poet and author Aris Alexandrou), disciplinary practices, resistance attempts, official memories, and counter-memories were linked to the human body (cf. Connerton 1989), to bodily enacted rituals and performances. Inmates were seen as the polluted elements of the national body, in need of cleansing and purification before they could be allowed to rejoin it. Many of the texts cited and discussed above started their life as speeches in front of the congregated inmates, and they were thus central elements in embodied rituals. The discourse on antiquity was uttered in speeches and lessons, enacted in theatrical performances and in poetry writing and reciting, embodied in the visual contact with the classical temple of Sounio, in the quarrying of stone and

the construction of monuments and buildings, such as the imitations of classical monuments. At the other end of this continuum, there was thirst (an issue featuring prominently in the memoirs of the inmates of Makronisos), hunger, torture, and death. An encounter with death was an experience that the inmates faced even from their first day on the island: as some memoirs note, in digging to put up their tent, the inmates found the bones of the Turkish hostages of the Balkan wars (cf. Avdoulos 1998: 105–106). All these bodily encounters, inscribed within a broader biopolitical paradigm (Agamben 1998[1995]), would have been crucial in constructing bodily memories. At the same time, the 'unredeemed' inmates of Makronisos were engaged in the construction of their own counter-memories (Foucault 1977), by writing memoirs and poetry, drawing, and devising and initiating construction projects.

National memory and at least some of the counter-memories, however, seem to have relied on the same master narrative, the same authoritative resource of antiquity. For the regime, Makronisos was the new Parthenon, and the ancient Greek heritage could not have been reconciled with left-wing ideologies. For the 'unredeemed' inmates of Makronisos the regime was not worthy of the ancestral spirit, hence the ridicule with which they referred to the phrase, the 'New Parthenon'. By building exact replicas of an ancient theatre with their own hands, they were demonstrating their appreciation of the ancient Greek spirit they were accused of ignoring. By choosing those ancient plays they believed to be more directly linked to their ideas and experiences, they projected a counter-discourse on antiquity. On a recent commemorative visit to Makronisos (1998), a performance of *Prometheus Bound* was staged (Bournazos and Sakellaropoulos 2000), due perhaps to the associations of the play with bondage and confinement but also with the challenging authority and sacrificing oneself for the good of humanity.[23]

[23] Unlike the charter myth of Hellenism and its narrative of continuity upon which the foundation of this 'indoctrination experiment' relied, the memory of Makronisos itself (including its purpose, character, and the events surrounding it), was a highly contested field, until the official recognition of the resistance movement by the state in the early 1980s, and the wider exposition of the brutality of the 'experiment'. Certain factual aspects are still contested, especially since the Ministry of Defence has not disclosed the entire files.

CONCLUSION

I have argued in this chapter that the discourse on classical antiquity and on national continuity from antiquity to the present was a fundamental device in the construction of the material, discursive, and mnemonic *topos* of Makronisos. This discourse supplemented, and was closely linked to, other key devices such as the metaphors of Makronisos as a school or as a medical institution. Study of this aspect of Makronisos, however, would have been incomplete without considering the reception and response of the inmates (especially the 'unredeemed' inmates) to the deployment and appropriation of antiquity. The evidence examined leads us to assume that, while the repertoire of antiquity was actively reworked and selectively deployed, the *authority* of classical antiquity itself was accepted, if not perpetuated. The charter myth on which the foundation of the modern Greek nation-state was based was a shared symbolic resource upon which both the creators of Makronisos and its victims and opponents relied for the construction of national memories and counter-memories. Furthermore, it has been argued that the *topos* of Makronisos can be seen, in Foucaultian terms, as a heterotopia of deviation (incorporating elements of both spectacle and surveillance), where memories and counter-memories were created through bodily encounters and experiences. The panopticism of Makronisos involved the whole of Greece (and beyond) and not simply the inmates on the island. The key role of the discourse on antiquity also operated as a means through which the temporality of the Cold War and the Greek Civil War was suspended, and was replaced by the monumentalized national time: the Greek Civil War was seen as another re-run of the millennia-old battle of Hellenism against its 'others'.

While the deployment of antiquity in the construction of national time and national memories and counter-memories is far from unique, both in Greece and in broader contexts,[24] the distinctive

[24] A very interesting example with striking similarities to Makronisos (one of many radical appropriations of classical antiquity), is the theatrical deployment of classical antiquity in the play, *The Island*, by Athol Fugard; the play was written during

features of Makronisos make it a research topic of major importance. It is not simply the international dimensions of Makronisos, expressed perhaps in the fact that this experiment in 're-education' was considered by the USA as a possible model for the establishment of similar 'reorientation' camps for German communists in post-war Germany (Fleischer 2000). It is also the increasingly central role of the detainment and concentration camp at the beginning of the twenty-first century, a notion that, according to some (cf. Agamben 1998), is now a defining feature of western, liberal democracy. More pertinent to this project is the notion that indoctrination on antiquity and on the material past has the power to transform and cure polluted individuals, members of the national body who had become temporary 'others', self-exiles from their own fate and destiny, who need to be cleansed before they can be welcomed back. It seems that the concept of exile, another central preoccupation of late modernity, and a very real and harsh experience for millions of immigrants, is paramount to the national imagination (as will be shown in more detail in Chapter 7), as is the need to re-establish the broken connections with the routes that lead back to antiquity and to the national imaginary homeland.

the apartheid era in South Africa and it narrates the story of two black inmates imprisoned on Robben Island; a central theme in the play is the staging of Sophocles's *Antigone*, a case of another strategic deployment of the anti-authoritarian connotations of the ancient Greek drama. As is well known, such strategic appropriations of classical antiquity in the service of different and often conflicting purposes and agendas can be abundantly found in many global contexts, and it is not an exclusively modern Greek phenomenon. Obviously the meanings, connotations, and effects of these appropriations vary, at times considerably. Space limitations do not allow further exploration of this phenomenon here, but it is worth clarifying that, to my mind, it is not the mere reworking or appropriation of classical antiquity that is in itself problematic. It is the often-made, implicit or explicit assumptions of 'history as destiny', of unbroken continuities, of cultural superiority, of monumentalized temporality (assumptions that are often championed by national as well as colonial and neo-colonial ideologies and practices) that are hugely problematic; and, as the case of Makronisos has shown, they often have serious political and social consequences and effects. As shown above, these discourses and practices are not necessarily and always the work of states or establishment institutions, they often come 'from below'. One of the great challenges that researchers face in these contexts is to balance the appreciation of different social modes of historical understanding (which may include elements of the above), with the exposition and critique of their consequences and of the structures of power that have contributed to their creation (cf. Handler 1985).

EPILOGUE

I went to Makronisos for the first time on 23 May 2004. My visit was part of the annual pilgrimage of the survivors, organized by their association (PEKAM). Many hundreds of visitors, survivors, and ex-detainees, and their families, as well as others, politically active, or perhaps simply curious. A long wait at Lavrio for the ferry crossing. Many red flags (mostly of the Communist Party) and elderly men and women, some selling the party's newspaper. 'I cannot talk about Makronisos', one survivor tells me, 'It is something that cannot be described and narrated'. As if to compensate for the fact that he could not describe to me his experience, he promised to take me to the 'haradra' (ravine) where the barbed wire isolation ward for the 'unredeemable' was, and where he spent much of his time.

We docked at the small port of the First Battalion. Ruined buildings everywhere, apart from one or two large and impressive structures such as the bakery, which were restored by the Ministry of Culture (Figs 6.9 and 6.10) after Makronisos was declared an 'historical site' and 'locus of memory' by a ministerial decree signed by Melina Mercouri in 1989.[25] *Some of the theatres were also restored; in September 2003, Mikis Theodorakis returned to Makronisos to give in one of them two large concerts in front of thousands of people. Were any direct replicas of ancient monuments restored? Most of them were at the location of the Second Battalion, which was not on our itinerary, yet, judging from very recent photos, it seems that these replicas were not restored. As I walked around, I encountered what is perhaps the most interesting and*

[25] See ICOMOS (1991) and Diaphonidis *et al.* (1994). The future fate of the island had been uncertain until that time. In 1954, when the island still housed military facilities and army personnel, the government decided to establish on it a settlement for psychiatric patients (*Kathimerini*, 23 October 1954), a plan that never materialized: it seemed that the perception of the island as a place for curing and 'cleansing' and in general dealing with 'deviancies' of all kind, survived the end of the Greek Civil War. In more recent years there was a suggestion that it should become the base for a rubbish treatment plant (Tsouknidas 1998), an idea which is inscribed within the same logic. And even after its declaration as an historical site, and in the preparations for the 2004 Athens Olympics, Makronisos was destined to host some of the activities linked with the Games, a plan that did not materialize, partly due to the protest by the Association of the Inmates of Makronisos (PEKAM) (*I Epohi*, 24 September 2000).

Fig. 6.9 Commemorative visit to Makronisos, 23 May 2004.

Fig. 6.10 Commemorative visit to Makronisos, 23 May 2004: the restored building of the bakery of the First Battalion is to the left; to the right, the remnants of a church.

important materializations of the Makronisos experience, which, however, have not attracted the attention of the Ministry of Culture: simple stone constructions, that served as the platforms upon which the tents were put, fragments of barbed wire, small and mundane objects, like aluminium drinking cups, forks, and many more. Yet these are the structures and objects that the survivors consider as important as the large buildings, and they have called for their preservation in their interventions at recent conferences. These forks and other objects were, according to one source, the raw material for the creation of artwork by one of the female ex-detainees in recent years.

The main event of the visit was the inauguration of a monument to the dead, a bronze statue of a man carrying a large stone on his shoulder (a reminder of the forced hard labour), barbed wired around his arm (Fig. 6.11). Wreaths and speeches followed, including one by the representative of the main right-wing party, the successor of the regime that created Makronisos. Despite the protest of the speaker that

Fig. 6.11 Ceremony for the inauguration of the memorial at Makronisos, 23 May 2004.

this was a personal pilgrimage for him too, as his father was also imprisoned at Makronisos, the speech did not go down well. Other former inmates and visitors protested that the negative reaction was unnecessary, and that indeed, the whole commemoration ceremony was stage-managed by the Communist Party. Since the 1980s, with the advent of the socialist PASOK government and the official recognition of the resistance movement, the surviving inmates of Makronisos achieved a moral victory: the name Makronisos now denotes in the national consciousness a shameful incidence of Greek history, something that even right-wing politicians are ready to admit. Furthermore, as the speech of the representative of the right-wing party showed, and as seems to have happened with the resistance movement as a whole,[26] *the legacy of Makronisos is becoming part of the national memory in the name of a de-politicized 'national reconciliation'. Yet, as the voices of disapproval to that speech showed that day, the phenomenon meets resistance. Indeed, it seems that the management of the legacy of Makronisos as a whole, is still under dispute.*

I tried to find my 'interlocutor' from Lavrio. It seems that he left as soon as we disembarked, and made his way for this 'haradra'. It seemed that for him, more important than the ceremonies and the speeches, was to reconnect with the place, the stones and the shrubs which held his painful memories.

[26] See Mazower (2000c), among others.

7

Nostalgia for the Whole: the Parthenon (or Elgin) Marbles

> A statue swims upside down, one hand in response
> to a question raised in the House, and applause rises
> from the clapping Thames, from benches in the leaves.
> And the sunflower sets after all retracting its irises
> with the bargeman's own, then buds on black, iron trees
> as a gliding fog hides the empires: London, Rome, Greece.
>
> Derek Walcott, *Omeros*

5 December 1997; a cloudy, typically Welsh, early morning. I am one of two passengers in the only taxi-van around, rolling through the Welsh hills towards London. Why am I doing this? The pretext/excuse is that I am going to participate in a demonstration organized by societies of Greek students outside the British Museum, to demonstrate for the return of the Parthenon marbles to Greece. A bus-load of Greek students—some my own students—left the campus very early that morning to participate in the event. I am not among them, I am not going for the same reason, although I did sign (with some scepticism) the petition when a couple of students knocked on my office door a few days ago. I will be the observer and they the ethnographic subjects . . .

Arrive in central London, late for the beginning of the demonstration. Miss the start but manage to find them as they turn to Great Russell Street. One single black banner with white letters: 'Send them Back!'. Several Greek national flags. Fewer demonstrators than I expected: no more that 300–400. [Months of campaigning—mainly through the internet—which was focused around this demonstration on the day which was nominated Parthenon Day, gave the impression of a much

larger event, with the active participation of a significant number of the many thousands of Greek students who study in the UK.] The small crowd, quite vocal with the main slogan 'Send the Marbles Back to Greece!'. Substantial police forces surrounded the group. The traffic was blocked in the streets where the demonstrators were going to pass. I was carrying a large professional video camcorder which I did not dare to use [why?]. Took a couple of shots with a conventional camera. Suddenly, a couple of my students recognized me. They called me and ask me to join them. I waved at them and stayed on the pavement. Approach the museum. By-passers, slightly surprised and confused. Workmen in the courtyard of the museum, slighted amused: 'What do they want? They've lost their marbles!'. They stopped in front of the main gate. A few journalists and fewer television crews, mainly from Greek channels. Some demonstrators pose in front of the banner with the museum's neo-classical facade as a background, while their friends take a picture. A small team approaches the museum officials who had gathered inside the courtyard. The team politely delivered the petition, went back to the main group of demonstrators and encouraged them to shout the main slogans a few more times; then, the demonstrators regrouped into smaller groups and made their way towards the hotel nearby, where a panel discussion was to be held. An ex-minister from Greece who had come specifically for the occasion was one of the speakers, along with some British journalists. I too made my way to the hotel but I never got inside; I collected some leaflets instead, and left. . . .

The episode described above (Fig. 7.1) refers to a fairly recent moment in the social (and sensory) biography of the group of artefacts known as the 'Parthenon (or Elgin) marbles'. The recent circumstances surrounding this group of artefacts have attracted enormous publicity, due to their entanglement in the politics of restitution of cultural property.[1] Indeed, the case is one of the most

[1] See Smith (1916), Hitchens (1997), Vrettos (1997), St Clair (1998, 1999), Rudenstine (1999), Boardman (2000), Merryman (2000, 2006), Marijnissen (2002), Webb (2002), Kersel (2004), and papers in *Medelhausmuseet* 2 (2005) for some academic (and in some cases, semi-popular) writings; the popular ones are too many to mention, but some are discussed below.

Fig. 7.1 From the student demonstration for the restitution of the Parthenon marbles, outside the British Museum, 5 December 1997.

often quoted and used in the textbooks and broader discussions of the issue (e.g. Greenfield 1996; Lowenthal 1998; Merryman 2006). My concern here is not with the issue of the politics of restitution itself (although inevitably the matter will be discussed), but with the entanglement of the unique social biography of this group of artefacts with the Hellenic national imagination. The aim of this chapter, as the book draws to a close, is to revisit some of its key concerns and themes in the light of this important case-study: the competing nationalisms that laid claims to this group of artefacts, the interplay between imperial/colonial practices, and national ones, the articulation of aesthetic discourses with competing claims, and the local–global interactions in the field of cultural economy are some of them. The chapter adopts a long-term view, and an approach that subscribes to the notion of cultural biography of objects (cf. Appadurai 1986a,b; Marshall and Gosden 1999), but supplemented with the approach that could be called a sensory/sensuous biography of objects (cf. Chapter 1).

STORIES IN MARBLE

The term 'Elgin marbles' (as the British Museum is obliged by statute to refer to this specific group of artefacts; Hitchens 1997: 17[2]) denotes a group of marble sculptures, statues, and other antiquities that were removed from the Athenian Acropolis between 1801 and 1802 by Thomas Bruce, Seventh Earl of Elgin (known as Lord Elgin) and his associates. The largest and the most noted part of this collection, now housed in the British Museum, are the Parthenon sculptures, depicting mainly mythological scenes from the fifth century BC Athenian temple. Almost half of the architectural sculptures are in London and the other half in Athens, now all in the Acropolis Museum. More specifically, the British Museum holds half of the original frieze (about 75 m. in length), fifteen metopes and seventeen pedimental pieces. The original collection also includes a caryatid and a column from the Erechtheion, as well as some other fragments from other locations on the Acropolis. A small number of fragments from the Parthenon sculptures can be also found in a number of other museums such as the Louvre, and other museums in Denmark, Germany, Austria, France, and Italy (Greenfield 1996). Almost all these sculptures exhibit figural themes involving humans and animals, although for the identification of specific themes and figures there is considerable debate; the frieze has been discussed extensively amongst classicists (Beard 2002: 128–129), partly because it survives in such a good condition; it shows a procession with horsemen, charioteers, musicians, water-carriers, and animals for sacrifice. The most notable metopes show mythical battles with centaurs (half-human, half-horse figures), but the most spectacular and most widely reproduced are the sculptures from the east pediment (Fig. 7.2a, b): there is no agreement on the representation of the scene, but the slightly larger than life-size human figures, some reclining, some sitting, and some in movement, all of them missing either their head or limbs, together with a number of horse heads,

[2] More recently, and perhaps due to the pressure put on the British Museum in Britain and internationally, the institution and its staff has increasingly referred to the artefacts as the Parthenon sculptures, e.g. the title of Jenkins' report (2001a) on the 1930s' 'cleaning controversy' (see below).

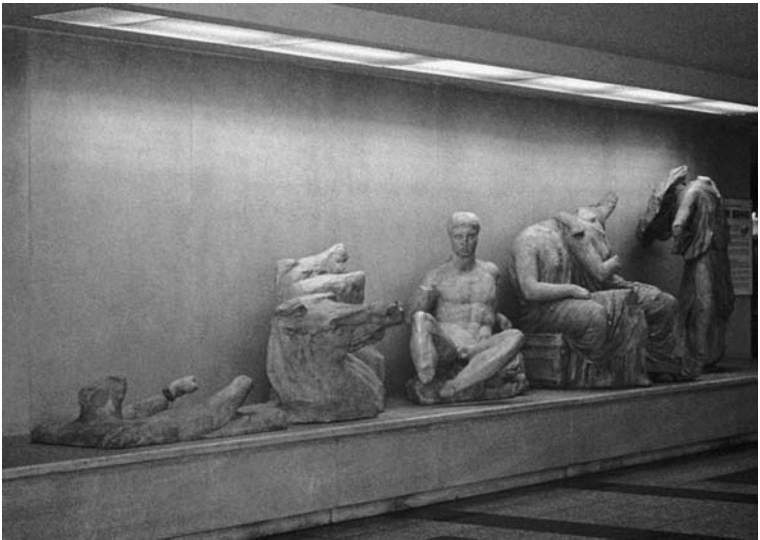

Fig. 7.2 Sculptures from the east pediment of the Parthenon in the British Museum (above), and a copy at the Acropolis Metro station, Athens (below).

and especially the extremely realistic horse head identified as that from the chariot of the goddess Selene (moon), have been endlessly reproduced, and have formed the stage for countless photo opportunities and collective rituals. Finally there is the caryatid, representing a draped female figure.

The social biography of this group should inevitably start with their initial production in the context of fifth century Athenian

society. The sculptures were part of a large building and decorating project on the Athenian Acropolis initiated by Pericles, following the military victory against the invading Persians. Pericles used the financial resources from the tribute contributed by the Greek city-states, funds which were intended to secure Athenian military protection. Pericles transferred the funds from the pan-Hellenic island sanctuary of Delos to Athens in 454 BC (Spivey 1996: 136; cf. also Osborne 1998: 158, 174). The building programme on the Acropolis involved a large workforce, some of the best-known architects and sculptors of the time, and an enormous amount of materials and resources, including vast quantities of gold. The project, therefore, was an exercise in conspicuous consumption, with clear political connotations and symbolism related to the Athenian political hegemony in the area, as well as the political status, reputation, and desire for posterity on the part of the main protagonists. Spivey (1996: 136–140; 1997: 237) has suggested that the political message was addressed to an audience far beyond Athenian or pan-Hellenic society: Athens may have been engaged in an act of competitive display of grandeur with the defeated enemies in the preceding wars, the Persians. They may have been trying to outcompete the huge ceremonial centre built by Persian leaders at Persepolis, attempting thus to defeat the Persians in the war of conspicuous architectural and artistic consumption as well. And yet that ‘war’ was somehow disguised as such, since the iconographic programme, at least in the most prominent monument, the Parthenon, makes no direct reference to Persians or to historical events such as the preceding Persian wars.[3] But at least some of the chosen themes (such as the battles with centaurs or with the mythical women-warriors, the Amazons) might have made reference to Athenian power and its fight against the ‘other’, an inferior entity, be it a semi-human–semi-animal creature such as a centaur, or the representations of ‘undomesticated’ female power such as the Amazons. These ‘others’ could be therefore taken to stand for the third common ‘other’, the ‘barbarians’, in this context the Persians.[4]

[3] Such references, however, are to be found in other temples on the Acropolis, such as in the frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike.

[4] See Spivey (1996: 150; 1997); on the widely accepted interpretation of mythological representations in artistic expressions as Greek versus the ‘other’ see among

The meaning of these sculptures was bound to change dramatically in the subsequent millennia following their production, as their social life took many drastic turns.[5] During the Roman period, the Parthenon, on which the sculptures (with the exception of the caryatid) were attached, lost its original meaning but it continued to remain the focus of attention, a powerful *lieu de memoire*, with the erection of honorary monuments and inscriptions for political leaders (Korrés 1994: 139–140); the cultural, mnemonic capital of classical antiquity was thus deployed for the legitimization of authority and the negotiation of political and social roles. After suffering natural disasters such as blazes, the monument was converted into an Orthodox church in the fifth century AD; it was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and for many centuries it was known as Our Lady of Athens (*Panagia Athiniotissa*) (Korrés 1994), evoking perhaps the ancient cult of the goddess Athena. At that time, some of the sculptures in the metopes were defaced (Korrés 1994: 147), as their iconographic themes were seen as inappropriate for the new role and meaning of the monument, although some of them were spared, possibly because they were thought to evoke biblical scenes (Beard 2002: 57). In the twelfth century AD, the Parthenon was the cathedral of the Archbishop of Athens, Michael Choniates (Beard 2002: 49–51), and the sculptures coexisted with Christian wall paintings, part of the Orthodox iconographic tradition (Korrés 1994: 148). In the next century, following the conquest of Greece by the armies of the Fourth Crusade, the Parthenon became a catholic church and the cathedral of Athens. In the fifteenth century, following the

others Francis and Vickers (1990: 21–42) and Hall (1989). It is worth noting that the interpretation of the Parthenon marbles and of the frieze in particular is one of the most hotly debated issues among classicists. In some cases, the debates attract the attention of the international press, as happened with the recent study by Connelly (1996, where earlier debates are reviewed), which suggests a mythological interpretation involving human sacrifice. Moreover, the centrality of the sculptures in the western imagination and culture has meant that certain interpretations (e.g. such as these emphasizing the heroic and the celebratory character of the artefacts) are favoured at the expense of others (cf. Connelly 1996: 55–56).

[5] See several articles in Tournikiotis (1994) on the reception and role of the Parthenon from the post-classical to modern times; also Beard (2002); on the more recent lives of the Acropolis as a whole, see other chapters in this book, especially Chapters 3 and 6; also Yalouri (2001).

occupation of Athens by the Ottomans, it became a mosque with a minaret attached to it.

For the next two centuries, Greece was relatively isolated from the west but from the seventeenth century onwards, as was shown earlier in this book, with the establishment of classicism as one of the main ideological forces among the western aristocracy, the Parthenon, like other famous classical monuments of Greece, again became the focus of attention. In 1687, during the Venetian–Ottoman war, the Parthenon and its sculptures suffered probably the most destructive blow in their history with the bombardment of the Acropolis and the explosion of the Parthenon which was used by the Ottomans as a munitions store for gunpowder (Hadjiaslani 1987; Korrés 1994). After the withdrawal of the Venetians, the Ottomans built a new, smaller mosque inside the Parthenon. Popular social memory recorded the next crucial episode in the social biography of the sculptures: the violent removal of the large number of sculptures from the Acropolis by the entourage of Lord Elgin, the then British Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. As discussed in Chapter 3, these tales recorded by British travellers such as Hobhouse and Douglas (e.g. Douglas 1813: 85), recall the English lord and his men who upset the spirits of the sculptures which were crying and protesting; in the same tales, the statues of the caryatids of Erechtheion were also heard lamenting for their abducted sister, the statue removed by Elgin's people.

The broader political circumstances surrounding Lord Elgin's removal of the sculptures are more or less known (see St Clair 1998; also Hitchens 1997 for more). He used his position of power as British Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire and the favourable political climate during the French–Turkish war, when Britain became an ally of the Ottoman Empire. A major factor in this affair is the competition between Britain and France, a competition that went far beyond the military and political sphere. The anxiety that emerges from Elgin's letters to his employees and especially to Lousieri, his person in charge at Athens, is that the French would succeed in removing the sculptures before him. Hobhouse justified the deeds of his friend Elgin on the basis of the competition with France (1813: 345–348), as well as on the 'wish to advance the fine arts in civilised

Europe' (1813: 348). The 'danger' that the French could have beaten the British to it was acknowledged by the 1816 Select Committee of the British House of Commons, set up to examine the purchase of Elgin's collection (St Clair 1998: 156–157). In 1811 an anonymous author wrote the following in the English magazine, *Examiner*, in a piece supporting Elgin's actions: 'The fact is that the French are jealous of our good fortune in having secured those inspired productions by Lord Elgin's energy; which puts us above them, notwithstanding all their selections in Italy, Germany, and Spain, as to School of Art' (cited in Webb 2002: 71–72).

Lord Elgin originally intended to request permission to draw and make casts of the Parthenon sculptures in order to decorate his mansion in Scotland, but he was eventually convinced (by his entourage and by the change in the balance of political power in the region) to request permission to 'excavate' and remove material from the monument. During this process, in addition to an ambiguous *firmân* (licence document) issued by the Ottomans, he employed bribery and threats to convince the local Ottoman authorities in Athens to turn a blind eye to his activities, which involved, amongst other things, sawing off architectural parts and sculptures from the Parthenon, and removing objects and structural elements such as one of the caryatids from Erechtheion (the female statues that served as supporting columns), thus causing a serious risk to the static balance of the monuments. The first shipment of sculptures ended up in London's custom house in 1803, after a long and adventurous journey which involved the sinking of the ship *Mentor* that carried the sculptures (which were subsequently salvaged) near Kythira (cf. Miliarakis 1994[1888] on the circumstances surrounding the event). The second shipment was finally transported from Athens in 1810, after a long series of renewed negotiations involving more ambiguous *firmâns*, financial misfortunes, and constant attempts to counter the plans by the French, especially the French Ambassador Fauvel, to appropriate the collection (St Clair 1998: 151–161). The antiquities, which went on display as soon as the first shipment arrived, stayed in Lord Elgin's possession until 1816, when they were sold to the British Museum (to repay part of Lord Elgin's huge debt) for £35,000 instead of the £73,600 asked by Lord Elgin (Hitchens 1997: 41). The decision was taken after a long and

controversial public debate and an equally stormy session in the House of Commons.

The exhibition of the sculptures at the British Museum from 1817 onwards coincided with dramatic developments in the mode of perception and appreciation of the material world and of museums in western European societies. As a result of social, economic, and technological processes, a regime of an autonomous and disembodied vision replaced earlier modes of perception, and seeing for seeing's sake became a dominant mode of engagement with the world (Crary 1990; 1999). At the same time, from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, museums ceased to be spaces destined for the private pleasures of the aristocracy and became more arenas of public indoctrination, and museum visiting a sign of social distinction. Museums thus developed into one of the key 'exhibitionary' devices of modernity, where both the exhibited and the visitor became part of the same binary ritual of spectacle and surveillance (cf. Bennett 1988): the visitor observes but s/he is also observed at the same time by other visitors (as well as by the museum staff), and to be seen in the museum becomes as important as the act of seeing. The British Museum was one of the first great museums to partake in these developments. The presence of the sculptures in London and the debate they aroused, considerably influenced aesthetic taste and artistic perception in British society and beyond. They arrived at a time when classicism, still the dominant trend, was under severe attack by the advocates of romanticism. Due to the realistic manner in which they were sculpted, and in reciprocal interaction with the romantic ideals, they contributed to the reshaping of the artistic taste of the time, since they represented a model quite different from the abstract Roman art (still the artistic canon), being the prime examples of the new, naturalist 'Grecian gusto'. They also helped to establish the idea of unrestored authenticity[6] as the new artistic standard. Finally, they coincided with and influenced the 'Greek Revival', evident mainly in architecture.[7] But the most important

[6] After the sculptor Canova's refusal to restore the Parthenon marbles, as was suggested (Rothenberg 1977: 444; Webb 2002: 65).

[7] London provides several examples of this, from the British Museum itself to the church of St Pancras (with its imitation of the Erechtheion) to many more; see Rothenberg (1977) and Webb (2002); cf. also Jenkins (1992: 24–6); the same study

consequence of the residence of the sculptures in the British Museum for almost 200 years is their investment with a new kind of meaning and authority: they were destined to stand for British imperial might and nationhood; they were the material proof of the claim that Britain was the descendant of classical Athens, a worthy descendant that managed to rescue the classical masterpieces from destruction by the oriental barbarians (the Ottomans[8]), and the negligent modern Greeks. According to Jenkins (1992: 19), their acquisition came to signify the British aesthetic and cultural victory, after the British Battle of Marathon, that of Waterloo. The desire of the English intelligentsia to inscribe the marbles into the British national psyche is perfectly expressed by the commentator Haydon, who wrote in 1809:

> Thank God! The remains of Athens have flown for protection to England; the genius of Greece still hovers near them; may she with her inspiring touch, give new vigour to British Art, and cause new beauties to spring from British exertions! May their essence mingle with our blood and circulate through our being
>
> cited in Webb (2002: 85)

The reference to blood here is not accidental: the Elgin marbles, as the most celebrated example of classical art, were called in to prove not just a cultural affinity between classical Greeks and modern Britons, but a physical and racial one as well. The most prominent exponent of British racism in the nineteenth century, Robert Knox, would advocate, based on racial, physiognomic studies, that ancient Greeks had a northern Scandinavian or Saxon racial origin; more importantly, however, the classical 'racial' type can now be found not in Greece but in the streets of London (Leoussi 2001: 474; cf. Leoussi 1998). British imperial might and English racial nationalism found in these sculptures a perfect *cause célèbre*, a tangible and material proof.

contains an historical account of the management of the collection by the British Museum up to 1939.

[8] The British commentator Sydney Smith would write in 1816 that 'Lord Elgin has done a very useful thing in taking them away from the Turks. Do not throw pearls to swine' (cited in Webb 2002: 73).

THE IMPRISONED CHILDREN OF THE NATION

London, Thursday 10 March 1994; afternoon; a group of around 100 Greek and Greek-Cypriot students make their way to the British Museum; [a few days had passed since the death of Melina Mercouri, Hellenic Minister for Culture and passionate advocate and crusader for the restitution of the Parthenon marbles; her death caused a huge wave of public emotional reaction; the echoes of this reaction were clearly felt in Britain among the sizeable community of Greek students]; as they proceed towards the lobby, it becomes clear that they carry flowers in their hands; they demand to be allowed to leave the flowers on the marbles, in memory of Melina Mercouri. The outright rejection of the museum personnel was followed by negotiations and finally they were allowed in; they were not allowed, however, to leave the flowers on the marbles. The congregation gathered around the remains of the Parthenon sculptures and someone read a petition of the Society of Greek Students in London, reaffirming their promise to continue Mercouri's crusade. Then, they all sang the Greek National Anthem before the eyes of surprised guards and visitors. They managed to leave some flowers on the marbles despite the prohibition, and then they left (Fig. 7.3).[9]

At the same time that the developments discussed in the previous section were happening in Britain, radical changes were taking place in Greece. As outlined in Chapter 3, the national imagination transformed the social landscape of the Greek Peninsula, and following the foundation of the nation-state, archaeological monuments contributed to the materialization of the national dream. The Acropolis, completely purified and cleansed of the signs of its post-classical life, became the most important sacred site of this materialized dream, and the Parthenon, the most celebrated monument within it. The sculptures removed by Elgin thus became the part of that sacred heritage that was forcefully taken from the national homeland when

[9] The story is based on a newspaper report by Metaxas (1994); on the public reactions to Mercouri's death see, amongst many others, 'Melina: you are the face of Greece' (*Eleftherotypia*, 8 March 1994); 'Greece said farewell to her Caryatid' (*Eleftherotypia*, 11 March 1994, front page); 'Always in our hearts' (*Ta Nea*, 7 March 1994, front page); 'She was born, lived, and died Greek' (*Mesimvrini*, 7 March 1994, front page).

Fig. 7.3 Greek demonstrators leave flowers on the sculptures of the east pediment in 1994, a few days after the death of Melina Mercouri.

it was under the 'Ottoman yoke'. The celebratory comments that welcomed the sculptures in Britain, as well as the frequent condemnation of Lord Elgin's activities in his own country by prominent personalities (with Lord Byron being the most prominent; cf. Webb 2002), equally contributed to the elevation of their value and importance within Greece. The earlier folk tales referred to above, were now reshaped and retold by folklorists in such a way as to fit into the national narrative; rather than being seen as evidence of 'superstition' (as foreign travellers saw them), they were presented as evidence of the living consciousness of the population as descendants of ancient Greeks and as custodians of their ancestral heritage. The stories of the mourning statues would be told and retold to the present day. The sculptures, therefore, became simultaneously, and as a result of a dynamic, mutually reinforced relationship, the holy relics of both British and Hellenic nationhood and artistic glory. There was a fundamental difference, however: while they signified a cultural (if not racial) allegiance to the classical past, and the British political, military, and artistic superiority over the French and other

European powers for *certain* British aristocrats and intellectuals, they were the sacred works of the ancestors that were misappropriated by a foreign power for *much larger* sectors of the population in Greece.

The desire for the restitution of the sculptures to Greece was implicitly expressed from early on, and it emerged regularly in the writings of national intellectuals and poets (e.g. Cavafy 1988), but also British and other intellectuals (forcing the British government to consider their return to Greece more than once).[10] However, it was not until recently that the issue of restitution became a matter of official government policy: after the socialist PASOK party took office in 1981, the new Minister for Culture, Melina Mercouri,[11] made the restitution her personal crusade and official policy (and since then, her legacy has been intricately linked to the restitution; Figs 7.4–7.7). The first official request was submitted to the British government in 1982, after a decision of the Greek Ministerial Council, and in 1983 Greece submitted a specific request before UNESCO (cf. Korka 2005: 148). Since then, it has remained a central issue in the political discourse of Greece and it has almost become one of the so-called 'national issues', along with the disputes with Turkey over the Aegean and the resolution of the partly militarily occupied and divided Cyprus. All political parties, from the ultra-nationalist to the Communist, participate in the national crusade for the restitution of the sculptures.[12] Since the affair has become a 'national issue'

[10] For example, in 1941 the British Foreign Office had proposed the return of the marbles to Greece, partly as a recognition of the role of Greek Army forces in the Second World War, and in an attempt to stiffen Greek resistance against the invading fascist and Nazi armies; and according to some sources, in the 1950s, in the midst of the anti-colonial struggle in Cyprus against the British colonial administration, British officials hinted that they may consider the return of the marbles if the Greek government was to withdraw any support for the anti-colonial fighters (St Clair 1998: 334).

[11] Mercouri had first become aware of the issue when in 1962, while playing 'Faidra' in the filming of an ancient Greek tragedy, she met 'Hippolytos' (played by Antony Perkins) by the sculptures in the British Museum (*Eleftherotypia*, 19 December 1993). She was also incensed that the British Museum had posed difficulties for them filming in the room.

[12] In the 1994 European elections, the political party 'Coalition of the left' (*Synaspismos*) issued a leaflet on the issue (see Hamilakis 1999b, Fig. 2), and in 2002 one of its then members in the European Parliament and subsequent leader, A. Alavanos, who has been particularly active on the cause (cf. Yalouri 2001: 89), organized a day conference in the European Parliament entitled 'Marbles in exile' (*Eleftherotypia*, 31 May 2002).

Fig. 7.4 A marble statue of Mercouri near the Acropolis in Athens, opposite the Temple of Zeus Olympios and Hadrian's Gate.

it has been sacralized and is beyond any serious criticism (despite some dissenting voices, e.g. Marinos 1984; Kanellis 1998; Loverdos 1997);[13] it overshadows many other issues of cultural policy, such as the severe problems of the State Archaeological Service and its

[13] Another interesting dissenting voice is that of then Professor of Prehistoric Archaeology at the University of Thessaloniki and a prominent figure in the Communist Party of Greece (KKE), Giorgos Hourmouziadis. While not directly opposed

Fig. 7.5 A marble relief by the sculptor S. Triandis, showing Mercouri with the Parthenon in the background, outside the Archaeological Museum of Lamia.

to the restitution of the Parthenon marbles, he critiques the over-reliance on classical antiquity as a bourgeois ideology, and at the same time he castigates the hypocrisy of the Greek position that focuses only on the British Museum and not on other antiquities; he adds that the works of art and civilization know no borders, and points to the inadequate funding of archaeological and museum activity in Greece, something that should have been a priority; see interviews in *Rizospastis* (1 April 2001), and in the regional literary magazine *Endohora* (77, November 2001).

Fig. 7.6 A photographic portrait of Mercouri with the Parthenon in the background at the Athens Metro, Acropolis station.

museums. The crusade also confers authority to the Minister for Culture, who is seen as advancing one of the most important national issues of her/his time.

In 1997, the change of government in Britain led to a renewed interest, since there was an old promise from a previous Labour Party leadership that, when Labour resumed power, they would return the sculptures to Greece. Since then, the Hellenic government, despite the continuous refusal of the British state to enter into negotiations, has resumed the official requests and has intensified pressure which includes wide publicity, and intensification of the preparations of the new Acropolis Museum which was built directly below the Acropolis. The Hellenic government hopes that the new state-of-the-art museum (due to be completed in 2007 in the area of Makrygianni, on the south slope of the Acropolis), which will allow not only a direct visual link between the sculptures inside it and the Parthenon but also, it is claimed, an exhibition mode which will resemble the original appearance of the sculptures on the monument (Smith 2006: 30), is an adequate response to the British argument that the objects cannot be properly exhibited in Greece due to the lack of

Fig. 7.7 A cartoon by D. Kamenos, published in the Athens daily *Eleftherotypia*, a few days after Mercouri's death: Mercouri is led away by a figure in ancient Greek dress (the god of the Underworld?) while looking back towards a drawing of a sculpture that stands for the Parthenon marbles; the figure in ancient Greek dress reassures Mercouri: 'Do not worry, we will bring them back!' (cf. Hamilakis 2000b).

a proper museum, nor can they be reunited with the monument because of Athens's notorious air pollution.

While these developments in Greece helped counter the British argument that the country lacks the facilities and the capacity to take proper care of the sculptures, other developments in Britain conspired to reverse that argument in favour of the Greek government: I am referring to the debate over the 'cleaning' of the Parthenon sculptures in the 1930s, prior to their re-exhibition in the newly built Duveen gallery: Lord Duveen, the sponsor of the gallery, instructed

the removal of the coating of the marble sculptures (often referred to as 'patina', a result either of ancient artificial colour coating or natural discoloration of the marble), to suit his and some of his contemporaries' perception of classical sculptures as being gleaming white (cf. Kehoe 2004). The 'cleaning', which was not authorized by the museum, was carried out using copper chisels, metal brushes, and strong chemicals. When the matter was discovered by the museum, an unsuccessful attempt was made to cover it up; the story reached the British press, however, and at that time it caused a minor scandal. Yet the affair seems to have been forgotten until 1998, when the author William St Clair, publishing the revised edition of his book on the sculptures (St Clair 1998), devoted a whole chapter to it, based on new research using previously classified documents. The story became a public affair again, but this time the issue did not revolve so much around aesthetics as in the 1930s. The rerun of this story was from the start implicated with the politics of restitution.

The Greek government and the supporters of the restitution saw the revelations as delivering a devastating blow to one of the British Museum's most powerful arguments: that the museum cared for the sculptures in an exemplary manner and performed its stewardship duties adequately; moreover, that the parts of the sculptures that are at the museum are preserved in a much better state than those remaining in Athens, which have suffered from pollution. The supporters of the restitution claimed that the scandal of the 'cleaning' proves that good stewardship cannot be used as an argument in favour of the retention of the marbles by the British Museum. The pressure by academics, campaigning lobbies, and the press in Greece and Britain forced the British Museum to hold a symposium in 1999 to debate the affair, and prior to that, to allow scientists from Greece to examine the surface of the marbles and adjudicate on the effect of 'cleaning'. The results of their study are published on the museum's website, other papers from the conference were published in various venues, and the museum itself brought out a report on the affair (Jenkins 2001a, see also 2001b), disclosing all the relevant documentation, and attempting at the same time to defend its position.[14]

[14] For other comments and writings on this topic see St Clair (1999), Boardman (2000), and Marijnissen (2002).

The cleaning controversy has turned the tables: Greece is used to being under the constant gaze of western Europeans on how it manages classical heritage, on whether in effect it is a worthy steward of that heritage (and often the verdict is negative); yet, since the intensification of the Parthenon sculptures crusade, Greece has been watching the British Museum's stewardship of the marbles. In 1984, a Greek newspaper headline declared: 'Buckets for the rain water, next to the Marbles: the British Museum leaks!'.[15] In the cleaning debate, there were the scientists/inspectors from Greece, experts on the deterioration of the marble, who came to inspect the damage caused. In a country that feels constantly under 'surveillance' (on issues from the management of classical antiquities, to the management of European Union grants), this has been a highly significant development.

The official Hellenic government discourse has changed since the early 1990s, placing much less emphasis on the argument of ownership based on continuity, and more on the argument of proper aesthetic appreciation of the entire monument, a monument which, as its adoption as the official logo of UNESCO indicates, is seen as a major symbolic landmark of western civilization. At the same time, this discourse makes clear that the request has nothing to do with the broader international debates on restitution, and with multi-culturalism. In a leaflet produced by the Ministry for Culture and the 'Melina Mercouri Foundation' which has been distributed widely, we read in a letter by the Minister for Culture at the time, E. Venizelos:

> The request for the restitution of the Parthenon Marbles by the Hellenic Government is not submitted in the name of Hellenic Nation or the Hellenic History. It is submitted in the name of World Cultural Heritage and with the voice of the mutilated monument itself which demands the return of its Marbles.[16]

[15] *Ta Nea* (11 November 1989); more recently, another newspaper story with the title '. . . And they dare talk about the marbles' (*Adesmeftos Typos*, 10 August 1998), reproduced an English Heritage (the main heritage conservation body in England) report which claims that, since 1945, 22,000 sites and monuments have been destroyed in Britain.

[16] This text was reproduced in the leaflet from the official letter-request submitted by the Minister for Culture to the British Arts Minister in 1997 (*Eleftherotypia*, 6 July 1997).

The assertion that the demands of the Greek government are in the name of the whole world and its heritage, is clearly linked, as least partly, to the main argument of the British Museum that, being a world museum, it has the right and responsibility to act as a steward of world heritage, above national claims. In more recent years, Greek officials (but also British, pro-restitution lobbies) have been keen to emphasize time and again that the issue of ownership is not important for them anymore, as long as the sculptures are in Greece, next to the monument. They are keen to dissociate the campaign from the earlier rhetoric, especially that during Mercouri's time, which placed major emphasis on the illegality of Elgin's actions and the rightful ownership of the sculptures by Greece. The argument now focuses more on the technical, aesthetic, and scientific dimensions: that the marbles needed to be appreciated and properly understood in their entirety, and the large-scale restoration (on-going for the past few decades) of the Parthenon will require the return of its architectural parts. The Greek government went as far as to suggest that they are prepared to allow the British Museum to establish an annexe in the new Acropolis Museum where the collection will be kept, in a direct visual association with the Parthenon. At the same time, the officials of the Greek Ministry of Culture have promised that they will make sure that the British Museum Parthenon galleries will not be left empty: they are prepared to send antiquities that have not been seen outside Greece (such as the finds from the Athens Metro excavations) in an arrangement of rotating exhibitions, or even reciprocate the permanent loan of the Parthenon marbles with a permanent loan of antiquities (cf. Korka 2005). To that effect, the 2002 Greek archaeological law includes, for the first time, a provision for permanent loans of antiquities abroad (see Chapter 2).

These considerable concessions have angered some public commentators, archaeologists, and others in Greece, who see this as too great a compromise, and an implicit acceptance (as the British Museum has been quick to point out[17]) of the legitimacy of

[17] See the interview of the director of the British Museum to Peter Aspden of the *Financial Times* (Aspden 2003).

Elgin's actions.[18] Strong reactions were also caused by the decision to go ahead with the construction of the new Acropolis Museum in its current location at the foot of the Acropolis, despite the vociferous opposition of local residents and the recovery in its foundations of extensive archaeological finds dating from the prehistoric to the later historical periods.[19] The solution decided upon, to maintain part of the recovered architecture and incorporate it into the exhibition of the museum, partly settled the matter, especially since public attention was diverted to other, more catastrophic, destructions of archaeological finds, sacrificed in the pursuit of the other modern Greek 'Great Idea', the 2004 Athens Olympics.[20]

The second major tactical argument that has been deployed by the pro-restitution lobbies inside and outside Greece is that the case of the Parthenon marbles is unique: Greece officially does not demand the return of any antiquities that were removed from Greece prior to the establishment of the modern state, other than the Parthenon marbles (it seems that even the caryatid from the Erechtheion is

[18] See, for example, articles in the left-wing papers, such as Kassos (2003), and an article in *Rizospastis* (7 June 2000); on the reaction by archaeologists to the provision of the new archaeological law that allows (by a simple ministerial decree) the permanent loan of antiquities, a 'colonialist' measure, according to them, see *Eleftheros Typos* (24 May 2002). Rumours had it that the government were prepared to loan to the British Museum even that iconic artefact, the bronze statue of Apollo from Delphi (*Ta Nea*, 14 September 2001). The minister himself admitted that this provision was linked to the marbles campaign: he characterized the archaeologists' reaction parochial, noting: 'I cannot demand from the British Museum the Parthenon sculptures, offering nothing in return' (*Eleftherotypia*, 6 June 2002).

[19] Amongst the plentiful reactions see articles by Parnassas (1998, 2000), who noted that the work for the new museum would destroy parts of poor neighbourhoods of ancient Athens: 'We can't expect all excavations to bring to light only Verginas; there are cases where a small settlement, a "neighbourhood", *has its own importance and its own "magic"* ' (1998) [emphasis in the original]; the reference here is to the famous discoveries by Manolis Andronikos at the Macedonian site of Vergina (see Chapter 4).

[20] Extensive reactions by archaeologists, public figures, and the press followed the decision of the Greek government in 2001 to build major athletic facilities for the 2004 Athens Olympics at the area of Marathon, the location of one of the most crucial and famous ancient battles between the Greeks and the invading Persian army. See several articles in *To Vima* (11 March 2001), *Andi* (730, 26 January 2001), and *Avgi* (8 April 2001); interview of the president of the Athens Archaeological Society A. Vlahos in *Avgi* (13 October 2002); *I Epohi* (29 September 2002); Hatzimihalis (2001) and Kepetzis (2001).

excluded), and is keen to distance itself from the other claims for restitution by other countries around the world. It has emphasized time and again that the uniqueness of the case rests on the fact that the sculptures are an integral part of an immobile monument, and they have been forcefully removed from it.[21] Interestingly, in 2002 an initiative by the French Ministry of Culture to coordinate the actions of the Greek government and the government of Nigeria (which demands the restitution of the Benin bronzes from the British Museum), despite the initial positive reaction by the Greek side, went no further, and received very little coverage in the press.[22] While Greek officials, from time to time, refer to the colonial attitude of the British Museum, a united anti-colonial front is not part of the official Greek position. This attitude seems to be shared by parts of the media: in 2001, a decision of some British institutions to restitute skeletal remains to aboriginal groups was reported in a mainstream, centre-left daily paper in Greece, with the title 'Instead of the marbles, they throw little bones',[23] while another daily of a similar profile

[21] In 2000, the Greek government, represented by a team headed by the Foreign Minister, was invited to make a submission and a personal representation to the House of Commons Select Committee on Culture, Media and Sport, examining the broader issue of illicit trade and the return of cultural property; the main thesis of the Greek side, as expressed in the submission of the government on 9 March 2000, focused on arguments such as: the uniqueness of the Parthenon and its symbolic value for Greek and world culture; the internationally recognized work of the restoration of the Acropolis; the uninterrupted archaeological work on the Acropolis by the Greek Archaeological Service; the regeneration of Athens and the unification of its archaeological quarter, with the Acropolis as its centre; and finally the construction of the new Acropolis Museum (see *To Vima*, 21 March 2000). Complete materials and discussions can be found at the website of the House of Commons. While issues of identity are not ignored, the emphasis is clearly on the uniqueness of the case, on the one hand, and the ability of the Greek state to act as worthy stewards to the marbles on the other; this is a 'businesslike' attitude, reflecting a change of tone in recent Greek governments and the hope that within the framework of cooperation established by the European Union, a solution could be found that could be beneficial for the British Museum, which would enjoy not only the right to operate a branch in Greece, but also the ability to host a series of exhibitions with important works of ancient Greek culture. At a time when the British Museum was in serious financial trouble, having to lay off staff and keep some of its galleries shut, the offer sounded both timely and astute.

[22] See news item on the website http://www.in.gr/ for 1 April 2002; also item in *Adesmeftos Typos (Rizos)* (2 April 2002).

[23] *Eleftherotypia* (30 August 2001).

protested that in the celebrations for the opening of the Great Court of the British Museum in 2000, African dances were performed in front of the marbles (Tsirigotakis 2000). The same event, however, angered the media, diplomats, and the Greek government alike for an additional reason: the museum had decided to hold a royal dinner (with the Queen as guest of honour) in the galleries where the marbles are kept. The Greek Ambassador declined the invitation and protested in the press on what he saw as a highly insensitive action: the use of that space for eating and entertainment.

The outrage was compounded by the fact that this event came shortly after reports that the cash-strapped museum makes the room of the Parthenon marbles available for hire at corporate dinners and other events, at which the guests could also hire and wear imitations of ancient Greek or Roman gowns. A Greek daily newspaper got hold of the price list and took great pleasure in publishing price details for each different event: £7000 for a simple reception, £12,000 for dinner, £12.95 for a bottle of champagne, ...[24] The 'disrespectful' behaviour of the museum was repeated during the symposium organized to debate the 1930s cleaning controversy, discussed above: the lunches for this meeting were again held in the marbles galleries, an act that angered Greek and some British delegates alike.[25]

[24] See *Ta Nea* (12 November 1999).

[25] See Hencke (2000); also the item entitled 'British dinner hard to swallow' *Apogevmatini* (8 August 2000); events such as these were seen by Greek officials and the media as indications of a lack of 'respect' (*aseveia*, a term that carries religious connotations). The Greek Ambassador in London was quoted in *Ethnos* (8 December 2000) as saying 'Neither as diplomat nor as Greek could I have possibly participated in this event, which constitutes a provocation and shows disrespect towards History'; and the Greek Minister for Culture complained in 2001 for the incidences of 'disrespect' towards the world antiquities kept at the British Museum (see http://www.in.gr/ news item for 16 June 2001). British commentators, on the other hand, noted the lack of tact on the part of the British Museum (e.g. Murray 1999: 14), or ridiculed the commodification of a cultural institution: 'Now that the British Museum is thinking of becoming a branch of the catering and entertaining industry, there doesn't seem to be any good reason why the Marbles should not return to Athens and the British Museum should not be content with a set of replicas, perhaps coated with PVC to repel red wine stains' (Hilton 1999). Another British commentator, however, writing in the conservative *Spectator*, suggested that dining was in line with the ancient Greek tradition of the symposium, and that feasting was taking place regularly on the Parthenon (Clark 1999), a claim, however, that does not seem to find any empirical support.

It should be clear by now that this affair is not simply a dispute between the British Museum and the British government on one side, and the Greek government on the other. As early as 1875, Mahaffy met an 'old Greek gentleman' who, expressing anger at the removal of the sculptures, 'assailed the memory of Lord Elgin with reproaches' (1878: 92).[26] Reference has already been made to intellectuals who kept the issue alive, but there are several other expressions of public interest in the topic: regular press coverage, party initiatives, group reactions such as the student demonstrations described above,[27] personal statements of protest such as the refusal of a visitor to the archaeological sites of Phaistos and Gortys in Crete to pay an entrance fee as long as 'the marbles' stay in London,[28] the priest who swam 3 miles to demand their return,[29] and the countless letters written by thousands of Greek schoolchildren to the British Museum and the British Prime Minister.[30] In a children's story which was published in 2004 under the title *The Marbles Fly* (Vasileiou 2004), the character of 11-year-old Maria in her visit to the British Museum notes the sadness in the marble figures ('they are imprisoned' she noted), and compares them to the sad, imprisoned animals she saw in the zoo. In more recent years,

[26] Earlier evidence, as the author implies, perhaps an indirect reference to the Parthenon marbles, is cited by Hobhouse (1813: 349), who encountered a 'learned Greek of Ioannina' who told him 'You English are carrying off the works of the Greeks, our forefathers – preserve them well – we Greeks will come and re-demand them'.

[27] Another student demonstration took place in front of the marbles on 27 May 2001: around twenty Greek students opened a banner in the Duveen gallery with the words: 'Re-unite the marbles'; their occupation lasted for 10 minutes; 'the guards applauded us with irony', they reported (Niaoti 2001).

[28] See *Eleftherotypia* (12 January 1993).

[29] He dedicated his feat to M. Mercouri: *Adesmeftos Typos (Rizos)* (5 September 2001).

[30] See, for example, *Vradyni* (24 April 2002), which reports that pupils from a primary school in Kavala, northern Greece, sent a letter of protest to the director of the British Museum. In 2001, one of the city councils of the metropolitan area of Athens (called, interestingly, Byron) decided to dedicate its annual children's festival to the marbles campaign. In addition to theatrical and dance performances, a letter by the children was sent to the Prime Minister, Tony Blair.

a number of initiatives have involved the coordination and collaboration of groups and individuals through the internet, which had made the coordination of student societies across Britain much easier prior to the demonstration in December 1997 outside the British Museum.

An interesting personal intervention 'from below', which, starting from the Elgin marbles, develops a broad theoretical critique of the ills of the nation, is that of D. Martos (1993), a local intellectual from the town of Veroia in northern Greece. For him, the Elgin case is not just an isolated incident. He talks instead of Elginism, a form of imperialism that can be seen operating both inside and outside Greece; Elginism works primarily through the act of dismemberment: the dismemberment of a monument as in the case of the Parthenon, or the dismemberment of the national body as in the case of Cyprus, for example, following the Turkish invasion in 1974:

> This function of dismemberment is the basic rule that makes the modern Helladic[31] social formation operational. It is the trade-mark of Hellenism. As the Caryatid was separated from its sisters, the Church of St. Sophia [in Istanbul] from its historical place and time, the funerary coffins from the tombs of Vergina, in the same way the areas of Pontos, Smyrna, Northern Epirus, Monastir, Cyprus, Imvros and Tenedos, follow the rule of dismemberment of the historical space
>
> Martos (1993: 154)

This wide-ranging critique delivers a blow to several recipients: the intellectual from a town next to the site of Vergina complains that the finds from that site moved to the Museum of Thessaloniki (a move that he characterizes as internal Elginism, calling at the same time the finds of Vergina, *Vergineia*);[32] but he goes much further—the

[31] The author here uses the word 'Helladic' (*Elladiki*) to denote the modern Greek state, as opposed to 'Hellenic', which, according to this discourse, is much wider and cannot be contained within the boundaries of the state.

[32] For the author, the antiquities at Vergina, and the local demands for their return to the site, became *Vergineia*, not only because of the act of Elginism committed upon them, but also because they have became the symbols of the demands and fighting spirit of the local society against the centralization of state authority and resources in Athens and Thessaloniki: the title of his relevant section is 'Vergineia: symbols of emancipation of a local community' (Martos 1993: 161); on Vergina cf. Chapter 4.

dismemberment of antiquities becomes a metaphor for the dismemberment of what he considers as the territorial space of historical Hellenism, advancing thus a veiled irredentist argument, the familiar, mostly from by-gone years, motto of the 'lost homelands'.[33]

The British Museum and the British government have refused to negotiate on the issue, despite the Greek offers and concessions. One of the key arguments advanced by the museum and repeated by commentators and politicians is that the British Museum is a universal museum, and it is the universality of the marbles that it seeks to preserve, as opposed to their nationalist use by the Greek government. The concept of the universal museum is something that the British Museum is keen to promote, and it has formed an alliance with other major western museums such as the Metropolitan Museum of New York, the Louvre, and the Prado (in Madrid, Spain), advocating the same cause. The 'Declaration on the Importance and Value of Universal Museums', signed in 2003 by eighteen major western, primarily art museums, is the manifesto of this initiative; while the document makes no reference to the Elgin marbles, it is clear that it is these objects that prompted the British Museum to take this move (cf. Curtis 2005: 51; and the response by MacGregor and Williams 2005[34]). Evoking current political discourse, the director of the museum, in a speech to the Museums Association conference in Brighton in October 2003, called the museum, a 'resource against fundamentalism';[35] he added 'this is one

[33] In other parts of the book, Martos accused the Greek authorities of Elginism, as they fail to demand the restitution of so many other antiquities, such as the ones kept at the Louvre, for example (Martos 1993: 148); this position echoes other reactions, such as the title of the news item in the Communist daily *Rizospastis* of 13 June 1991: 'Government – Elgin': the article reports sympathetically on a protest for the then proposed long-term loan of antiquities for a museum of the Olympic Games in Lausanne, Switzerland; the accusation here is obvious; the statement reads: 'antiquities are not some sort of commodity or means for the promotion of certain demands, but cultural heritage that belongs to all generations of this place'.

[34] Cf. also discussions (and some strong negative reactions) in the Newsletter of the International Council for Museums (ICOM): *ICOM News 1* (2004), accessible at http://icom.museum/universal.html.

[35] The current director will fall short, however, of calling the Greek government claims cultural fascism, as one of the museum's previous directors, David Wilson, did: 'it is like burning books ... that's what Hitler did' (Hitchens 1997: 85).

of the roles of a universal museum, to refuse to allow objects to be appropriated to one particular political agenda'.[36]

In an earlier interview, and in the midst of the crisis following the looting of the Baghdad Museum during the 2003 invasion of Iraq, the same director, on his way to Iraq to fulfil his role as the director of a universal museum, expressed irritation on the self-indulgent insistence of the Greeks, given the urgency and seriousness of the Iraq situation. And then, evoking an argument reminiscent of the Black Athena debates,[37] he noted that at the time of the creation of the Parthenon marbles, ancient Greece was drawing inspiration from Egypt and Assyria, and was also defining itself in opposition to the Persian Empire. These connections, he claims, can only be shown at a universal museum such as the British Museum, which possesses artefacts from all these different areas. 'It is an accident of history that roughly half of the Marbles are here and half in Athens' he would add,[38] erasing thus the entire history of purposeful, political and cultural colonization, the intense and relentless nationalist competition among the major western European powers for the appropriation of the classical material culture, and the value that British national and racial identity has attributed to the Parthenon marbles. In an article in *The Guardian* on 24 July 2004 he elaborated on the same idea, but the title of his article is most telling: 'The whole world in our hands'.[39] As Homi Bhabha asked, with reference to the 1992 exhibition at the National Gallery, Washington, DC on 'Art in the Age of Exploration': who has the right to declare themselves as the agents who can represent the world in its entirety? Who can grasp, appreciate, understand, and exhibit the universal, as opposed

[36] The speech is reported in *The Guardian* (7 October 2003; see Gibons *et al.* 2003).

[37] I refer here to the now well-known debate started by Martin Bernal (1987; 1991) on the Afro-Asiatic elements in ancient Greek culture, and their suppression by European, racist intellectual discourses from the eighteenth century to the present; cf. for responses Lefkowitz and MacLean (1996); and a counter-response by Bernal (2001); also Berlinerblau (1999), and on some archaeological debates, *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* **3**(2), 1990; on the reception of this debate in Greece, see *Syghrona Themata* (64, 1997).

[38] See Aspden (2003).

[39] MacGregor (2004) 'The whole world in our hands' in *The Guardian* [review] (24 July 2004).

to the localized and the peripheral? 'The global perspective . . . is the purview of power', Bhabha noted (2004[1992]: 240). We are dealing here with a politically charged, symbolic geography of representation that not only refuses to acknowledge its colonial origins, but also seeks to maintain and advance neo-colonialism, cast in the rhetoric of multi-culturalism and universality: MacGregor finished his *Guardian* article with a reference to Edward Said's new preface to *Orientalism*, claiming that the British Museum is one of Said's 'communities of interpretation' that 'must now reaffirm its world-wide civic purpose'.

As for the wider reaction in Britain, recent years have seen some offensive neo-colonial responses in the British press (cf. Clogg 1994), and some 'orientalizing' (or better 'Balkanizing', cf. Todorova 1997) remarks in the House of Lords. Here is an example from an exchange on 19 May 1997:

> Lord Wyatt of Weeford: My Lords, is the Minister aware that it would be dangerous to return the marbles to Athens because they were under attack by Turkish and Greek fire in the Parthenon when they were rescued and the volatile Greeks might start hurling bombs around again?
>
> cited in Hitchens (1997: vii–viii)[40]

The pro-restitution lobby in Britain, however, has become more numerous and well-organized, attracting a wide range of personalities from academia, politics, the arts, and the media.[41] It seems, also, that large sections of the British public are convinced that the sculptures should be returned to Greece. In 1996 the issue featured

[40] Similar attitudes continue to surface from time to time, especially in the British conservative press: e.g. a leader in the *Daily Telegraph* (29 November 1999), which notes that the present population of Greece cannot be considered descendants of classical Greeks; according to the paper they descended instead 'from the invaders who settled Greece . . . towards the end of the first millennium'.

[41] Amongst the recent developments is the campaign 'Parthenon 2004', an initiative launched in January 2002 by the Liberal Democrat MP Richard Allan which promoted the restitution of the marbles to coincide with the 2004 Athens Olympics, a target that was not achieved. The British Committee for the Restitution of the Parthenon Marbles hosted two recent major initiatives: the presentation in 2002 in London of the new Acropolis Museum at a venue very close to the British Museum (a lavish event attended by the Greek Minister for Culture and many other dignitaries), and the travelling exhibition, 'Marbles Reunited' (in 2003), which used virtual reality computing technology to project the aesthetic argument for the reunification of the sculptures (see *The Independent*, 7 October 2003). The idea of 'virtual' reunification

in a Channel 4 programme where nearly 91,000 people responded to a telephone vote, of whom 92% were in favour of restitution; other recent opinion polls indicate similar high levels of support for the cause.[42] Pro-restitution committees have also been formed in several countries in all continents, further internationalizing this issue and making it the most prominent case of cultural dispute internationally. The return to Greece of a small fragment of relief from the north frieze of the Parthenon by the University of Heidelberg in late 2006 added to the international pressure. The then Minister for Culture declared on the occasion: 'The Parthenon marbles have started to come home . . . The silent agreement among those in possession of them has been broken'.[43]

BEYOND INALIENABILITY: RECOLLECTING THE FRAGMENTS

British Museum (Elgin Marbles)

Inside the cold Museum room
I stare at the beautiful solitary stolen
Caryatid.
Her dark sweet eyes
persistently fixed
on Dionysos's body
(poised in sculptured desire)
two steps away.
His own eyes fixed

was first put into practice by the Greek Ministry of Culture and the Mercouri Foundation with the publication of an imaginative booklet (Korka 2002). Interestingly, and in line with the above initiatives, at the end of 2005 the British committee was renamed 'The British Committee for the Reunification of the Parthenon Marbles' (*Marbles Reunited News* 1, December 2005).

[42] A poll in the *Economist* in 2000 showed that 66% of all British MPs would vote for the return of the sculptures, given the opportunity; a September 2002 MORI survey showed that the number of British people in favour of the restitution exceeds the number who are against by eight to one (Smith 2006: 32).

[43] Cited in Smith (2006: 31); see also http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/press/news/news06/2601par_e.html (accessed 4 November 2006). The move closely followed a series of high-profile restitutions of antiquities, including the Euphronios krater from New York's Metropolitan Museum to Italy, and, significantly, a tombstone and a votive relief from the J. Paul Getty Museum, in Malibu, California, to Greece.

on the maiden's strong waist
I suspect a long love affair here
which must have brought them together
So, when in the evening the room is emptied
of the many noisy visitors,
I imagine Dionysos leaving his seat
careful not to raise the suspicions of the others
and moving full of energy to overcome Caryatid's reservations
with wine and caresses.
It is possible, however, that I am mistaken.
There is perhaps another bond which unites them
more powerful, more painful:
In the winter evenings
and the beautiful August nights
I see them,
coming down from their high pedestals,
shedding their daily formal facade,
and with nostalgic sighs and tears
passionately resurrecting in their memory
the Parthenons and Erechtheions which they have lost.

Kiki Dimoula (1990)

Athens, mid-September but still boiling hot; one of those official meetings in the Greek Ministry of Defence. In a country that spends the most substantial part of its state budget on military purposes, meetings like this have become routine; this time it is the turn of British officials (including the British Defence Minister) to negotiate arms deals with Greek army officials; among the carefully worded diplomatic language, a few complaints on the part of the British officials were laid on the table; the connotations soon became clear: 'you do not appear to be buying arms from Britain anymore' or something to that effect; a few minutes later during a break when the discussion was on an unrelated topic, a passing comment: 'the marbles' they said may be returned to Greece in 2004 to coincide with the hosting of Olympic games by Athens... (based on Anon. 1998).

In his well-known article on the cultural biography of things, Kopytoff (1986) draws a distinction between the processes of commoditization and singularization. In his own words:

The counteractive to this potential or rush of commoditization is culture. In the sense that commoditization homogenises value, while the essence of

culture is discrimination, excessive commoditization is anticultural . . . Culture ensures that some things remain unambiguously singular, it resists the commoditization of others

Kopytoff (1986: 73)

And later,

'Everyone' is against commoditizing what has been publicly marked as singular and made sacred

Kopytoff (1986: 77)

The case of the Parthenon marbles demonstrates that this thesis is in need of modification and re-evaluation. I would argue that for the most part of their cultural life, the Parthenon marbles were at the same time singularized and commoditized: they were seen as unique and sacred (more on this below) but they were also exchanged as symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1990; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996) in the transactions of cultural economy, although the transaction acquired different meaning in different contexts. During their original conception and creation, it can be argued (despite the limited evidence) that they operated as commodities in the broader sense, in the conspicuous consumption which accompanied the competition and power dynamics between Athens, other classical Greek city-states, and the Persians. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they were given away as part of the broader political transactions between the Ottoman Empire and the colonial powers such as Britain and France. During their 'British phase', they acquired additional value due to the change in aesthetic taste, the value of classical antiquity, and their role in materializing a distinctive racial–national British identity; they thus operated as monuments of British imperial power (the trophy that the French could not get) but also nationalism, and at the same time they were used to repay Elgin's financial debt to the British government. Since the invention of the imagined community of the Hellenic nation, the Parthenon marbles have become one of the most celebrated and valuable parts of the symbolic capital of antiquities. They are seen as unique, singular, and sacred;[44] but at the same time, and despite (and in some cases, because of) their disputed ownership

[44] As the result of the process of the sacralization of culture imposed by nationalism, argued throughout this book; cf. also Brow (1990) and Hamilakis and Yalouri (1999).

status, they are symbolically 'exchanged' for other forms of capital (political, diplomatic) in negotiations both within Greece and in the global cultural/political economy: the national credentials, the prestige and authority that the crusade for the restitution confers upon its participants is one form of such a symbolic exchange; the visual appropriation of the sculptures in the service of various causes is another. Their role as exchangeable symbolic capital, however, is disguised as such. As Bourdieu puts it (1998: 121), 'The economy of symbolic exchanges rests . . . on *shared misrecognition*' (cf. also Bourdieu 1990: 118; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996: 119).

Yet Kopytoff is partly right: sacralized, iconic artefacts can acquire properties of inalienability (cf. Yalouri 2001), thus resisting commodification and exchange. Weiner (1992) has called these objects, 'dense' artefacts (cited in Myers 2001b: 9): as discussed elsewhere in this book, if the national project can be seen as a dreaming process (Gourgouris 1996) and as a topographic enterprise (Leontis 1995) which involves the construction of a heterotopic locus, then the Parthenon sculptures are one of the most significant landmarks in the imagined territory of Hellenism. Their 'density' stems not only from their origin and association with the Parthenon with its enormous symbolic value, but also from their additional value as a disputed 'commodity', involving one of the political and economic super-powers and, as will be shown further below, their ability to act as foci for loaded metaphors, claims, aspirations, and desires. It is their rich biography, their multiple layers of memory and experience, that has contributed to their density. Every episode in this biography has added a new stratigraphic layer of mnemonic weight upon these artefacts (cf. Seremetakis 1994b: 141; Sutton 2004: 99). Every such layer, however, is not simply deposited and sedimented in a neat and arranged sequence; most of these social encounters with the marbles carry with the them the memories of previous encounters (cf. Bergson 1991), cite previous events and engagements, reconnect with previous mnemonic layers, reshuffling thus the whole mnemonic stratigraphy and bringing to the surface the tensions and anxieties of the past. That is why the emotive power and weight of these clashes has increased rather than decreased over the years.

But these rich and deep layers of memory and social experience make commodification, even in the symbolic arena, problematic.

Inalienability is not a state, but a process (cf. articles in Myers 2001a), a desired outcome, which is not necessarily incompatible with symbolic exchangeability. The Greek government's claim for their restitution aims at bringing about the final real transaction: exchange the marbles for other antiquities, and thus achieve a final and (it is hoped) permanent state of inalienability—the paradox of keeping the marbles in Greece, while still giving away their symbolic value as the masterpieces of classical, western European art; in other words, maintaining their symbolic exchange value (revealing yet again the unstable and ambiguous nature of inalienability), but being able to negotiate it from a position of strength and authority.

In the current Greek public discourse the commodification of the marbles is seen as not simply inappropriate but worse, as sacrilege; hence the outrage in Greece on the revelation that the Elgin marbles room is used by the British Museum for corporate entertainment. The reaction to the serving of food during the cleaning controversy symposium, however, indicates that there is more to it than an outrage over the commercialization of a sacred monument: it is the reaction to the blurring of boundaries between the sacred and the profane that has enraged officials, commentators, and the media; the gallery where 'our sacred and saintly sculptures' are kept (as one reader in his letter to a Greek newspaper put it),[45] could not possibly be the place where one also consumes food and drink, a profane, mundane, bodily activity. It is a violation of the spiritual character of the marbles, a sphere that, as in many other national projects (e.g. Chatterjee 1993), has been colonized by the national ideology. Antiquities in Greece and in Hellenic global encounters, of course, as noted above and throughout this book, are directly or (more often) indirectly involved in the symbolic economy of culture and value; but partly because these transactions are symbolically masked and misrecognized as such, and partly because they are seen as serving the broader national interest, these transactions are often (despite the at times fierce debates) more or less accepted. In the case of the British Museum,

[45] See the letter of a reader to *Eleftherotypia* (1 April 2000); another newspaper article which reported on the British man's decision to swim from the Island of Delos to the Island of Paros in solidarity with the Greek demands for the restitution, is entitled 'Swimming for the sacred marbles' (*Eleftheros Typos*, 14 June 2000).

however, not only were the sacred marbles directly and explicitly commercialized, not only did their treatment blur the boundaries between the sacred and the profane, the bodily and spiritual, the mundane and exceptional, but these transactions were carried out by the illegitimate owner, and as it turned out, the negligent steward of the marbles. Even within the bounds of the Hellenic nation however, and as tourism, 'heritage industry', and antiquities became more important as an economic resource, the tension emanating from the dual role of the marbles as singular and inalienable and at the same as commodities in the symbolic or directly monetary economy, was bound to intensify and become one of the key features of the relationship between antiquities and the national imagination.[46]

There are more things that need to be said here, however, well beyond the confines of the discourse of symbolic economy. The dispute over the marbles stands for the broader negotiations of the Hellenic nation in the present-day world arena, it operates as a metaphor for its attempt to escape marginalization, to remind the west of its 'debt' to Hellenic heritage (cf. Herzfeld 1982a, 1987; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996: 119), to confront key players in the world using their own 'weapons': if the Parthenon is a key symbolic monument for the west as a whole (as dominant western rhetoric has it), then, the pro-restitution voices claim, it is surely more appropriate for such a significant monument to be appreciated and worshipped in its entirety. The whole affair reveals notions and ideas that seem to underlie not only this specific case but also the whole relationship between national imagination and antiquities: the anthropomorphism of objects, especially the human figures, the notion of the fragment, the pain of dismemberment and mutilation, homeland and exile, reunification and repatriation, the recollection of fragments and the reconstitution of the whole.

[46] In October 2003, at the European Union summit in Brussels, the then Greek Prime Minister, Kostas Simitis, asked the British Prime Minister, during an informal encounter (in free translation): 'I have an election to fight next year, could you do something about the marbles?' The conversation, which was accidentally recorded by television cameras, caused huge negative reactions from politicians and the press, being seen as a direct, vulgar exploitation of a 'national issue' for naked electioneering (see 'Confusion with the marbles' (*Eleftherotypia*, 17 October 2003); 'The talks between Simitis and Blair over the Sculptures' (*To Vima*, 19 October 2003).

To start with, the passions, emotions, and feelings associated with the biographies of the marbles in the last two centuries owe much to their materiality and their formal and sensory properties. Marble is not any material, nor it is accidental that the material itself now stands metonymically for the sculptures themselves: it is not simply that this material, more than any other, directly evokes classical antiquity, and some of its most renowned achievements in architecture and sculpture. It is also the sensory qualities of the material, its shine and its reflection of the sunlight, its smoothness, and in the case of these sculptures, the distinctive colour it gradually acquires, a honey, yellowish creamy colour that can be linked perceptually to the white human flesh.

Adding to the sensory qualities of the material are the themes of the sculptures themselves, representing human figures, in many cases life-size ones. We saw earlier that pre-nation state narratives and folk tales attribute animate properties and human-like characteristics to the sculptures, partly due to the representational and iconographic themes which include many human figures. These rhetorical schemes have been deployed by the later national narratives and recast in the national discourse. Now, the national body includes the mutilated bodies of the sculptures: much like many non-western perceptions and mentalities, the national discourse, revealing its pre-modern substratum, cancels the distinction between human beings and artefacts (cf. Kopytoff 1986; Hoskins 1998), and it transgresses the distance between past and present. Despite the recent modifications of the Greek official discourse about the marbles which places emphasis primarily on the aesthetic, and the technically and scientifically appropriate, both official and, more so, popular discourses and reactions still revolve around these anthropomorphic, emotive concepts. Empathy is the main idiom in many writings and performative rituals surrounding the sculptures, which are seen as expressing the emotional reactions of human beings (see, for example, the poem by Dimoula above, and Andronikos 1985); in many writings on the topic, the restitution is described as the desire (often felt by the sculptures themselves) to 'be freed' and 'return to the place where they were born'. A professor of psychology, in an article in a daily newspaper with very high circulation, noted:

The Elgin marbles will come back, not because Greeks want them to, but because their lost birthplace calls them back. The marbles are not cold. They are warm and they breathe. They do not ask for owners. They call for the home of their childhood. That which is never lost

Tsalikoglou (2000)

In a newspaper article published in one of the main Athens dailies, its art correspondent, under the title 'The marbles got tired of the grey light of London', reproduced an imaginary conversation she had with the marbles:

'[they told me] The return for us is like Ithaca; it is time for the journey to begin' say the marbles to those who can listen. 'How do you know', I asked, 'who is foreign and who is Greek amongst the visitors?' 'Everybody's eyes are full of admiration' they reply, 'But in the eyes of the Greeks there is sadness. And when they get to leave, they turn and look at us. They are sad that they find us here in the grey light of London, and more sad that they have to go and leave us behind, in our loneliness, with the doors of the museum shut behind them'[47]

The sad, imprisoned,[48] and exiled marbles, like animals in a zoo, or inmates in a cold and dark prison, sad and tired of the grey London light, long for their place of birth, their brothers and sisters on the Acropolis, and for the light of Attica.[49] The Greek government, as their official advocate, has undertaken to speak on their behalf, and phrase their grievances and requests in the official, formal, diplomatic, and political language. Along with the nostalgia for the 'fatherland' (the earth that gave birth to them), the pain and the agony of living in exile, their separation from their relatives (as in the case of caryatids who are seen as sisters, with one of them exiled

[47] E. Bistika, *Kathimerini* (17 February 2002).

[48] The notion of the marbles as prisoners is a constant feature in the public discourse in Greece: see, for example, the title of a special supplement of the newspaper *Apogevmatini* on 19 July 1998: 'The unique masterpieces of art and civilization which are imprisoned in the British Museum'; also the title of the article reporting on the student demonstration in 10 March 1994, discussed above: 'Carnations for the imprisoned marbles' (Metaxas 1994).

[49] On references to the marbles' longing for the light of Attica see above; the argument on the Attica light has been so persistent that the director of the British Museum was forced to respond: 'well, every place has got its own light . . . The unique light of Attica was shining on polychrome sculptures, but nobody is saying we should repaint them in their original colour' (Aspden 2003).

in London), and the trauma of imprisonment, is the pain of *forceful* separation, of dismemberment, of mutilation; they still bleed from the violence committed upon them. As if these were not enough, they were also mutilated anew, 'skinned', to reveal the desired whiteness, to satisfy the subliminal desire of western, upper-class men for virginity and purity, in the grey and the smoky London of the 1930s, in the midst of the darkest decade of Europe. Their (temporary) prison has become a sacred, almost religious place, and the most famous part of it, the east pediment, an altar: here, in front of the mutilated feet of 'Dionysus'[50] is where most visiting Greeks will come as pilgrims, here is where all Greek politicians and eminent personalities will come to be photographed, with sadness in their eyes, here is where Greek students in London will come to deposit offerings, stage protests and open banners. The exiled marbles long for the homeland, but they also stand as a homology for Greeks in exile, for Ulysses, for the notion of '*nostos*', the desire for the return to the homeland. With almost five million people who consider themselves Greeks living outside the borders of the Greek state, *nostos* has always been a recurrent theme in the national discourse. Nor it is accidental that the most famous crusader for the marbles' restitution, Mercouri, spent many years in exile herself, fleeing authoritarian regimes.

If that is the case, then the 'cleaning' of the marbles in the 1930s, was much more than the application of an inappropriate technique to one of the most valued works of antiquity; it was even more than the removal of the patina of age that had contributed to their authenticity, as suggested by Yalouri (2001: 17). It was, above everything else, the 'skinning' of what were considered to be living and breathing entities, but also, the removal of the haptic horizon that connected present-day people with the marbles: if the human skin is the largest human organ and the interface that connects us with the world through the bodily sense of touch (Connor 2004), then the removal of the surface from sculptures that were seen as having anthropomorphic qualities deprives both themselves and others of the ability to connect through touch.

[50] The identification of this figure is disputed: other identifications include Theseus and Hercules (Beard 2002: 156–157).

The decision of the Greek government thus to abandon the 'ownership' discourse acquires a different meaning: it is not simply a tactical decision in the global negotiation of cultural economy, but a position that is consistent with the view that the marbles are not 'possessions' but living entities, members of the national family in exile and imprisonment; as such, they cannot be owned, they can only be treated as fellow members of the national body, in need of solidarity and compassion. If that is the case, then Weiner's 'inalienability' argument, but also the whole discourse on the symbolic capital and on the cultural economy that was deployed in this case and in other cases in this book, despite its interpretative power, falls short of explaining the complexity of the phenomena under scrutiny (cf. Leach 2003: 134). Tapsell (1997) makes a similar argument critiquing Weiner's concepts of ownership and inalienability: for him, the Maori *taonga* objects handed down by the ancestors cannot be owned because they *are* the ancestors themselves. The idiom of kinship that has emerged more than once in this discussion (recall the crying caryatids who are missing their sisters) may be a more appropriate mode to deploy (cf. Sutton 1998), especially if, in a broader sense, the relationship between Britain and Greece since the nineteenth century can be seen, as some suggest, as that of father (Britain) towards an unruly child—emerging nation (Greece) on the one hand and at the same time that of the mother (Greece) who, despite having given birth to western civilization now faces an ungrateful child (Britain) (cf. Tzanelli 2004). This last scheme, of course, cannot hide its colonial origins, but it also forms another meeting point for the colonial and the national.

The decision on the part of the Greek government to propose an arrangement whereby the marbles remain under British ownership but are returned and housed at the new Acropolis Museum, despite its seemingly subservient overtones, can be seen as the action of a compassionate family which welcomes its children home; at the same time, this action achieves a moral victory by juxtaposing a discourse of empathy and concern for the mutilated marble bodies, to the one that talks of legal rights of ownership and global heritage missions.

Dismemberment, as the passage by the local intellectual of Elginism mentioned above indicates, has been a central anxiety and preoccupation of the national discourse. It is the dismemberment of

the imagined once unified national body, it is the dismemberment of the whole, be it the national territory of Hellenism, or the corpus of the ancient Greek material heritage.[51] Paradoxically, dismemberment, fragmentation, the evocation of violence committed upon the body of the nation and the bodies of the sculptures, the pain and the sense of loss, make the national emotive feelings much stronger and more powerful: if these artefacts were not fragmented, mutilated bodies and human figures, if they were not so violently separated from their home, their place of birth, their relatives, they would not have aroused such passions, such feelings and emotions.[52]

But this case also reveals a central anxiety that goes beyond antiquities, an anxiety about the national project and the national imagination as a whole: *the nostalgia for the whole*, the desire for completeness, the longing for reunification, for recollecting and mending the fragments of the national body (cf. Leach 2003). Nationalism seems to share with modernity the desire to imagine bodies, both bodies of persons (and statues and objects) and bodies of nations, as complete, indivisible, bounded. Rather than seeing the national body as the collective sum of parts and fragments (of places, persons, things), it seems that nationalism sees each individual (human or other) as a miniature image of the national body, as an autonomous national entity. The nation therefore is not the accumulation of disparate fragments, but the reunification and re-collection of forcefully separated national entities. It is this nostalgia for the whole (in addition to the pain of their violent mutilation and forceful removal) that demands the return of the marbles. A different, pre-modernist, or perhaps post-modernist, logic would have seen these fragments of the ancient Greek cultural heritage as *dividuals*, as enchaining the different places that exhibit them, signifying social relationships of engagement and interaction (as, for example, in present-day Melanesia or prehistoric south-eastern

[51] Interestingly, the concept of *anastylosis*, which is described as 'the reassembling of existing but dismembered parts' of a monument (http://www.icomos.org/venice_charter.html) is one of the most significant Greek contributions to the debates on conservation. It was launched in a conference in Athens in 1931, and has been enshrined into the Venice Charter on the reconstruction of monuments since 1964.

[52] Interestingly, the other two ancient Greek artefacts that have become unofficial but often popular cases for restitution claims are mutilated human figures: the Aphrodite of Melos and the Nike of Samothrace (both in the Louvre).

Europe; cf. Strathern 1988; Chapman 2000, respectively). Even if Greek discourses were to perceive the marbles in such a way, however, the refusal of the British authorities and of the British Museum to acknowledge the history of their violent, forceful, painful removal (as part of the colonial legacy), coupled with the attitude that demands to represent the ideal of the universal, make such possible enchaining engagements impossible.[53]

It should have become obvious by now that the debate on restitution may have opened up a space to discuss nationalist, colonialist, and imperialist entanglements with antiquity and materiality, and for power relationships to be exposed (cf. Barkan and Bush 2002), but the largely legalistic and managerial discourse that often dominates these debates overshadows the broader poetics and politics of identity and materiality. This chapter has attempted to show some of the paradoxes, ambiguities, and ironies surrounding the cultural and sensual life of this group of material culture: their function as materializations of both Hellenic national glory *and* British national and imperial power, albeit portrayed, especially today, as custodianship of global heritage. The realization that, despite their sacralization, singularization, and inalienability, the sculptures have been commodified, exchanged, and circulated as symbolic capital in the global cultural economy. The irony embodied in the fact that Elgin's removal of the sculptures may have deprived the Hellenic nation of part of its invaluable national heritage, but at the same time contributed to the increase of its value in the international cultural economy; and the even greater irony that if the sculptures were to return to Greece, they may lose part of their value, since they will have been removed from the international market of cultural economy,

[53] My argument on the nostalgia for completeness and for the whole as a central anxiety in national imagination evokes the similar argument developed by Sutton (2001: 73–102), drawing on Fernandez (e.g. 1982). Sutton argues that the sensory effects of eating and drinking 'foods from the homeland' amongst members of local, regional, or national communities living abroad, help reconnect with the whole. This is not simply the phenomenon of food nostalgia, well known from studies amongst emigrant communities; it is the immense powers of evocation, recall, and recognition that the shared sensuous experience of eating and drinking can possess, powers that make the temporary reconnection with the whole, the restitution of feelings and emotions, possible. Eating, like the sensory experiencing of ancient material things, is of course another key ritual of national imagining.

losing at the same time their ability to stand as metaphors for the negotiations of the Hellenic nation and for the Greeks overseas. The chapter has also exposed the dilemma of the national narrative which tries to come to terms with the idea that classical heritage has been constructed as both national and global (read western) resource (cf. Lowenthal 1988, 1998; Yalouri 2001), and its attempt not to associate itself with the current debates on post-colonialism, multi-culturalism, indigenous values on heritage and its restitution, knowing that such a thesis would undermine the value of the Hellenic classical heritage as the cornerstone of western civilization.

More importantly, however, this chapter has shown that despite its analytical usefulness and interpretative power, which has been highlighted with the above insights, the discourse on symbolic economy, including the concepts of symbolic capital, symbolic exchange, and inalienability, can illuminate only part of the picture: in a number of both official and unofficial discourses and practices these sculptures are not simply exchangeable or inalienable wealth, they cannot be owned or given away, in literal or metaphorical terms: they are instead living entities, persons, members of the national body, the ancestors themselves, not simply their invaluable feats. The demand for their restitution is not, therefore, a matter of ownership dispute but a longing for completeness, a recollection of the national whole. I have suggested that this is a key feature of the national project as a whole. Hence the underplaying and, more recently, the complete abandonment of the legal argument of ownership on the part of the Greek government: neither the living national citizens nor the ancestors can be owned, only welcomed back from exile. The aesthetic and scholarly arguments on completeness, proximity to the Parthenon, and the exposure to the light of their place of creation, arguments that have now replaced the legal ones, thus acquire a double meaning here—for the 'objective' scholar and observer, they make sense on the grounds of aesthetic appreciation and historical understanding: one can enjoy and understand these works better in their context—but for the advocate for the living and breathing sculptures, the return is an existential need of the marbles themselves, it is rescue and liberation from their prison, a reunification with their brothers and sisters under the natural light of their place of birth. It has been argued in this chapter that the materiality and the

formal and sensory qualities of the sculptures, the smoothness and the shine of the marble (a material that evokes classical antiquity more than any other) but also their representational, figurative themes, have contributed substantially to their 'density', the accumulation of their multi-layered mnemonic stratigraphy, their animation and lived participation in the rituals of social life for 2500 years.

POSTSCRIPT

I have been engaged with issues concerning the socio-politics of the past for a number of years and I always resisted the temptation to write on the Elgin marbles; and yet in private discussions and public presentations, it was guaranteed that the marbles would be one topic which would crop up consistently: 'So, what do you think about the Elgin marbles then?' More often the implicit or explicit assumption has been that I must support their restitution (and further, am I using my position in a British institution to actively campaign for them?), an assumption explained by the passions and emotions that people in Greece (and from Greece) have felt and expressed over the issue. My attempts to reply to these persistent questions (and comments), that there may be other, more important aspects in this story that I would prefer to address, did not seem to satisfy my audiences. I was aware of the implications and tacit assumptions in these encounters, of the often unexpressed accusation of Greek hysteria/obsession/paranoia over the issue. By writing this chapter I have shown that the discourses and practices around this complex affair, which has become a cause for politicians and poets, students and diplomats, ordinary people and celebrities, are perfectly explainable, following their own logic; furthermore, that the complexity of the matter cannot be fully understood if not situated within the framework of competing nationalisms, and of the colonial and imperial legacy.

I write these lines two years after the 2004 Athens Olympics; as noted above, that occasion had raised hopes that the marbles could be returned to Athens to coincide with that global event and in a gesture which would have been seen within the spirit of international friendship that the Games are supposed to embody. It was not meant to be. The

new Acropolis Museum plans released so far, and the programmatic statements of its director, reveal that not only are the marbles the main focus of this initiative, but that this will not be a museum of the rich and fascinating history of the Acropolis after all, of this diverse and eventful biography from the prehistoric times to the present. It will be, yet again, a museum of the classical phase of the Acropolis (from the Archaic to the Roman times), another elaborate and illustrious exhibition of the Golden Age of the Hellenic nation.

Yet, the rich, lived, material history of Athens, refuses to be silenced: the prehistoric, later historic and medieval and other houses and objects that emerged out of the ground, that surfaced unexpectedly (while digging the foundations for the new museum), pierced with their materiality and concreteness the horizon of the present, disrupted the monumentalized temporality of the classical, and threw the whole operation into disarray. Finally, some of them won their right to be exhibited in the basement of the new museum; they will be visible to the incoming visitors, reminding them of their physicality and material existence, embodying a past that refuses to be completely erased and forgotten.

8

The Nation in Ruins? Conclusions

> And behind the myths and the masks,
> her soul, always alone.
>
> Jorge Luis Borges, *Susana Bombal*

> It is not possible to appraise Greek Culture as a whole, through a computer screen. Nevertheless, being aware of the force and the potentialities of new technologies, we tried to squeeze in this program the millennia of artistry, the centuries of outstanding art, the achievements of the human spirit, the routes on which the western civilization strode in order to reach its current form. We tried to give you only a fraction of this great adventure that it is called Greek Culture, from antiquity up to our days . . . The name we gave our server is 'ODYSSEUS' because we believe that he, the greatest of all voyagers, is the most representative Greek of all. He is also the character most apt to lead our steps to the fascinating quest you just start.[1]

Any study of nationalism is by definition a study of contradictions, paradoxes, and ambiguities. The passage above, the opening text on the web portal of the Greek Ministry of Culture, ODYSSEUS, embodies some of these paradoxes, ambiguities, and contradictions that this book has explored. This portal (originally called, ironically, ULYSSES) in its early form featured as its heading a misty illustration with the Parthenon as a dominant theme, accompanied by superimposed images of ancient (mainly classical but also some prehistoric) themes, such as the statue of Hermes of Praxiteles, the so-called 'Vergina Star', the statue of Poseidon from Artemision, the fresco of the 'Prince of the Lilies' from Knossos, a Cycladic figurine, and others. At the top-left of the illustration, in big blue letters, the words 'HELLENIC CULTURE' had been inscribed.

[1] http://www.culture.gr/welcome.html (text in English; accessed 1 July 2005). The site was updated and revised in 2007.

This official, state-run site thus defined this illustration as indicative of Hellenic culture, and offered it to the world for public consumption. Other visual imagery included an iconographic theme from a classical vase depicting Odysseus in his travels, and themes signifying current national campaigns (which also serve as links to other websites), such as the restitution of the Parthenon marbles, major exhibitions, as well as current cultural events. Yet the text in the core page of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture expresses clearly from the beginning doubts on whether the Internet can convey the 'spirit' of Greek culture. It states that the spirit of Hellenism cannot be contained in and expressed through structures such as the Internet. At the same time, the site takes full advantage of the potentials of the medium and represents an extremely elaborate construction. This statement alludes to a whole set of polarities and dichotomies: the spiritual notion of Hellenism is contrasted to the technological notion of cyberspace. Its 'authenticity' is contrasted to the fabricated character of the Internet; 'the millennia' of Hellenic culture are contrasted to the novelty of the 'computer revolution' and, indirectly and by implication, to its alluded ephemerality.

These strategies amount to ritual and performative resistance towards the west, which had to pass through the millennia of history 'squeezed' into the pages of the server 'in order to reach its current form'. After all, we are invited to surf the net with the guidance of ODYSSEUS (ULYSSES), 'the greatest of all voyagers'. In effect, these pages provide a highly ironic paradox: the medium is exploited in its full capacity but at the same time its authority is challenged and undermined. This is a clever appropriation of the most iconic medium of globalization; it constitutes its domestication and transformation into cyber-place, but at the same time its denigration and dismissal as something that cannot possibly be compared with the real and material, timeless, authentic Hellenic culture. The juxtaposition of the ephemerality and ethereal nature of the Internet with the materiality and physicality evoked by the pictures of ancient artefacts and monuments, embodies in a direct way this dual performative act of appropriation *and* dismissal at the same time.

The paradox of the evocation of antiquity by the nation (despite its modernity) is mirrored in the paradox of the need for ancient ruins by a modern nation. The paradox of the discourse of timelessness

and eternity by the historically contingent social form of the nation is mirrored in the paradox of the monumentalization of the ancient artefacts and ruins, their investment with a sense of eternal presence, despite the socially specific nature of their production, circulation, and use. It is this paradox that disturbed Sigmund Freud so much when he made his way to the Acropolis in 1904:[2] the realization that the classical 'miracle' was not simply an ideal, an imaginary and literary *topos*, but also had a very specific, concrete, bodily experienced materiality. It was not the 'foreign country' that it was made by its western idealization to be (Lowenthal 1985), but it existed right there, at the same place and time as its observer. More pertinent in the Greek case (and clearly evoked in the passage above), is the paradox that classical monuments are simultaneously of national *and* (at least for the western imagination) global significance, a source of endless tensions, claims and counterclaims, and ritualized battles.

The above passage, however, allows for a further reflection: in the era of globalized late modernity, of more opportunities for movement and communication for more people than at any time in the past, and in the era of the globalized capital and of increasing commodification of heritage and antiquity, does national imagination still maintain its potency? Does it still arouse the same passions and emotions it has done for the last centuries? While some commentators are quick to declare the era of nationalism dead, which they see as being replaced by the era of diasporic movement, global networks (Hodder 2003), and commodified heritage (cf. for example, Baram and Rowan 2004), the above quotation, several examples in this book, as well as a study of other deployments of material antiquity and its visual and discursive evocations in cyberspace (cf. Hamilakis 2000a), suggest otherwise: diasporas today play a key role in the reproduction of national imagination like they did in the nineteenth century (cf. Anderson 1994), as the case of the Macedonian and other conflicts showed. Moreover, commodity and capital were at the centre of the national project from the start, and globalized media such as the internet in fact today offer more opportunities for public, bottom-up dissemination of national

[2] As described in his 'A disturbance of memory on the Acropolis'.

narratives and imaginings, turning the nation into a cyber-nation (cf. Hamilakis 2000a). It may be the case that the anxiety about globalization and the perceived threats of multi-culturalism, may in fact increase rather than decrease the need to project national imagination through the material past. As is clear in the quote above, the aura of authenticity, and sense of physicality, materiality, and embodied nature of antiquities, are seen as ideal means to counter what is seen as artificial, immaterial, and therefore fake, in expressions of globalization such as the internet, and in globalized modernity more generally.[3]

This last bipolarity, however, that between authenticity and artificiality, alludes to a another important tension and ambiguity that runs through most, if not all, key aspects discussed in this book: the clash between singularization and commodification, original and copy, sacredness and profanity, alienability and inalienability. To fully appreciate this tension, however, I will summarize the most important ideas and findings that arose from this study.

It has been argued in this book that the material manifestations of antiquity, the ancient ruins and artefacts (as well as their imitations) have been central to the production and continuous reproduction of national imagination, from the nineteenth century to the present. Antiquities, of course, had an eventful and rich social biography well before that. They were the wonders and feats of past people and they held potent meanings and mysterious powers. National imagination, rather than creating a radical break, built upon and incorporated these feelings and attitudes, establishing at the same time a genealogical link: these feats are now the feats of the ancestors. Their previous potent, almost sacred properties and powers, were carried through and transformed into the sacred national heritage. The sacralization of antiquities was nurtured by diverse streams: their previous mystic meanings, the fusion of antiquity with the Christian religion, and their sacralization in the western imagination, centuries before the establishment of modern Greek national imagination. The notion of sacralization of antiquities went hand-in-hand with the anxiety about purity and pollution (an anxiety that national

[3] Even Appadurai has recently admitted (2001) that he underestimated the continuous effects and persistence of nationalism in late, globalized modernity.

imagination shares with Judeo-Christian and other systems of religious thinking); it is this anxiety, often expressed in aesthetic terms, that has led to the purification of monuments and sites, by removing all material traces that were seen as 'matter out of place' (usually the non-classical ruins); it is the same anxiety that has fuelled the opposition to all acts and practices considered as profanities, from eating in front of sacred antiquities, to exposing them to naked, undisguised commercial transactions.

Antiquities were always a contested resource and value. They became the most important symbolic resource for the modern Greek state, but at the same time their symbolic capital was subject to constant negotiation and contestation by diverse groups and social agents: rulers and political leaders who were looking for the legitimacy of their authority (from Otto to Metaxas), opposing groups and individuals who were in need of moral support for their cause, people who advocated local identity quests or commercial and financial interests. Once classical antiquities acquired the moral authority and power of a sacred national resource, once they became a fundamental element of the national charter myth, their symbolic power was opened to diverse and often conflicting interpretations. Even the victims and the internal 'others' of the national discourse (such as the imprisoned and exiled communists and leftists in the late 1930s and 1940s), relied on the same charter myth for courage and weapons of resistance. In fact, that moral authority of antiquities can often be experienced and has been portrayed as the internalized panopticon which constantly watches modern Greeks, inviting comparisons between a glorious past and a less than glorious present; it is the panopticon that often takes the form of the west that demands from modern Greeks a stewardship of their past, worthy of their glorious ancestors.

The examination of the link between antiquity, antiquities, and national imagination has demonstrated the close association between colonial and national imaginings, discourses, and practices. This has, at least initially, been an ideological colonization, given the adoption by the Hellenic national imagination of the western European discourse on the moral and cultural supremacy of classical culture and civilization. Moreover, if all colonialism has to do with the grip that things and objects with their sensuous qualities and appeal exert on

people (Gosden 2004b; Edwards *et al.* 2006), this was a peculiar form of colonialism that had at its base the grip that classical antiquities exerted on western elites, intellectuals, and leaders. It was also a direct form of colonization, with practical effects on the ground: the establishment of the formal structures of archaeology and heritage by Bavarian and other western Europeans was one of the most pertinent and one with long-lasting consequences. The national narrative, however, was emancipated, especially from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, with the formation of what I called, Indigenous Hellenism, the Helleno-Christian narrative, and the establishment of a discourse of uninterrupted cultural continuity, from classical antiquity to the present. National imagination is always a work in progress, it is in a state of continuous becoming. Indigenous Hellenism was further modified in more recent times, be it with the discovery, in the late nineteenth century, of the material manifestations of the 'Mycenaean' period (*c.* 1500–1200 BC) which provided Hellenism with a greater time depth, or with the archaeological incorporation of Macedonia into the topography of Hellenism as late as the 1970s, with Andronikos's discoveries at Vergina.

In the study of Hellenic nationalism and in the study of nationalism in general, the contribution of historiography as well as the contribution of folklore studies (and even the contribution of literature, topography, and geography) has long been accepted. I hope to have shown in this book that the contribution of archaeology, both as a producer of material truths of the nation and of material manifestations of times past, has been fundamental. In fact, I have ventured the suggestion that the material traces of the past, and their archaeological transformation into a national archaeological record, have been more important for the national imagination than, say, historiography, folklore, or topographic studies. I do not wish to create an artificial dichotomy between material and immaterial here (cf. Miller 2005, esp. Introduction), nor between embodied and disembodied entities, especially since many cultural phenomena such as folklore or historical narratives are often expressed in fully embodied and material ways, as for example in national ceremonies and celebrations when speeches of a historical nature, folk songs, and dances are performed; equally, topographic studies are about place and territory, entities fully material and experiential. This is not a difference in

kind, however, but of degree. Neither historical narratives, nor folklorist, literary, or topographical links would have sufficed, were it not for the physical, material traces and remnants of the glorious past; these are the things that, through their physical durability, bring into existence simultaneously the past and the present. Moreover, they can be experienced with the whole body, sensed with all bodily senses. It is thus the material, sensory, and experiential properties and attributes of antiquities that make them not just indispensable but rather essential in the production of the national *topos*, in the formation and re-formulation of the national dream. If national dreaming is iconographic and topographic, as Gourgouris and Leontis have argued, then antiquities provide the iconographic landscape and define the national *topos*, through their visual, haptic, embodied qualities. Localities need to be produced, as Appadurai (1995) has reminded us. National locality needs to be constantly produced and reproduced, and the practice of archaeology supplies some of the most important features in the production of national localities, the material manifestations of the national past.

National imaginings are about earth, blood, bodies, and bones. They are also about dreams, wars, death, sacrifices, sacredness. Antiquities in general, and classical antiquities in particular, evoke, materialize, and link all these elements together. They come from the earth, or rather the earth gives birth to them; their whiteness (as in the marble statues and architectural parts) is the whiteness of bones which have been exposed to the sun, the sacred bodies of the ancestors. They are often dreamed of (not only by ordinary people, but also by archaeologists such as Andronikos), and often tell (through archaeological narratives) stories of war and sacrifice. In many cases they are literally the remnants of the dead ancestors, their skeletons or their burial places: cemeteries have been some of the most common archaeological finds, and it is the excavation of a burial, that of the so-called tomb of Philip II, that provided some of the most celebrated and venerated sacred artefacts in the last three decades.

It has been shown in this book that the device of archaeology (and not simply the monuments and artefacts) is fundamental to the national imagination; it is a device that produces facts on the ground, the experiential and physical national truths. It creates regimes of truth for the nation. It re-collects the fragments, that is,

it re-members the dis-membered ruins to produce a mnemonic landscape, which is at the same time a landscape of oblivion, of forgetfulness. It produces ordered and sanitized national memory in order to forget the diverse, multiple, chaotic, fragmented past. Archaeology, in its modern institutionalized form, has been invented by colonialism and nationalism, and it produces in turn the national archaeological record through a series of strategies, such as purification, re-creation, designation, demarcation, and exhibition. At the same time, national archaeology is locked into a series of paradoxes and dilemmas: it needs to portray its mission as objective and scientific, but at the same time it acknowledges its national role and significance (this objectivist stance being important in disguising its role as a national device). It professes expertise and a specialized role, but it has to manage a national entity, antiquities, that are seen as a shared national resource, the management and stewardship of which are seen as the concern of the *whole* national body, not just archaeologists. And it deals with the experiential entity of national antiquities which need to be physically experienced by all, and yet archaeology needs to delineate and demarcate these antiquities as sacred national icons, and thus needs to separate them from the web and routines of daily life.

This study has shed further light on both the character of archaeology and the character of the nation in two significant ways. It has shown that the now widely held view that archaeology is a device and a mode of thinking and working that can be conceived only within the conceptual world of European modernity (cf. Thomas 2004b: 18; 2004a) needs modification and re-formulation. I am not referring simply to the notion, now well supported by Schnapp (1996), Hamann (2002), and others, that archaeology as a practice of producing meanings out of the material traces of the past has a long history and prehistory. I mean something else: even the institutionalized form of archaeological practice, which clearly developed as part of European modernity, has not always or in all contexts followed the same trajectory. The case of Manolis Andronikos showed that his archaeology had much to do with discourses, practices, and attitudes that are considered pre-modern, or perhaps anti-modern or counter-modern: from his shamanistic evocations, to his and (others') claim of being able to communicate with the dead ancestors

through his touch. National archaeology has not constituted a radical break from previous experiential encounters with the material past. But this lack of a radical break is something that applies not only to archaeology but also to the national project and national imagination as a whole. It was shown in this book that the claim by Anderson (e.g. 1991[1983]: 11–12) and others that national imagination replaced earlier forms of imagining such as religion, is in need of re-formulation and modification. Hellenic national imagination was and is a hybrid form, in which modernity did not so much replace pre-modern modes of thinking and imagining, but was grafted on to them. Needless to say, the idea that treats modernist apparatuses such as the nation-state as rational constructions has long been shown to be flawed, and the symbolic foundations and assumptions in such structures have been thoroughly discussed and studied (cf., for example, Herzfeld 1992, among many others). Yet, my point is a different one: it draws attention to the multiplicity, diversity, and complexity of modernity, the multivalent trajectories that different societies have followed in their incorporation into the modern world system. It is a point that resonates with the conclusions reached by Stoller, in her re-examination of Foucault's *History of Sexuality*, through the lenses of race and colonialism:

> We need to understand that racial discourses *like those of the nation*, have derived force from a 'polyvalent mobility', from the density of discourses they harness, from the multiple economic interests they serve, from the subjugated knowledges they contain, from the sedimented forms of knowledge that they bring into play
>
> Stoller (1995: 204–205; emphasis added)

The evocation of sedimentation brings us back to archaeology. If my point above has some import, we will then need to rethink the new field of inquiry on archaeology and modernity, by investigating the constitution and operation of multiple and diverse archaeologies (some pre-modern, alternative, and indigenous, other official and seemingly modern but more commonly hybrid forms) and their association with equally diverse and multi-valent modernities (cf. Latour 1993).

The attempt to understand the link between the fragmented material past, the broken pieces and ruins, and the nation, has also

contributed to the understanding of key features in national imagination as a whole. I have suggested in this book that a key mode of imagining the nation is *the nostalgia for the whole*: fragmentation and dispersal, not only of antiquities, buildings, and statues but also of national entities overall, are seen as a threat. National imagination strives to reconnect the dispersed fragments, to piece together the broken bits, to restore and reconstruct the whole, be it the national monuments such as those on the Acropolis, the fragments of the national territory, or the exiled national subjects. The broken and fragmented antiquities, therefore, stand in a homological and metonymic relationship to the national entity and its parts. The notion of exile has emerged as another key feature in this investigation, be it the exile of Greeks in unredeemed territories, Greek economic emigrants, the 'self-exiles' from the national body such as the persecuted communists and leftists, or the exiled antiquities. In this logic the quest for restitution acquires a far wider and pertinent meaning than the restitution of antiquities: it becomes the restitution of all exiled entities from the national body: territories, emigrants, internal 'others', antiquities. Their restitution will reconstitute the fragmented whole and will fulfil a key national fantasy. The quest for reconstitution, the nostalgia for the whole, is played out in various scales and arenas, from the international (as in the battle for the Parthenon marbles), to the local and regional, as in the accusations of internal Elginism levelled at the state by local societies. The internal parts of the national body are not always willing to submit without resistance to the quest for the whole. This has been the case of local resistance to the transport of antiquities to the National Museum or major regional museums (as in the case of Vergina); it is also the case of Crete and of 'Minoan' past, aspects of which are discussed elsewhere (Hamilakis 2006; cf. Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996; Herzfeld 2003): the 'Minoan' (Cretan Bronze Age) past provides an opportunity to emphasize local and regional distinctiveness or even superiority over the national past, and thus treats incorporation into the national whole with ambivalence, which can also be tactically expedient.[4]

[4] On the role of the 'Minoan' past in the construction of local, regional, national and supra-national identities (and their association with colonialism) see papers in Hamilakis and Momigliano (2006); cf. also Papadopoulos (2005) and papers in Darque *et al.* (2006).

With these thoughts in mind, we can now re-examine what I suggested to be a key paradox in the relationship between national imagination and antiquities: the clash and tension between singularization and commodification, and alienability and inalienability. It is a tension that derives from the fact that antiquities have to fulfil at the same time two different and conflicting roles: they have to be singular (both in the sense of unique *and* authentic) and sacred, but at the same time they have to operate as the currency of the symbolic capital of classical antiquity in the local, national, and global arenas of cultural economy. In other words, antiquities have to be both alienable *and* inalienable possessions. That tension is reconciled by the disguising of these symbolic transactions, hence the outrage whenever these transactions acquire a more explicit, overt form. But I have claimed in this book that, while this discourse of alienability and inalienability has been an appropriate interpretative lens for *some* aspects of this relationship, it can also prove limiting and misguided. In many cases discussed in the preceding chapters, antiquities are not simply the currency of the symbolic capital of antiquity; they are not symbolic commodities to be deployed and circulated in the arena of cultural economy. They are seen as subjects, rather than objects, or to be more precise, they blur the distinction between subject and object. Whether we talk about the 'imprisoned' Parthenon marbles, the Temple of Poseidon at Sounio (that gave courage to the incarcerated at Makronisos) or the 'Minoan' antiquities that were to be 'abducted' by the Greek government from the Irakleio Museum for an exhibition in the Louvre and New York in 1979 (a suggestion that caused huge public reaction and, as a result, never materialized; cf. Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996; Hamilakis 2006), they are living and breathing, sentient, emotive entities, rather than pieces of stone and clay, albeit with symbolic and meaningful properties. In other words, antiquities (especially anthropomorphic ones such as statues) are not the symbolic property of the nation, but they are instead the fully fledged members of the national body; not the feats of the glorious ancestors, but the *ancestors themselves*.[5] This has

[5] The notion of statues as living ancestors is frequently encountered not only in public and media discourses (as shown in several examples in this book), but also in Greek cultural production and especially poetry. The poem by Dimoula in Chapter 7 is one example, but perhaps the most prominent modern Greek literary figure who

been clearer in cases of the 'exiled' and 'imprisoned' antiquities, such as the Parthenon marbles. In that respect, antiquities, much like the Maori *taonga* objects (see Chapter 7), cannot be owned: you cannot own your ancestors or the fellow members of the national body. It is the idiom of kinship, therefore (within the embodied entity of the nation), rather than that of ownership and symbolic exchange, that may provide a more appropriate interpretative language for many of the interactions, attitudes, and practices involving antiquities. Following on from that, national objects and national subjects, bodies of people and bodies of statues, were mutually constituted (cf. Gell 1998), they were both produced by and produced national imagination and practice, and continue to do so. Objects made and continue to make the nation, as much as national members make national objects out of the ruins of the past, or to put it more precisely, fellow national subjects.

In June 2005, the president of the political party 'Coalition of the Left' (*Synaspismos*) submitted a motion to the Greek Parliament questioning the intentions of the Ministry of Culture regarding the new organization of the archaeological service, and the status of museums in particular. Archaeologists and others had expressed serious concerns that the intention of the government was the complete privatization of certain museums and their operation as heritage centres, more like many or most privatized museums in many western countries. The response by the minister did nothing to alleviate the fears of the critics: 'Conditions are ripe', he said 'for the big museums of the country to become private institutions'. In outrage, the president of the 'Coalition of the Left' issued a strong statement: 'The National Archaeological Museum in private hands? In the stock-market? Let us hope that they at least show some respect towards the Acropolis', he said.[6]

has used this trope extensively is Giorgos Seferis, as for example in his poem *Sensual Elpenor*, in the collection 'Thrush' (cf. Seferis 1995). Incidentally, Seferis also often evokes the notion of the fragment (using images of fragmented and mutilated antiquities), as a literary trope to comment on the nation, and on national memory. *Sensual Elpenor* is again a good example (see, for discussions, Giannakopoulou 2000; on the notion of the fragment and national imagination see Hamilakis 2004).

[6] See http://www.syriza.gr/modules/news/article.php?storyid=139 (accessed 1 July 2005).

Partha Chatterjee (1993: 234–239) has noted that a key tension in national imagination is that between capital and community. In nationalism, it is the narrative of capital that links together the individual and the state, and it is the same narrative that opposes, destroys, or transforms diverse forms of community, elevating the community of the nation as the only legitimate form. As was argued in this book, the interests of capital were central from the start in the establishment of Hellenic national imagination, but at the same time they have also clashed on several occasions with the notions of national community, sacralization, and the spirit of the nation. These clashes are due to the fact that in the Greek case, as in others, national community carries with it many of the features of pre-national communities (the religious, the spiritual, the face-to-face) that nationalism strove to destroy. These clashes and tensions, however, happened within the domain of national imagination, rather than outside or against it. In the same way, the recent attempt of the government to privatize the operation of archaeology, and the exhibition of antiquities in particular, lays bare the clash between capital and community. More importantly, it shifts the terrain from the domain of the symbolic exchange to that of direct financial exchange; and all this while at the same time the notions of the sacred, inalienable national heritage are withheld, as several examples discussed in this book showed. Ironically, it had fallen upon the leader of a left-wing party (echoing the reactions of the 1930s and 1940s left, discussed in Chapters 5 and 6) to defend the inalienability of the classical heritage and the sacrilege that is being attempted. To be fair, this position is consistent with the broader policy of that party, to resist the extensive programme of privatization on all fronts. More importantly, this reaction perhaps expresses once again the more salient and more persistent attitude towards antiquities: that they are national subjects to be engaged with, rather than commodities to be deployed in the tourist and financial arena. If privatization of archaeology goes ahead, it is unlikely that antiquities will cease to occupy their key national role. It is more likely that their national role will be linked more closely to the logic of capital and maximization of profit, a development that may deprive them of their 'pre-modern' links and associations, but not of their power in the national imagination.

Every generation is nationalized in its own distinct ways, and through its own means and routes. Greece has been no exception. The national charter myth has been in a continuous process of becoming, since at least the early nineteenth century. Material antiquities have been central to this process of becoming, and are themselves being transformed along the way. The devaluation of the classical heritage in recent times due to processes such as the impact of multi-cultural ideologies, the critique of Eurocentricity, the decline of the relevant academic fields of study (of which the Black Athena debates are only one expression), and the cultural and demographic changes in western societies, has not diminished its importance for people in Greece. If anything, this devaluation has strengthened the resolve to project the values of this heritage more persistently, and through new technologies and means. Greece is, of course, constantly changing. The further integration into the European Union and the increasing number of immigrants from Balkan countries, from Asia, and from Africa, may produce a society that is again as multi-cultural as it was before the nineteenth century. In the arena of cultural production, hybridity, the exploration of borders and of otherness, and of syncretic forms of identity (Greek–Balkan, Greek–Mediterranean, and so on) have become significant trends in recent years. At the same time, at least some diasporic intellectual voices call for the redefinition of neo-Hellenism as an hybrid entity (cf. Lambropoulos 2001; Tziovas 2001). Yet, recent phenomena from the Athens Olympics to the launching of a restaurant chain that claims to serve 'authentic ancient Greek dishes' (*Arhaion Gefseis*), to the emergence of several pagan groups that worship the Olympian Gods,[7] as well as the continuous attitudes towards antiquities and monuments, indicate that the projections and expressions of national imagination (from below, as well as from above) in which antiquities play a key role, are as strong as ever.

It is hard to believe that Greece is a unique case in that respect. At the start of the third millennium AD, globalized capital does have the ability to bypass nation-states, but at the same time, state entities increase, rather than decrease, their border controls to keep their 'others' out. More importantly, major clashes across the world are

[7] Cf. http://homepage.mac.com/dodecatheon/ (accessed 1 July 2005).

played out in cultural arenas as much as the financial and political ones, and national imagination still provides a powerful reference for politicians and citizens alike, especially ahead of and during major confrontations. In these battles, concrete, material manifestations of past and present cultures are as powerful as ever. The Nation can rarely (if at all) be conceived without ruins; yet, it itself is definitely *not* in ruins.

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*Indicates references in Greek.

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Index

Page numbers in italics are illustrations.

Academy of Plato 196
Acropolis 59–64, 66, *89*, *94–8*, *216*, 248, 250, 289
  monumentalization of 87–99, *91*, *94–7*
  plan for palace 108
  purification of 59, 62, 87–93, 98, 138, 254
  see also Acropolis Museum; Erechtheion; Parthenon; Parthenon marbles
Acropolis Museum 81, 246, 259, 263–4, 285–6
Aegae 131, 149, 160
Agamben, G. 205
Agia Sophia 108 n., 136
agoras *95*, 110, 111, 160, 197
agriculture 38, 39, 52, 174, *see also* land
Ai-Stratis 108, 209–10, 230
Alexander the Great 112, *128*, *130*, 145–6, 150, 151
alienability *see* inalienability
allochrony 21, 105
'ambassadors of the nation' 145–6, 200–1, 297
American School of Classical Studies 40 n.4, 50, 51, 110–11, 197
Anagnostopoulos, P. 82
Anaphi 193
ancestors 28, 84, 101, 141, 151, 294
Anderson, Benedict 11, 15–16, 85, 295
Andronikos, Manolis *127–30*, 294–5
  biography 125–7, 134–8
  and the dispute with FYROM 131–4, 145–6
  and dreams 139–42
  as historical constructionist 162–7
  and Macedonia 127–34
  'Megali Toumba' 139–62
  as shaman 162–3, 294–5
  views on archaeology 146–8
  and war 144–6, 164
Antigone (Sophocles), 178, 228 n.19, 230, 237 n.
antiquities:
  as 'ambassadors of the nation' 145–6, 200–1, 297
  and Christianity 65, 84, 123
  commoditization of 4, 31, 53–4, 273–6
  demarcation of 86, 94–5, 122, 294
  as fortifications 65–6, 87, 98, *98*
  and nationalism 83, 120–1, 144, 293
  ownership of 32, 53–4, 262–3, 281, 284, 298
  preservation of 37–9, 79–80, 87–8

antiquities (*cont'd.*)
- removal of 67, 70–3
- replicas of 41–2, 212, 217–21, *218–20*, 223, 234–5
- supernatural properties of 67–73
- use as building materials 67–8
- value of 81, 107, 111, 122, 211
- *see also* Elgin; monumentalization; Parthenon marbles; personification; sacred relics; symbols

antiquity:
- and folk traditions 66–7
- and Makronisos 205, 214–31
- production of the materiality of 95–6
- as secular religion 25–6, 101

archaeological record 62, 82, 86, 122, 165, 294
- and nationalism 13–14

archaeologists 37–46, 101–3, 195–6, 198–9
- *see also* Andronikos, Manolis

archaeology 35–46
- and continuity of history 102
- during the Metaxas regime 195–203
- foreign schools 40 n. 4, 48–51, 110–11, 197
- laws 51–6, 62, 82
- and Manolis Andronikos 146–8
- 'Megali Toumba' 135, 139–46, 148–67
- and the national imagination 290–5
- and nationalism 12–15, 86, 131–4, 169–73, 292–5
- role of 19, 99–103, 165–7
- and war 41

Arhaiologiki Ephimeris (Archaeological Journal) 44, 82–3, 99–100

Aristophron, P. 196

art 41–4, *42–3*

Asia Minor War 110, 125, 173, 208–9

Athena Nike, Temple of (Wingless Victory) 93–4, *97*

Athens 58–63, 83, 87–93, 105–8

Athens Archaeological Society (*I en Athinais Arhaiologiki Etaireia*) 44, 83, 100, 110, 199

Athiná (newspaper) 107–8

Baghdad Museum 270

Balkan Wars 40–1, 103–4, 208

'banal' nationalism 18

Barbanera, M. 9

barbarism 41, 63–4, 78, 87–91, 231, 248

Benjamin, Walter 8

Bhabha, Homi 270–1

Billig, M. 18

Birkas, Kostas 193

Black Athena debates 270, 300

Blegen, Carl 197

blood 121, 253, 293

body:
- collective 214
- dismemberment 278, 281–2
- human 234–5, 293
- and the Metaxas regime 197
- and the Parthenon marbles 234
- profanity of bodily activities 276–7
- purification 166–7, 237
- *see also* bones; national body; *nostalgia for the whole*; senses

bones 293
- and antiquity 121

hostages of Balkan War 235
and the nation's rituals 18
restitution of 265
as sacred 157, 175
secondary burial of 166–7
Temple of Poseidon at Sounio as 226–7
Britain 253–4, 255–6, *255*, 259–60, 265, 271–2
British Museum 246, 251–2, 260–3, 265–70, 272–3, 276
British Museum (Elgin marbles) (poem) 272–3
building materials 67–9
burials 166–7
Byzantium 46, 65, 89–92
and Hellenism 109
and law 55
museums 47, 118
rehabilitation of 91, 112–18, 136, 197

cannons 98, *98*
capital cities of Greece 105–8
Capps, E. 110–11
carbonarism 104
caryatids 247, 279–80
Çelebi, Evliya 66
censorship 178, 185, 229
Central Archaeological Council (KAS) 35–6, 42–3, 45
ceremonies, *see* ritual
Chaironeia 68, 112, 115
Chatterjee, Partha 20, 299
children 82, 118, 178–89, 203
Christianity:
and antiquities 65, 84, 123
and Hellenism 83–4, 109, 112–19, 123, 199
and the Metaxas regime 178, 181
under the Ottomans 65, 75
views on folk traditions 73
churches 66, 73, 109
Clarke, D.E. 70–1, 72
class, social 44, 46, 75–7
'cleaning' of the Parthenon marbles 260–2, 280
Coca-Cola 5–7
Cockerell, C.R. 72 n.8
collective memory 165
colonialism:
and foreign schools 48–51
and nationalism 19–21, 26, 31, 49
commemoration, *see* ritual
commercialization, *see* commoditization
commoditization 4, 31, 53–4, 273–6
communication:
with ancestors 28, 101, 141, 151, 294
with the sacred 39, 120
communists:
as anti-Greek 223, 231
Communist Party of Greece (KKE) 257–8, 297
and the Metaxas regime 173, 190–2
re-education of 207–9, 223, 237
and restitution of the Parthenon marbles 256, 257–8 n.
see also left-wing citizens
community of the nation 15–16, 75, 78–9, 82, 121, 291
concentration camps, *see* Anaphi; Gavdos; Gyaros; Makronisos; Trikeri
conscripts 23, 208–10
Constantinople 46, 106, 107, 113, 115

continuity of history:
denial 115, 192
as exhibited in museums 47–8
Hellenism 79
and Makronisos 236
and the Metaxas regime 192, 194–5, 198–9
through inscriptions 102
Cooper, F. 8 n.4
counter-memories 235, 236
cultural biography 12, 52, 244–5
cultural property 13, 31, 105 n., 244–5, 265, 290
culture 22–3, 55, 85

Delos 220, 221
Delphi 110
Delphic festivals 29, 196, 203
demarcation of antiquities 86, 94–5, 122, 294
Democratic Army of Greece (DSE) 207–8
demonstrations 243–4, *245*, 254, *255*
Despotopoulos, Konstantinos 57
destruction of archaeological sites 54, 55, 88, 92
diaspora 32, 107, 123, 131, 163, 289
dictators 172, 173, *see also* Metaxas
dictatorships, *see* Metaxas regime
Dimoula, Kiki 272–3
dismemberment 268–9, 278, 279, 281–2, 284, 293–4
see also *nostalgia for the whole*
Douglas, F.S.N. 250
Doxiadis, Kyrkos 233–4
dramatic performances 30, 57, 178, 181–5, *184*, 227–31, *227*
dreaming 119–20, 139–42, 140–1, 293
Droysen, G. 117–18
DSE (Democratic Army of Greece) 207–8

EAM (National Liberation Front) 207
earth, *see* land
education:
of archaeologists 45–6
of children 82, 118, 179–81, 203
ideological training 30, 207–11, 223, 237
use of photography in 186–9
of visitors to museums 47–8
see also foreign schools
Eleusina (Eleusis) 70–1, 73
Elgin marbles, *see* Parthenon marbles
Elgin, Thomas Bruce, Lord 71, 246, 250–2, 255
Elginism 268–9, 281
Eliade, Mircea 162
ellinohristianikos (Helleno-Christian) 116–17
Enlightenment:
Greek 66, 79, 119
western 76, 113
EON (*Ethniki Organosi Neolaias*) 174, 178–89, *182–4*, *187*, *188–90*
Ephimeris Arhaiologiki (Archaeological Journal) 44, 82–3, 99–100
Epitaphios (Thucydides) 178, 194
Erechtheion 66, 98, *99*, *182*, 199
caryatids 247, 279–80
ethnic minorities 129, 175, 190, 198, 209
Europe, *see* West
excavation 37–9, 50–1, 54, 86
Academy of Plato 196
Athenian agora 110, 111

Delphi 110
Temple of Artemis 110
Thermopylai 169, 195, 198, 202–3
see also Vergina
exhibition 19, 86, 93–7, 122
as ambassador 145–6, 200–1, 297
Macedonian 161
Olympics 42–3, *42–3*
photographic documentation 212, 217–20, *218–20*, *227*, 233
Vergina 156–7
see also museums; Parthenon marbles; performance; ritual
exiles 223, 291, 296
during Metaxas regime 192–4, 204
and Makronisos 207, 208–10, 213–14, 237
Parthenon marbles as 279–80
expansionism 120, 174–5

Faklaris, P. 131, 159–60
Fallmerayer, Jakob Philipp 115, 116
financial aid 110–11
folk traditions:
and antiquity 66–7
and Christianity 73, 115
and the Metaxas regime 181, 200–1, 203
and nationalism 292–3
personification in 69–73, 255, 278
For Makronisos (poem) 222–3
foreign schools of archaeology 40 n.4, 48–51, 110–11, 197
Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) 128–34
fortifications 65–6, 87, 98, *98*
Foucault, M. 17, 30, 232, 233, 236
fragmentation, see *nostalgia for the whole*
Freeman, E.A. 91–2
funerals 125–6, *see also* burials

Gate of Athena Archegetis *95*
Gavdos 192
Gavrilidis, K. 178, 193–4
Georgiou, Vasos 192
German School 50, 196
Germany 12, 96, 110, 196–7, 237
Glinos, D. 230
globalization 7–8, 32, 289–90
Gortys 38–9
Goulandris Museum 54
Gourgouris, S. 293
Great Idea (*Megali Idea*) 53, 107, 114–15, 174, 191, 192 n.
Greek Archaeological Service 36–7, 110
Greek Army in Western Anatolia 40–1
Greek Civil War 193, 207–9, 224, 231
Greek Orthodox Church, *see* Christianity
Gyaros 208, 213

Hamlin-Hunt, Elisabeth 169–70
Handler, R. 22
Haydon 253
Hellenes 67, 77, 107, 123
Hellenism:
and Byzantine period 55, 109
and continuity of history 79

Hellenism (*cont'd.*)
Droysian 118
during the Metaxas regime 174–6, 181
as expansionist 117
and the heterotopia 85–99
Indigenous 112–23, 136–7, 164–5, 176, 201
Macedonian 117
and the Parthenon marbles 275
western 76–7, 80–1, 83, 121
Helleno-Christian (*ellinohristianikos*) 116–17
Herodes Atticus, Theatre of *96*
Herzfeld, Michael 9, 20, 105 n.
heterotopias 17, 232, 236
historical constructionism 162–7, 177
historical continuity:
denial of 115, 192
as exhibited in museums 47–8
Hellenism 79
inscriptions 102
and Makronisos 236
and the Metaxas regime 192, 194–5, 198–9
Hobhouse, J.C. 69, 250, 267 n.26
Hourmouziadis, Giorgos 257–258 n.

ideological training 30, 207–11, 223, 237
Imvros 134, 136, 265
inalienability 31, 32, 122, 275–6, 281, 283
Indigenous Hellenism 112–23, 136–7, 164–5, 176, 201
indoctrination, *see* ideological training
inscriptions 98, *99*, 101
internet 287–8
Islam 65, 66, see also Ottomans
ivory heads *130*, 151

Jackson, J.E. 22–3

Kakridis, I.Th. 66–7
Kambouroglou, D. 61, 62, 64
Kanellopoulos, A. 179
Kanellopoulos, P. 206, 214–15
Kaphtantzoglou, L. 92–3
Kapnikarea church 109
Kapodistrias, I. 53, 80, 82
Karandonis, Andreas 214, 224
KAS (*Kendriko Arhaiologiko Symvoulio*) (Central Archaeological Council) 35–6, 42–3, 45
killing 207, 211
KKE (Communist Party of Greece) 257–8, 297
Kleist, Heinrich von 181, 182
Klenze, Leo von 59–64, 87, 93, 108
Knossos *5*, 110 n., 131, 287
Knox, Robert 253
Kolettis, I. 83 n., 106–7
Kopytoff, I. 273–4, 275
Koraïs, A. 79
Kossinna, Gustav 12
Kotopouli, Marika 182–3
Kourouniotis, Konstantinos, 197 n.29

land 174–5, 203, 293, 85–98, *see also* agriculture
language 101, 118, 121, 163, 175
laographia 72–3, 136, 200–1
laws 51–6, 62, 82
left-wing citizens 29, 207–9, 224–5
Democratic Army of Greece (DSE) 207–8

opposition to the Olympics 4
Synaspismos (Coalition of the Left), 256 n. 12, 298
see also communists
legends, *see* folk traditions
Lenakaki, Hara 38
Leontis, A. 16–17, 293
lime 67–9
Ludwig of Bavaria 59, 109

Macedonia 117, 129, 145–6, 149, 163–4, 185
dispute with Yugoslav Macedonia 161
exhibition 161
and 'Megali Toumba' 135
names 152–3
see also Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
Macedonian Hellenism 117
magazines 40, 135, 152, 181
and the Metaxas regime 210, 211
Nea Politiki 179
Neolaia 179, *180*, 185, *187–90*
Skapanefs 215–16, *216*, 224
To Andi 130
Makronisos:
annual pilgrimage 238–41, *239*, *240*
and antiquity 214–24
and dramatic performances *227*, 227–31
national school 214, 215
and nationalism 212–13
'New Parthenon' 30, 206, 214, 225, 235
official literature of 215–16, *216*, 224
and the Parthenon 206, 214–17
photography as propaganda 217–20, *219–20*, *227*
purification at 234
purpose of 207–11
and replicas of antiquities 212, 217–21, *218–20*, 223–5
resistance by prisoners 212–13, 227–31
and worthiness of the classical heritage 234, 235
Makrygiannis, Giannis 74
Mani 166–7, 177
Maori 281, 298
marble 278, *see also* Parthenon marbles
Margaris, N. 225
Marinatos, Spyridon 169–71, 185, 197 n. 29, 198–9
Martos, D. 154 n., 268–9
materiality 44, 79, 95, 98, 101, 288–90
and Makronisos 212
and the Metaxas regime 202
and the Parthenon marbles 278, 284–5, 286
Maurer, von 51, 82
medieval buildings 89–92
medieval period, *see* Byzantine period
Megali Idea (Great Idea) 53, 107, 114–15, 174, 191, 192 n.
'Megali Toumba' 135, 139–46, 148–67
Melas, Spyros 214
memory:
and antiquities 138
and archaeology 54, 121
bodily 235
collective 165

memory (*cont'd.*)
  and counter-memories 235, 236
  folk 69, 120, 203
  historical 10, 65, 126
  and Makronisos 30, 213, 231, 234–7
  and materiality 166
  national 78–85, 195, 231, 235, 294
  and the Parthenon marbles 250, 275
  photography and 188
  and ritual 2, 16, 18, 61
  social 18, 105 n., 206, 212, 213, 250
  Thermopylai 195
merchants 108–9
Mercouri, Melina 254, *255*, 256, *257–60*, 280
Metaxas, Ioannis 134, 172, 173–4
Metaxas regime:
  and archaeology 195–203
  and the body 197
  and Christianity 178, 181
  and communists 173, 190–2
  and dramatic performances 178, 181–5, *184*
  and EON 178–89
  exile 192–4, 204
  folk tradition 181, 200–1, 203
  and Hellenism 174–6, 181
  magazines 210, 211
  and nationalism 201–4
  and the Ottoman rehabilitation 197–8
  and purification 175
  and ritual 203–4
  use of antiquity 173–95
  and women 182
  and worthiness of the classical heritage 172, 194, 198
millets 75
minorities 129, 175, 190, 198, 209
Modern Greek Enlightenment 78
modernity 7, 8, 15, 19, 84
  and nationalism 95, 295
monarchy 109, 165, 178, *see also* Otto I
monumental time 104–5
monumentalization 84, 104–5
  Acropolis 86–99, *91*, *94–7*
  of human figures 188–9, *190*
  and Makronisos 232
  'Megali Toumba' 153–60
monuments, *see* antiquities
mosques 88, *89*, 90, 197
Museum at the Temple of Athená 81
Museum of Modern Athens 197
museums 41, 84, 199, 298
  Acropolis 81, 246, 259, 263–4, 285–6
  Baghdad 270
  British 246, 251–2, 260–3, 265–70, 272–3, 276
  Byzantine Museum 118
  education of visitors 47–8
  Goulandris 54
  housing Parthenon marbles 246
  Museum at the Temple of Athená 81
  Museum of Modern Athens 197
  Thessaloniki 154
  universal 269–70
  Vergina 153–8
mutilation, *see* dismemberment
Mycenae 197, 198, 292
Myrivilis, Stratis 214
myth and legend, *see* folk traditions

Nafplio 83, 105
names 8, 19, 77–8, 175

classical place 82, 163
in Macedonia 152–3
recycling of 65
national body 32, 296
antiquities as part of 121
dismemberment of 268, 278, 284
and nationalism 282
purification of 237
national imagination 290–4, 290–5
National Liberation Front (EAM) 207
national memory 78–85, 195, 231, 235, 294
national school (Makronisos) 214, 215
nationalism 10–19, 289, 300–1
and antiquities 83, 120–1, 144, 293
and archaeology 12–15, 86, 95–7, 131–4, 169–73, 292–5
at Makronisos 212–13
'banal' 18
and colonialism 19–21, 26, 31, 49
and Manolis Andronikos 136–8
and national body 282
and racism 253
and the regime of Metaxas 201–4
as religion 16–17, 85
and religion 84–5, 114–15
and ritual 17, 18
and tourism 18–19
naturalization 16–18, 23
Nea Politiki(magazine) 179, 185 n.19
Neolaia (magazine) 179, *180*, 185, *187–90*
Neon Kratos (magazine) 170, 178–9, 185
Neroulos, I. Rizos 112, 115
'New Parthenon' 30, 206, 214, 225, 235
New York World Fair 200–1
nostalgia for the whole 32, 84, 119, 268–9, 277, 280, 296
nostos 280

ODYSSEUS 287–8
Oikonomos, G. 198–9
Olympia 196
Olympics 1–7, *2–5*, 42–3, *42–3*, 96
opposition, *see* resistance
Organismos Anamorphotirion Makronisou (OAM) (Organization of Corrective Institutions of Makronisos) 209–10
Orthodox Christian Church, *see* Christianity
Otto I, King of Greece 58–63, 105–6, 108, 114
Ottomans 75–8
and Christianity 65, 75
and the Parthenon marbles 249–51
rehabilitation during the Metaxas regime 197–8
use of ancient temples 66, 98, *99*
ownership:
of antiquities 32, 53–4, 298
Parthenon marbles 262–3, 274–5, 277, 281, 284, 298
see also inalienability

palaces 108, 135, 141, 153, 197
Paliggenesia 84, *see also* resurrection
panopticon 30, 233–4, *234*, 291
Paparrigopoulos, Konstantinos 115–16, 117, 132, 171 n.3

Parthenon *91*
  and Makronisos 206, 214–17
  mosque within 88, *89*
  as panopticon 30, 233–4, *234*, 291
  reconstruction 59
  replicas *219–20*, 220–1
  as a symbol 225, 277
  use as church 66
  see also 'New Parthenon'; Parthenon marbles
Parthenon marbles 31, 32, 243–86, *247*
  and Andronikos 143
  and Britain 254, 255–6, *255*, 259–60
  'cleaning' 260–2, 280
  demonstrations for their return 243–4, *245*, 254, *255*
  and Hellenism 275
  history of 247–53
  and laws 52–3
  ownership 262–3, 274–5, 277, 281, 284, 298
  personification of 69–70, 121, 255, 277–81, 297
  as prisoners 278–9, 297
  as symbols of heritage 254–6, 274
PASOK 49, 241, 256
Peloponnesian War 57
Penthesileia (von Kleist)181–4, *184*
people, ordinary:
  and antiquities 64–74, 199, 200
  communication with past 119–20, 141–2, 151
  and Makronisos 224
  and the Metaxas regime 177–8
  and nationalism 28
  and the Parthenon marbles 267–8
  see also left-wing citizens
performances 30, 57, 178, 181–5, *184*, *227*, 227–31, 234
  see also ritual
Pericles 178, 248
permits for excavation 11, 36, 50–1, 109
Persians 248
personification of antiquities:
  Acropolis 62
  bones of ancestors 121
  Parthenon 30, 233–4, *234*, 291
  Parthenon marbles 69–70, 121, 255, 277–81, 297
Philip II of Macedonia *158*
  'Megali Toumba' *130*, 131, 139–40, 143–5, 151–2
  rehabilitation of 117, 132
Philoktetis (Sophocles) 227–8
Philomousos Etaireia (Society of the Friends of Arts) 79–80, 86
photographic documentation 29, 93–4, *94–7*, 95–8, 212
  at Makronisos 212, 217–20, *218–20*, *227*, 233
  and education 186–9
Pittakis, Kyriakos 102, 107 n.37, 115 n.47
poems 222–3, 226, 272–3
Politis, Linos 214
Politis, N. 70, 71–3
pollution 64, 89, 215, 234, 260–1, 290–1
  see also purification
Poros 74
Poseidon, Temple at Sounio 222–3, 226–7
positivism 100
post-processual archaeology 12
preservation of antiquities 37–9, 78–82, 87–9

Byzantine 109
Ottoman 92–3
see also museums
prisoners:
Parthenon marbles as 278–9, 297
political 191–4, 209–12, 215–16, 220–5, 233, 235
Proïmakis, Manolis 225–6
propaganda:
photography at Makronisos 211–12, 217–20, *219*, *220*
in tomb painting 159, 165
Propylaia 89–90, *90*, 91–2
purification:
of the Acropolis 59, 62, 87–93, 98, 138, 254
at Makronisos 234
of bodies 166–7, 214
by archaeologists 101–2
of conquered areas 41, 138
during the Metaxas regime 175
landscape 85–98
language 163, 175
and photography 93–4, *94–7*
Pyrrhus, King of Epirus 149

racism 253
Rangavis, Alexandros 61, 62, 132
Raphtopoulos, L. 226, 229
re-creation 59, 86, 93–4, 95, 102, 175
re-education 207–9, 223, 237
rehabilitation:
Byzantium 27, 91, 112–18, 123, 136
Philip and Alexander 132
see also re-education
religion:
ancient Greek 118
Christianity 65, 85, 109
Islam 65, 66
and nationalism 16, 84–5, 114–15
secular 16–17, 25–6, 39–40, 101
removal of antiquities 67, 70–3
repentance statements 211–12, 224–5, 233
replicas 10
authenticated 41
in exhibitions 200
and Makronisos 212, 217–21, *218–20*, 223–5
Republic of Macedonia, *see* Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
resistance 17–18, 178, 207, 227–31
restitution of cultural property 13, 31, 105 n., 245, 265, 294, 296
resurrection 84, 93, 120–1, 237 n., 153
ritual:
ceremonies of authentication 167
and Hellenism 57, 62, 63, 87
and Makronisos 211, 234
Manolis Andronikos and archaeology 126–7, 138, 148, 162, 166–7
and the Metaxas regime 203–4
and nationalism 17, 18, 79, 85
see also performance; purification
Rockefeller, John D. 111
Rodocanachi, C.P. 223
Roman sites 38–9
Romioi 75, 77
Ross, Ludwig 67–8, 87, 93
Runciman, Sir Steven 214

Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, Ch. 160
sacred relics 63, 82, 194, 293
'Megali Toumba' 142–4
Parthenon marbles 276
stone inscriptions as 101
theophany 119–21

Schinkel, Karl Friedrich 108
schools 48–51, *see also* education
Scott, James 229
sculptures, *see* Parthenon marbles
secular religion 25–6, 39–40, 101
sedimentation 195, 275
Seferis, Giorgos 122, 134, 297 n.5
self-surveillance 30, 233
senses 9, 146–8, 163
shamanism of Manolis Andronikos 162–7, 294–5
Sikelianos, A. 29, 196
Siloam 214
singularization 31, 273–4, 283
sites of archaeological excavation 37–9, 54, 86, *see also* Vergina
Skapanefs (magazine) 215–16, *216*, 224
Slavs 115–16, 161, 163, 175, 190
  see also FYROM
Smyrna 27, 34, 123, 125
social class 44, 46, 75–7
Society of the Friends of Arts (*Philomousos Etaireia*) 79–81
soldiers:
  archaeologists as 40–1
  conscripts 23, 208–10
  sacking Poros 74
Sounio, Temple of Poseidon at 222–3, 226–7
Sparta 57, 83, 169–71, 176–7, 191, 195
State Archaeological Service 36–7, 45, 82
state archaeologists 37–40
Stoller, A.L. 295
stone inscriptions 98, *99*, 101
sun or star of Vergina *128–9*, 131
supernatural properties of antiquities 67–73
surveillance:
  archaeologists 196
  by the west 82, 262, 291
  of Greeks by the west 82
  Makronisos 231–7
  maps 19
  self-surveillance 30, 233
Sutton, David 153, 253 n.
symbols 78–80, 122
  the body 214
  bones 121
  Coca Cola 6
  Greek War of Independence 104–5
  'Minoan' double axe 179, 185
  Parthenon 225, 254–6, 274, 277
  Sounio 226–7
  sun or star of Vergina 131, 161
  Thermopylai 195
  war of Independence 104
Synaspismos (Coalition of the Left) 256 n. 12, 298

Temple of Artemis, excavations 110
Temple of Athena Nike (Wingless Victory) 93–4, *97*
Temple of Poseidon at Sounio 222–3, 226–7
Temple of Zeus Olympios *94*, *183*
The message (poem) 226, 229
Theatre of Herodes Atticus *96*
theatres 68, 152, 181, 228
  Herodes Atticus *96*
  on Makronisos *218*
  see also performances
Theodorakis, M. 210, 238
Theophilos 201
Thermopylai 78, 169–72, 195, 198, 202–3

Theseion 59, 66
Thessaloniki 116 n.47, 125, 134–5, 152
Third Hellenic Civilization 28–9, 175–6, 186, 191
Thrace 41, 134
Thucydides 178, 194
time 146
  allochrony 21, 105
  historical periods 45–6
  monumental 104–5
  Time of the Hellenes 67, 104
Time of the Hellenes 67, 104
To Andi (magazine) 130
To the Sounion Temple (poem) 222
To Vima (newspaper) 39, 135, 136, 159–60
tombs *see* 'Megali Toumba'
torture 211, 212, 213–14, 217, 235
tourism 18–19, 47–8, 198, 201
treasure 140–1
Trigger, Bruce 19
Trikeri 210
Tsalikoglou, F. 278–9
Tsatsos, Konstantinos 214

underworld 142–3
UNESCO 153, 256, 262
universal museums 269–70
universities 45–6
utopias 17, *see also* heterotopias; Third Hellenic Civilization

value of antiquities 81, 107, 111, 122, 275
Velianitis, T.Th. 80
Verdery, Katherine 144
Vergina 129–31, 135, 268
  museum at 153–8, *154–5*
  star or sun *128–9*, 131, *132*, 287
  see also 'Megali Toumba'
Virgin Mary 119–20, 123, 143 n., 199, 202, 249
visions 119–20

war:
  and archaeology 41
  Asia Minor 110, 125, 173, 208–9
  Balkan 40–1, 103–4, 208
  Greek Army in Western Anatolia 40–1
  Greek Civil 193, 207–9, 224, 231
  and Manolis Andronikos 144–6, 164
  Peloponnesian 57
  Trojan 180, 181
  War of Independence 77–8, 103–4, 114
War of Independence 77–8, 104, 114
West 11, 75, 82, 113
  as barbarians 64
  demand for antiquities 96–8
  excavations in Greece 109–12
  Hellenism 76–7, 80–1, 83
  objection to purification of the Acropolis 91–2
  as worthy successor to the classical heritage 8, 122, 253
women:
  archaeologists 195–6
  exiles 209, 210
  and the Metaxas regime 182
  prisoners 225
  secondary burials 167
worthiness of the classical heritage 77, 82, 291
  and the British 253, 262
  and Makronisos 234, 235
  and the Metaxas regime 172, 194, 198

youth in the Metaxas
regime 178–89
Yugoslavia 11, *see also* FYROM

Zahariadis, Nikos 191, 192, 195 n.
Zakythinos, D. 185–6
Zambelios, Spyridon 116–17
Zappeion 212, 220,
227, 233
Zeus Olympios, Temple of 69, *94*,
183, 186
Zois, A. 48, 159 n.23