

An Archaeology of/for the Disenfranchised

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AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF/FOR THE DISENFRANCHISED

Anna Simandiraki-
Grimshaw

ABSTRACT

International debates and practices of current public archaeologies have reached the heritage sector in Greece, albeit with some delay. These are especially (but not exclusively) focused on young learner involvement, local community education and politicized relics. Public archaeology practitioners showcase much enthusiasm, imagination, and perseverance. However, the Greek archaeological establishment cannot be called 'inclusive.' In this article, I explore the systemic limitations to public archaeology in Greece, identify the audiences disenfranchised by current approaches, and discuss the means and reasons why this is happening. Finally, I propose solutions and suggest that Greek archaeology has significant potential to become a prime example of inclusive public engagement.

KEYWORDS: Greek archaeology, public, museology, history of archaeology, heritage policy

"What's an '*enhiridio*'?"

Athens, the New Acropolis Museum, 24 June 2009, four days after its official opening. The author visits this flagship Greek museum for archaeological, museological, pedagogical, and tourist reasons. Photography is still allowed in the museum. The author looks at a glass case exhibiting finds from the House of Procloos (third century CE; Fig. 1) and takes a photo. A young man and a young woman are admiring other exhibits to the right of the author, behind the same glass case. The man is looking at the label for a lump of iron that used to be a dagger, the woman is further away. "What's an '*enhiridio*' (εγχειρίδιο)?" he asks her. The woman, without turning to look at the artifact he is looking at and the label that refers to it, says, "You know, it's like the manual (booklet) you get for an appliance, that tells you how to use it." Confused, he looks at the dagger, then at her, and replies, "Does this look like a manual to you?!" She is equally puzzled. At this point, the author feels the need to get involved and says: "I could not help overhearing the conversation you just had. I think I can help, as I am an archaeologist. '*Enhiridio*' as a word actually means 'the thing that you have in your hand.' In everyday Greek we use it to refer to a manual, for example, for appliances. However, in archaeological terminology, we use this word to mean a dagger." Both visitors seem satisfied with the explanation, thank the author, and everyone moves on.



FIG. 1
Glass case with finds from the
House of Proclo (third century
CE), New Acropolis Museum,
Athens, Greece. (Photo by
A. Simandiraki, June 24, 2009.)

The overall aim of this article is to explore the current state of public archaeology in Greece, using specific examples. Starting with an overview of Greek archaeology and its relationship with its audiences (internal and external), the paper then moves on to an examination of the deliberate disenfranchisement of both people and artifacts. The analysis subsequently turns to suggestions for possible solutions, before advocating that Greek archaeology has the potential to be globally exemplary for public engagement and inclusion if its practices and outlook change significantly.

Sociopolitics

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, what we now call Greece was still a part of the Ottoman Empire. This changed with the Greek revolution of 1821 against Ottoman rule and the eventual establishment of the modern Greek state (1830). The process of dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, at least according to central and northern European interests, was meant as an attack on 'orientalism,' as well as the affirmation of a European identity (see Morris 1994; Hamilakis 2007), significantly through Greek archaeology, or more precisely classical

Greece. The state was initially ruled by Greeks, most notably I. Kapodistrias, but then came under the hegemony of the Bavarian King Otto (Hellenized as 'Othonas'). Due to the centrality of classical antiquity, especially Attica, in the Greek and European mind, Athens became the new capital (after Kapodistrias's Nafplio) in 1834 at Otto's initiative (see Hamilakis 2007). Otto and his successors implemented a number of nation-building measures, deliberately aimed at unifying populations in terms of identity, ideology, and politics, as well as disentangling the new state from Near and Middle Eastern narratives. Apart from its ongoing wars with neighboring regions and resulting acquisition of ex-Ottoman lands, Greece was particularly tested by the Asia Minor Disaster (1922), the Metaxas dictatorship (1936–1940), Nazi occupation and atrocities (1941–1945), a civil war immediately after the power vacuum left by the end of WWII (1946–1949), as well as a military Junta (1967–1974). Classical archaeology was repeatedly used for overtly political and propaganda purposes, for example, appropriated by the dictatorship of Metaxas (1936–1940, see Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou 2004) and of the Generals (1967–1974, see Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou 2004), used in the 'reformation' of leftist exiles in Makronisos (see Hamilakis 2007) or in the 2004 Olympic Games (Simandiraki 2005). Lately, the economic

and political crisis (2008–present) and the migrant crisis (exacerbated since 2015) have put Greece in financial and social free fall, with a number of sociopolitical repercussions on Greek public archaeologies.

Another relevant development has been a widespread linguistic cleansing. Medieval Greek-speaking intellectuals and upper classes, and later on Greek (and even non-Greek) intellectuals inside and outside the Ottoman Empire, had been using a classical-inspired language, at least on official occasions and communications. By contrast, the working classes had a more ‘common’ parlance, which was infused with international, non-Greek words, reflecting the multiculturalism of their traditions, travels, and lives. Katharevousa (‘Clean Language’) was developed by the modern Greek state from the already classical-inspired bourgeois language (see Morris 1994). It was a mixture of classical, biblical, and more recent versions of Greek and it intensified attempts to use ancient Greek words to either elevate ‘common’ Greek words or to replace non-Greek words that were used in everyday life. Almost all (if not all) official correspondence, documents, newspapers, academic, and other publications were in Katharevousa, until it was finally abandoned in the early 1980s, as it had become irrelevant to communicate in one linguistic register (Katharevousa) while in reality living and working in another (Demotic, itself also partly reshaped). Today the Greek Orthodox Church is the main user of a version of Katharevousa.

Greek Archaeology as a Discipline

The early independence years saw an almost immediate codification, safeguarding, and appropriation of (especially classical) Greek heritage (see Hamilakis 2007; Voudouri 2010) through the rapid establishment of the Greek Archaeological Service (1833), the Antiquities Law (1834; Voudouri 2010: 549) and the Greek Archaeological Association (1837). These all came to play an important political role by legally connecting physical aspects of Greek territories to both (reclaimed) Hellenism and European concerns, simultaneously separating and distinguishing (especially classical) relics from others present within the same archaeological palimpsests (Hamilakis 2007), for example, through the ‘purification’

of monuments such as the Parthenon (Morris 1994). Much like Katharevousa’s cleansing of the ‘common’ or non-Greek words, such ‘purification’ involved the cleansing (that is demolition and removal) of non-classical (e.g., Byzantine) or non-Greek (e.g., Ottoman) accretions in classical sites, although King Otto passed a law in 1837 for their protection (Voudouri 2010: 551). These ‘purified’ antiquities acquired hallowed status, a situation that persists even today (see Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999). Furthermore, a neoclassical style of architecture, particularly appealing to big institutions and the upper classes, led to an architectural rebranding of Athens and Greece more generally (Morris 1994; Hamilakis 2007).

The current major heritage stakeholder in the country, to which the Archaeological Service and all its auxiliary services (including those for antiquities guards, conservators, etc.) belong, is the Ministry of Culture and Sports, a state-run organization (see Voudouri 2010), although a lot of private museums and institutions do exist in Greece and come under its auspices. The organogram of the Ministry is, predictably, a very top-down arrangement,¹ with most decisions, funding and permit regulation emanating from Athens, a historically entrenched situation that goes back to 1833. The Greek Archaeological Service is responsible for local bureaus of the Archaeological Service or Ephorates (Overseers). All Ephorates were originally (and until very recently) named after the classical Greek numbering system and their numbers showed the chronological order (and, at the time, priority) of their establishment, from the 1st Ephorate, in central Athens, to lesser ones, for example, the 23rd Ephorate in Herakleion, Crete. Each area of Greece now has its own Ephorate, responsible for maintaining local museums, doing research, excavating, identifying potential and curating existing archaeological sites, identifying and preventing looting, processing building permits in the vicinity of archaeological sites, and more. In recent years, the Ministry has also developed its digital content (see Hamilakis 2007; Tsipopoulou 2009; Simandiraki 2009). Although there are still issues of navigational flow and translation, the website contains a wealth of information, including online databases of museums, monuments, sites and artifacts (e.g., the “Odysseus” server²), publications, job advertisements, announcements, bureaucratic documents, archives, links to European projects and funding, and more.

Despite its centrality to modern Greek identity, the Ministry's role and its political and commercial exploitability are often fluctuating and misunderstood. In the course of the last seven years alone the Ministry has been realigned, shoehorned, merged, and split five times, often immediately after elections (Fig. 2). The Ministry was initially created as the Ministry of Culture and Sciences in 1971 by the then military dictatorship (see Voudouri 2010). Just over a month after the decade's second PASOK (Socialist) electoral win (June 2, 1985), on July 26, 1985, it was renamed the Ministry of Culture, coinciding with the launch of the Elgin Marbles repatriation campaign, and remained so during both socialist and conservative subsequent governments. The election win of PASOK on October 4, 2009 was followed three days later by the creation of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism on October 7, 2009 (see Kouri 2012). 2011 saw a mass, almost indiscriminate, 'shaving' of top management that caused the ire of heritage professionals, especially because the result was not considered an intelligently designed move and was actually unsustainable. The obligatory retirement or redundancy of many senior, experienced, and often internationally acclaimed professionals left a sizeable vacuum in the organization. The remaining staff saw the bureaucratic aspect of their work inflate at the expense of their practical and academic work, and had to deal with gallery closures and increased looting. On June 17, 2012, the year's second but marginal Nea Dimokratia (Conservative) electoral win necessitated a coalition with PASOK and Dimokratiki Aristera (Communists). Four days later, on June 21, 2012, amalgamation of four sectors led to the creation of the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports. A year later, on June 25, 2013, and under the same government, it was reduced to the Ministry of Culture and Sports only. A communist electoral win on January 25, 2015, and a subsequent coalition government between SY.RIZ.A. (Communists) and Anexartitoi Ellines (Conservatives) was followed two days later, on January 27, 2015, by another organizational reshaping: the ministry became the Ministry of Culture, Education and Religious Affairs. Later on in the same year, on September 20, 2015, there was yet another election, albeit with the same resulting hierarchies and coalition government. Two days later, on September 22, 2015, the organization reverted to being the Ministry of Culture and Sports (HMCS hereafter).

The volume of sites and staff under the HMCS, the largest heritage employer, further complicates matters. There are 199 museums and collections, 19,000 archaeological sites, 66 Ephorates and, by 2013, there were ca. 900 archaeologists, that is, one archaeologist roughly per 21 archaeological sites, and fewer than 2,000 guards for every affiliated location (museums, sites, etc.). A top management salary did not normally exceed € 1,500 per month (which is the approximate equivalent of an entry level research fellow in the UK Higher Education sector). A 35 percent budget cut was also enforced between 2011 and 2013, in parallel with the mass redundancies, irregular payments and 10 percent staff cuts (Simandiraki-Grimshaw 2013). Temporary, contract-based archaeologists who work on HMCS projects are usually financed by EU project funding or funds diverted from other projects (as surplus or even redirected funds). The professional and financial positions of these practitioners are usually precarious: they go from contract to contract, often moving around the country and being unable to plan for the long term regarding their own professional development, as well as their professional contribution to museums, Ephorates, and institutions. There is often friction between permanent and contract-based practitioners, mainly due to distribution of workload, pay, and working conditions.

Another aspect of the archaeological side of the Greek heritage sector are private museums, institutions, collections, and cultural (usually non-profit) organizations. Because of the aforementioned structure of the HMCS and the archaeological law, they tend to be subject to or dependent on the HMCS. For example, non-Greek archaeological schools (that is, the outposts in Athens and elsewhere of foreign national archaeological missions) have to go through the HMCS paperwork to acquire a set number of research permits per year. The way that many foreign archaeological schools and university missions bypass this limitation is to arrange a '*synergasia*,' a collaboration between a foreign mission and a local Ephorate. This is subject to different rules and can affect both parties in a number of positive and negative ways. Private museums (and to a lesser extent foreign missions) generally tend to be better funded and with less bureaucracy involved, something apparent in the type of facilities and research funding that they offer, the private

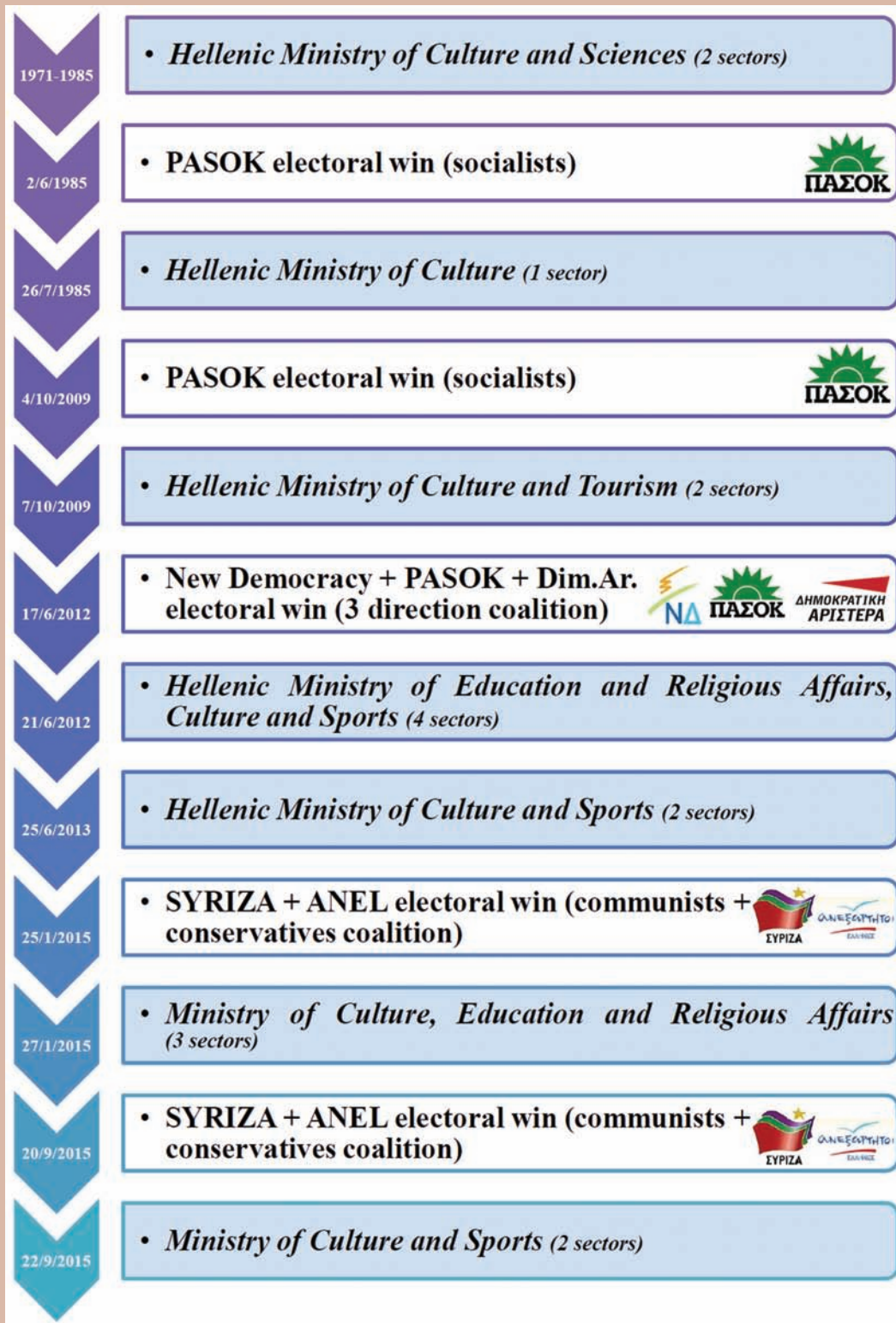


FIG. 2
The recent changing faces of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and their relationship with electoral developments. (Composition by A. Simandiraki.)

donations that they attract, and the services that they provide. Private sponsorship can also be geared towards public archaeological projects, for example, through local authorities' funding to promote local history and pride, or through international scholarly institutions (funds, universities, etc.).

Finally, there are nine public Greek university departments in which archaeology is taught as an undergraduate subject, six of which produce specifically trained archaeologists. The archaeological curriculum, although inclusive of archaeological methods, theory, and other civilizations, is overwhelmingly focused on Greek archaeology and art history (see Hamilakis 2007), with some institutions placing particular emphasis on specific time periods because of their traditions and location. Notably absent in most of these departments' curricula are modules on public archaeology and representation, museology, project management, educational outreach, fundraising, career development, and realistic job market research, the alignment with the international heritage sector, as well as writing for exhibitions, publications, the media, and so on. Many archaeology students usually pick up such skills on their own initiative, drawing on lectures, (voluntary) fieldwork, mentoring from lecturers as well as their research.

Greek Public Archaeologies

Before we expand on the types of current Greek public archaeologies, it is worth having a closer look at one of their most persistent archaeological public narratives resulting from the aforementioned developments: the 'Greek continuum' (Danforth 1984; Pollis 1992; Simandiraki 2005). This was originally a nineteenth-century conceptualization of a continuity of the Greek people from the 'Homeric era' to classical Greece and current times. It was invented in the academic realm (see discussion in Hamilakis 2007), but was soon purposefully disseminated to the public sphere through talks, education, public ceremonies, and in other ways. Even children were named after classical personae in a bid towards a unified, long-standing identity. During the nineteenth century it was not common to project this continuum back to the Aegean Bronze Age until the discoveries of Schliemann at Mycenae (in the last quarter

of the nineteenth century) and Evans at Knossos (in the first quarter of the twentieth century, which also coincided with the independence and subsequent Greek unification of Crete). As the Greek heritage sector established itself as the mediator between timeless antiquities, new 'liberated' lands and current locals (see excellent discussion of parallels in Scham 2001, esp. 192–93), the 'Greek continuum' was enriched: Byzantium was systematically and consciously incorporated, as an inheritor or adaptor of ancient Greek ideals, customs, and so on. There were two catalysts for this. One was a reaction to claims such as J. P. Fallmerayer's (see Hamilakis 2007) that there were no classical descendants in the contemporary Greek populations (see the discussion in Scham 2001 on her 'Heritage Pride Model' of the archaeology of the disenfranchised). The second was the need to disperse with the unease between the Hellenism of the Greek Orthodox Church (which had played a vital role in the establishment of the modern Greek state) and the Hellenism of classical Greece that connected modern Greeks to the European political commonwealth by bypassing medieval theological institutions. As it stands today, this 'continuum' conveniently omits in academic and public discourse, for example, ca. four centuries of Roman annexation of Greek lands; occupation of parts of Greece by the Venetians (in Crete they ruled for ca. four centuries); four centuries of Ottoman rule; as well as the diverse geopolitical histories and 'stratigraphies' of Greek or mixed populations in the Aegean, Egypt, southern Italy, the eastern Mediterranean, the Danube countries, and elsewhere, from antiquity to the present.

As more excavations were conducted and more Ephorates and museums were inaugurated, more visitors were attracted to the museums to learn and to admire. Public talks in learned societies, theatrical, poetic, photographic (e.g., Nelly's work; Katsari 2013) and other artistic takes on classical heritage, the revival of the Olympic Games and other (re)inventions of festivals, as well as the dissemination of news regarding archaeological monuments, artifacts and discoveries, created a mixture of public engagement and appropriation for the majority of the last two centuries, in parallel with more 'indigenous' archaeological practices (see Hamilakis 2008, 2009). By the 1970s and especially from the 1980s onwards a sizeable international bibliography on public archaeology was

debating a number of emerging issues. These include the social and community role of the archaeologist (e.g., as mediator, translator, educator, entertainer, e.g., Hamilakis 1999; Silberman 2007), strategies and techniques for reaching a variety of stakeholders (e.g., Merriman 1992; Silberman 2007), as well as a discussion of who the latter are (e.g., Merriman 2000; Shepherd 2007), archaeology and identity (see Friedman 1992; Scham 2001). Such international debates percolated into the Greek public sector and began to change its outlook and relationship with non-professional groups. As a result, systematic public archaeologies have been gathering speed in Greece both in terms of practice and in terms of theorization and debate in national and international bibliography (e.g., Hamilakis 1999, 2008, 2009). They are overwhelmingly composed of outreach initiatives originating from professionals and aiming either at imparting knowledge to non-professional audiences or at engaging them by establishing the usefulness of sites, artifacts, chronological phases, and civilizations. They fall under the broad categories of: (a) public outreach of professionals outside museums; (b) public outreach of museums; (c) grassroots involvement of the heritage and education sectors; (d) excavation reports in the media; (e) public display of heritage research results outside the museum; (f) reception of heritage by different groups with artistic, religious and other agendas; (g) experimental approaches to specific heritage.

For the first category, one may point to 'open days' at archaeological sites. These usually include tours, talks, perhaps educational activities, as well as occasional official openings, all facilitated by professionals with the frequent participation of local politicians, priests, and the media. A commendable example is the organization of public outreach activities related to the site of Petras Siteias, Crete, active already since the 1980s (open days, archaeological park, dedicated website, etc.; Tsiopoulou 2012: esp. 62–66).

Another category is outreach performed by the museums themselves. This can take the form of tours, talks, and occasionally educational materials or small, temporary exhibitions designed to coincide with topical events. In larger institutions, for example, the National Archaeological Museum at Athens, the Center of the Foundation of the Hellenic World,³ or private museums and institutions, museum outreach has developed

into a systematic, sustained, and multimodal plan, with regular talks and events, rotating exhibits, online material, 3D virtual reconstructions, educational packs and activities, symposia, and more, as well as engaging exhibition philosophies (see for instance the gallery space in the New Acropolis Museum, where visitors can dialectically engage with exhibits in the round, see Gazi and Nikiforidou 2004) (Fig. 3). However, most Greek museums tend to see audiences as polarised: either professionals or aspiring professionals (including the intelligentsia), who recognise the jargon and the exhibition philosophy, as well as the grandeur of the artefacts, and who expect to communicate on a professional level; or mostly *tabula rasa* but interested non-professionals, who (or so the museums think) visit seeking to be 'initiated,' feel awe, and be passively educated by experts. The underlying assumption is that archaeology as a discipline and practice, and the museum sector in particular, have a duty to educate, to inspire awe about the archaeological profession, to help venerate the ancestral heirlooms, and to produce members of a proud archaeophile community. This 'obligation' to illuminate often leads to the cultivation of almost reflex-like roles that both the professionals and the non-professionals are thrown into, as exemplified by the stereotypical opening vignette at even the most cutting-edge museum in Greece: the professional is trained to educate, explain, offer, even impose, the public is 'trained' to expect, wonder, receive.

There is also a strong link between heritage and K-12 education. As would be expected, archaeological narratives, especially those connecting ancient Greek mythology with material culture, filtered into public education books fairly early into the life of the modern Greek state. Similar books were authored in parallel, some based on particular archaeological artifacts (e.g., Kazantzakis 1981, but written ca. 1940s; also Nikoloudaki-Souri n.d.). From the 1980s and 1990s onwards, heritage educational programs were even more systematically designed for school children, often connected to the exhibits and themes presented in particular museums and tied with particular curricula. Teachers and archaeologists also began to design their own materials, often exceeding curriculum expectations. Archaeological activities for schools included (and still do) museum visits and talks (Merriman 1988), first and foremost, student essay and art competitions,



A



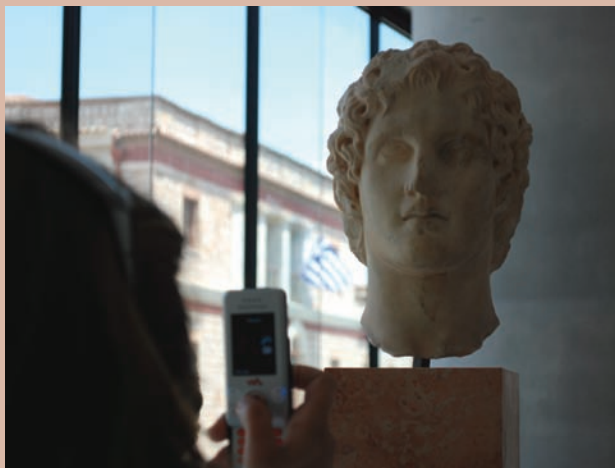
B



C



D



E



F

FIG. 3

Public engagement with exhibited sculpture (a–e) and site reconstructions (f); a: Kos Archaeological Museum, July 2005; b–e: New Acropolis Museum, June 24, 2009; f: Knossos Palace, Central Court looking toward Evans's cement reconstruction of the North Propylon, August 2006. (Photos by A. Simandiraki.)



FIG. 4

School events in quasi-Minoan and quasi-classical attire, Chania, May 29, 2004. (Photos by Z. Simandiraki; also after Simandiraki 2005: figs. 04–05.)

occasional participation in voluntary, experimental projects or mock-excavations, artifact-based activities involving crafts, school visits by archaeologists, sports events, theatrical plays, public ceremonies, and the like. In this light, the occasional fusion of the HMCS with the Ministry of Education is telling of the pedagogical and social service role attributed to the heritage sector. In the 2000s, this tendency intensified with the introduction and limited implementation of the Melina Educational Programmes (see discussion in Simandiraki 2004). These included materials and activities authored by leading, research-active heritage professionals and were intended to bring together topics like archaeology, history, sport, language, and more (Fig. 4). They were trialed at a nationwide sample of schools and complemented by teacher-authored materials. However, even though they still form part of the arsenal of the HMCS, they ceased in 2004 after a change of government that year⁴ (see Avdela 2000; Hamilakis 2004; Simandiraki 2004).

Other public archaeology avenues have developed more organically and in response to short-term issues. One example is the sometimes-inflated interest in some excavations, not only because of important finds, but also due to professional debates (and often rivalries) played out in the media, as well as a voracious and sometimes uncritical interest for unconfirmed archaeological theories. Two examples, both connected to Alexander the Great and

his family, illustrate this type of response. The first is the excavation of Vergina/Aiges (1977), in particular the tomb of Philip II, which rendered its excavator a national hero (see Hamilakis 1999, 2007), three years after the end of the Junta (1974) and just before Greece joined the EU (1981). The second and more recent example is the excavation in Amphipolis of a large and very elaborate tumulus. Although the excavation has been conducted for a number of years by different excavators, its recent seasons have been the fodder of another Alexander-mania. The media has heavily invested in this excavation in the form of daily reporting during fieldwork. Populist archaeological debates (often attacking the excavator and her preliminary conclusions) have also occupied daily shows, fueling public interest and increasing tourism and property acquisitions around the site. At a time when Greece's European position is at stake, this interest can also be understood as an attempt at creating a feeling of superiority, which serves as a counterbalancing mechanism against feelings of inferiority brought on by perceived international political and financial humiliations. The HMCS has tried to contain this public-relations loose cannon by controlling its narrative (issuing official announcements through its website, appointing a journalist spokeswoman and censoring announcements made by HMCS employees).⁵

Another category of public engagement is, for example, the displaying of the results of the Athens Metro

excavations (1992 to date).⁶ Because Athens is a rich archaeological palimpsest, excavation and preservation during construction of the new metro was a massive component of this operation. The exhibit, and resulting publication, *The City under the City* (Parlama and Stampolidis 2000), presented some of the archaeological finds to the public. *In situ* displays of finds and sites at some of the Metro stations also serve this purpose.⁷ A display at the Acropolis Metro station showcases reproductions of the Elgin Marbles, some original artifacts from the site, and stratigraphic profiles, among other things.⁸ These are exceptional and commendable initiatives that bridge the past and the present without didactic or patronizing pretense and without foregoing assumptions about the make-up of their audiences.

In contrast to the above-developed scenarios, the reception of the past by certain groups (such as neopagans), which may represent spiritual or nationalistic agendas, can actively involve both professional and non-professional members (see detailed parallels in Scham 2001). As mentioned before, in the overwhelming majority of cases of public archaeology in Greece, the initiatives are directed or initiated or regulated by professionals, while the public only receives, adapts, adopts, volunteers, and so on. Even though not formally ‘public archaeologies’ as traditionally construed (archaeologies *for* the public), here the public conducts public archaeology, which means, it engages with heritage in public ways that often exclude the professionals. In a recent example, members of the group ‘Ellinais,’ dressed in ancient Greek attire and holding a banner, musical instruments, and ancient (replica) weapons were joined by the media when they tried to enter into and worship at a temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens.⁹ The site’s guards, the director of the local Ephorate, the police, and the HMCS had already warned that this use was forbidden by ministerial decree, so they were not allowed to worship at the site. However, members of the group chanted anyway once inside the monument, and there was some subsequent tension. This incident gave rise to a sizeable and multifaceted, often derisory, debate in the media, which touched upon issues of constitutional freedom of worship, archaeology, nationalism, the (proper) use of archaeological heritage, and other similar topics. The irony, of course, was the fact that classical Greek antiquities are indeed the

subject of secular veneration and pilgrimage (Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999; Hamilakis 2007), but their original religious use is deemed inappropriate in an overwhelmingly Christian Orthodox Greece (Byzantine churches do not present this challenge).

Finally, other initiatives by members of the public are often small-scale, private, and do not abide by the rules of Greek heritage institutions. Experimental approaches aiming to reproduce actual or imaginary artifacts (e.g., the Minoa ship, Simandiraki 2005; Fig. 5) sometimes have a nationalist or ‘local pride’ hue. Projects that attempt to harness local nuances in the spirit of archaeological reflexivity and ethnography can be fruitful (e.g., Kyriakidis and Anagnostopoulos, this issue; Hamilakis, Ifantidis, and Demou 2016). But they may occasionally be misunderstood or resisted, if, for example, they are perceived as misinterpreting or even threatening established narratives in Greek archaeology and the ‘Greek continuum’ (e.g., by highlighting the multicultural history of the Athenian Acropolis).

Archaeologies of the Disenfranchised

From a sociopolitical perspective, I have argued that classicism (and the reintegration of Hellenism into the national identity) has been key in the creation and expansion of the modern Greek state and the maintenance of national ideology. Distancing from certain monuments (e.g., non-classical accretions on the Athenian Acropolis), periods (e.g., Ottoman), archaeologies (non-classical), dialects or forms of writing (‘common’ or non-Greek words purged by the Katharevousa), names (reverence for classical Greek ones), architectural styles (neoclassical, as opposed to, say, neo-Byzantine) is at the heart of the ‘Greek heritage’ definition project. This distancing has formed the foundation of a rhetoric that establishes the politically acceptable civilized ‘us’ versus the politically unacceptable uncivilized ‘others’ (see Pollis 1992), and disenfranchises voices inconsonant with the dominant nineteenth-century ideology. This is exacerbated by standardized K-12 educational materials, which fuse classical myth (that is, ancient Greek lore) with archaeology and showcase a very limited array of ancient cultures and finds as worth studying. Both educational and media



FIG. 5
The “Minoan reconstruction,” Chania, 2006. (Photo by Trevor Grimshaw; also after Simandiraki 2011, fig. 7.)

narratives bear the stamp of official Greek national discourse (Voudouri 2010; Katsari 2013).

Secondly, from the perspective of archaeology as a discipline, I have suggested here that Greek heritage institutions have evolved by means of a top-down process, which contributes to the disenfranchisement of other voices. The Athenocentric Archaeological Service and the ever-changing HMCS lead to the stifling of professional dialogue, professional rights, standardization, and job security. The haphazard, often mismanaged, and certainly centralized financial regulation results in the overfinancing of politically important sites (e.g., Amphipolis) at the expense of others (e.g., Delos). The inability of local Ephorates and communities to directly harness locally generated funds (e.g., Knossos) alienates their local communities. The

inability of staff to hold additional private employment as public servants, even though they have to wait months to be paid substandard wages, has a similar effect. There is a definite discrepancy between Athenian and non-Athenian museums and sites (for regional discrepancies more generally, see Monastiriotis 2007; Monastiriotis and Psycharis 2011; Caraveli and Tsionas 2012), as there is one between state and privately run ones. The frequently cited lack of funds, although generally true, contradicts generous funding of politically expeditious fieldwork. For example, in 2010 Amphipolis received € 20,000 in funding by the HMCS and local administrations. The funding ballooned to € 360,000 in 2014 thanks to both state and private contributions, but the HMCS funding alone (€ 150,000) represents a seven-fold increase.¹⁰ The top-down imposition of central directives,

frequently devised by politicians unfamiliar with the needs and potential of the field, hampers its potential as a serious and stable force in the humanistic dialog in Greek society as well as its international impact. Crippling bureaucracy limits its staff research potential, and their contribution to international research and collaborations. Vested public service interests, nepotism and clientelism, as well as the organic way in which positions, services, and ministries have been recast over the years, result in great delays, hinder much needed renovations in museums and archaeological sites, and lead to conflicts of jurisdiction within HMCS units. The traditional, Hellenocentric and art-historical training of professionals leaves blind spots with respect to broader archaeological inquiry, international heritage developments, and sustained public outreach, including academic and media outputs, and the like.

Thirdly, there is a pervasive and persistent lack of understanding of 'heritage' in contemporary terms. This is mainly due to the unwillingness of the state to address heritage as a key driver of ethics, critique, and multivocality. Instead, it is used to serve political and nationalist agendas (see Yalouri 2001; Zambeta 2005; Ntaflou 2011), as in the case of the repatriation of the Elgin/Parthenon Marbles (see Yalouri 2001; Plantzos 2011). Projects that attempt to move beyond the official paradigm are usually undermined (e.g., the Melina educational programs; Simandiraki 2004), depending on the prevailing political currents. There is often vociferous resistance to, or even censorship of, dissident opinions. Unsurprisingly, immigrants or their descendants, ethnic and linguistic minorities (e.g., Roma, see Duke 2007; Tsopela 2008; Forbes 2014), religious minorities (e.g., Muslims), and others are rarely (if ever) the target audience of Greek public archaeology (see discussions in Scham 2001). The Greek public is almost never consulted as to what they expect or benefit from when they visit a site or museum; their opinions, experiences, expectations, learning styles, and so on, are hardly taken into account. Furthermore, exhibits are rich in archaeological jargon, which is based partly on Katharevousa and partly on original ancient Greek terms (at least for Bronze Age and classical archaeology, less so for Byzantine).

This takes us back to the opening vignette. The linguistic distancing serves in part to assert the authority of archaeological discourse; it also contributes to the understanding of a museum as a locus of professional

communication and aspiration (see the excellent discussion in Gazi and Nikiforidou 2004; Plantzos 2011), which often goes hand-in-hand with a traditional (chronological, rather than thematic) styling of exhibitions and their monosensory nature (privileging a visual interaction with artifacts and texts). In other words, the professional tone of such exhibits either assumes knowledge of a code (professionals talking to other professionals or a knowledgeable audience) or intends to impart knowledge of such a code in a patronizing way (see Plantzos 2011; Ntaflou 2011). Apart from very few institutions (e.g., parts of the New Acropolis Museums, the Goulandris Museum of Cycladic Art), the overall design and philosophy of which are not typical, the major role intended for most heritage topoi is education. This is appropriate, but they can be seen to also function as places of inspiration, reflection, entertainment, or study. They also play a parallel role as 'pilgrimage spaces' both metaphorically and literally (e.g., the *Ellinai*s episode described above; also Hamilakis 2008; Simandiraki-Grimshaw 2012).

To summarize, Greek public archaeologies have been shaped by specific official and unofficial agendas, but their most permeating characteristic is that of disenfranchisement. Some of this is tangible, some is epiphenomenal, but all of it limits the inclusive, internationalizing, and multicultural potential of Greek archaeology.

Archaeologies for the Disenfranchised

Despite the aforementioned shortcomings, I believe a paradigm shift is possible. Firstly, adhering to a nineteenth-century nationalistic paradigm is largely the effect of uncertainty about identity and self-representation in the postmodern, global arena (see Alexiou 1986; Laliotou 2010; also Leontis 1991; Scham 2001; Voudouri 2010). However, several Greek sites and museums already are on par with or exceed UNESCO and ICOM standards of the twenty-first century. There is a multitude of collaborations with other countries on international exhibitions of antiquities, and the role of Greek heritage professionals is a vital one in scientific and scholarly innovation worldwide. Given Greece's pivotal role in the cultural juncture of the Balkans, the Mediterranean, the Middle East and North Africa, and its diachronically rich and culturally diverse archaeological

record, adherence to a narrowly nationalistic understanding of the past is not (and should not be) the sole point of reference in articulations of contemporary Greek identity. There needs to be a shift from the reactive-defensive attitude towards otherness (manifested in politics, citizenship, and society alike) towards recognizing and enhancing the distinguishing qualities of Greek heritage through international dialogue, multicultural and multi-faith tolerance, business initiatives, and the like. For example, if Greece is seen as an introvert country, which shows cultural intolerance and perpetuates nationalistic attitudes, not least through its veneration of antiquities and the superiority complex that often permeates Greek public debates of its heritage, it also becomes more difficult for business to be open to other cultures and (if one wants to be cynical) markets. However, a shift in how heritage operates and is perceived in Greece can lead to a shift in other sectors in which Greece needs to progress (e.g., financial).

Secondly, regarding archaeology as a discipline, the Greek heritage sector can move towards decentralization of its processes, which does not necessarily mean lack of standardization or dilution. For example, Ephorates can be given more powers, allowing them more flexibility and governance of their finances locally. They could pursue more 'external' (e.g., international, university, and other) collaborations, regulate their own voices, reach their own communities, and dedicate more time to services and research rather than bureaucracy, all this supported by a robust, streamlined online platform (Tsipopoulou 2009; see suggestions in Simandiraki 2009). Sites, monuments and artifacts would need to be assigned to accountable 'project owners.' Successive governments would need to stop interfering with the HMCS to haphazardly serve their political and financial agendas and allow it to create a stable, sustainable and long-term organogram of staff (permanent and temporary), finances, projects, permits, and studies. This would allow for higher turnover and more international standing of research, public outreach, initiatives for reflection, transparency of operations and finances, job satisfaction and collaboration, and a more open-minded and long-term redesign of museums, archaeological sites, and public archaeology events. Public archaeology training should be systematically incorporated into higher education to better equip students for matters of outreach and international heritage, while it would also disentangle

professionals from the often patronizing legacy of traditional approaches toward the public, enabling them to fulfill their parallel roles as educators and project managers.

Thirdly, regarding the relationship between archaeology and the public, Greece would be best served by making exhibits and sites relevant to current debates, identities, learning methods, and experiences. This would involve, among other things, reconsidering its mission as defender of the nation-state above all else (see discussions in Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999; Tziouvas 2001; Athanassopoulos 2002) and as a vehicle for political pursuits (Scham 2001; Simandiraki 2005; Stefanou 2009), transforming this mission instead into that of a cultural mediator. For that to happen, Greece would need to move beyond the notion that the past is connected with the present in the form of a 'Greek continuum,' through serious reflection on the (ab)uses of nationalism in the modern world. But the 'denationalization' of archaeological paradigms is unachievable for the time being, because of the resurgence of nationalism, an outcome of the economic and migrant crises, as well as the threat of terrorism. However, there is hope that Greek archaeology will, in the future, embrace its multicultural past: for example, through inclusive exhibits (e.g., showcasing the non-classical dimensions of the Acropolis), public archaeology outreach aiming to highlight a broader variety of cultures and periods, educational materials addressing cultural plurality in antiquity and today (see Tsopela 2008; Scham 2001), respect for and dialogue with 'other' voices.

A further step towards a more meaningful public archaeology in Greece might be the incorporation of opinions, feelings, expectations, experiences, and practices of the public in heritage *topoi*. Some successes in this direction include public concerts and viewing of the August full moon from inside select archaeological sites. Other possibilities include gauging feedback from the public before a re-exhibition and promoting and arranging volunteerism in the processing and curation of collections (see excellent examples in Nikonanou, Kasvikis, and Fourliga 2004). Why not allow the public to engage more intuitively with ancient material culture with the aid of partial reconstructions (see Fig. 3)? Why not use simplified (though not simplistic) language, as well as online translations in languages other than northern and central European ones (e.g., eastern European, Middle Eastern languages)?

Why not provide three-dimensional, tactile printouts of exhibited material, textural equivalents (e.g., wood, bone, fur, ceramic, etc.), QR mobile phone codes, three-dimensional virtual reconstructions, onsite and online educational materials, and consistent accessibility for persons with disabilities (online and offline)? An extant initiative in the latter direction includes the Tactual Museum of Athens, primarily designed for people with visual impairments, but also inviting the general public to experience exhibits from a different, non-visual perspective.¹¹

Finally, it would be helpful and in line with current public-archaeology debates if artifacts, monuments, sites, other heritage loci, and all the people who used them were not perceived (sometimes deliberately, as we have seen) as static, eternal, and monolithic, but as multifaceted, fluctuating entities with agency and complicated archaeological, social and spiritual stratigraphies. Why not invite discussion on the lifecycles of artifacts and monuments, rather than, for example, idolizing one particular phase? Limited good examples exist already, such as reflexive, often archaeo-ethnographic projects (e.g., Kyriakidis and Anagnostopoulos, this issue; Hamilakis et al. 2016). Why not acknowledge, explore, and exhibit how neopagan, immigrant, or non-heterosexual renegotiation of ancient Greek material culture (re)creates and influences the identities of some monuments and artifacts, and incorporate this type of data into the discourses about their lifecycles? Projects such as the Unification of Monuments in Athens can also provide a platform for local dialectic engagement with the multitudes of past materiality and experience, including a multicultural and multi-faith past, as well as inspiration and guidance for implementation in other locales within Greece.

Going further, it would also be helpful if interpretative processes were reflected upon. For example, why not

expand on demonstrations and materials on the interpretative processes of archaeology (such as the excellent Tzigounaki 2012), the incorporation and highlighting of stratigraphies in everyday life as well as their connection to modern creation?¹² Why not encourage and truly foster imaginative (re)enactments (Simandiraki 2005; see Fig. 4) and experimental archaeology (see Fig. 5; but see controversy in Simandiraki 2005)? Likewise, why not have thematic rooms and exhibits in most rather than a handful of museums, instead of the largely chronological or geographical categorizations, so that different narratives and interpretations could be explored? Such examples need not blur the boundaries between professionals and non-professionals, but rather aid collaboration. And perhaps, when this is achieved, Greek archaeology can fulfill its significant potential for inclusive public engagement.

Notes

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The title of this article was arrived at through my previous engagement with the politics of representation in heritage and particularly in Greek archaeology. This research includes e.g., Simandiraki 2004, 2005, 2006, 2009; Simandiraki-Grimshaw 2012, 2013; Simandiraki-Grimshaw and Stefanou 2012. At the time of submission I was not aware of Scham 2001, and so I sincerely thank this author for kindly forwarding me her important article, which I incorporated in the final draft.

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1. Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, Ministry organogram, <http://www.yppo.gr/1/e10.jsp> (accessed May 17, 2016).
 2. HMCS 2016b, Odysseus server, http://odysseus.culture.gr/index_en.html (accessed 17/5/2016).
 3. Foundation of the Hellenic World, <http://www.ime.gr/cosmos/> (accessed 17/5/2016).
 4. Melina Educational Programmes, http://www.yppo.gr/4/g40.jsp?obj_id=139 (accessed May 17, 2016).
 5. See also the answer of the Association of Greek Archaeologists (Σύνδεσμος Ελλήνων Αρχαιολόγων) in a press release reacting to the Ministry's censorship: <http://www.sea.org.gr/details.php?id=347> (accessed May 17, 2016).
 6. Attiko Metro, Transit in Athens, historical overview, <http://www.ametro.gr/page/default.asp?la=2&id=22> (accessed May 17, 2016).
 7. Attiko Metro, Archaeological Work at the Athens Metro, <http://www.ametro.gr/page/default.asp?la=2&id=40> (accessed May 17, 2016); Attiko Metro, Archaeological Excavations per Station, <http://www.ametro.gr/page/default.asp?la=2&id=2375> (accessed May 17, 2016); Attiko Metro, Antiquities & Extensions, <http://www.ametro.gr/page/default.asp?id=2376&la=2> (accessed May 17, 2016).
 8. HMCS, Archaeological exhibition at the 'Acropolis' Metro station, http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/1/gh151.jsp?obj_id=3363 (accessed May 17, 2016).
 9. See Ministry press release regarding *Ellinaïs* incident, http://www.yppo.gr/2/g22.jsp?obj_id=3197 (accessed May 17, 2016).
 10. Ministry press release regarding Amphipolis excavation finances 2010-2014 http://www.yppo.gr/2/g22.jsp?obj_id=58592 (accessed May 17, 2016).
 11. Tactual Museum, <http://www.tactualmuseum.gr/indexe.htm> (accessed May 17, 2016).
 12. E.g., HMCS, Archaeological exhibition at the 'Acropolis' Metro station, see above, n. 8.
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