

A Past for/by the Public: Outreach and Reception of Antiquity in Boeotia, Greece

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# A PAST FOR/BY THE PUBLIC

Outreach and Reception of Antiquity in Boeotia, Greece

## Athina Papadaki

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#### ABSTRACT

In this article, we discuss the general parameters of archaeological work in Boeotia and the legendary/ mythical landscape of Thebes. We showcase select special programs launched by the Archaeological Service in educating the public and shaping public perceptions of antiquity in Boeotia. We then take a different approach, gauging the reception of and nature of engagement with the past from the perspective of the contemporary community and elementary school children attempting to identify personal, nuanced understandings and myths about the past, in tandem with archaeology-emanating narratives about Boeotian antiquity.

**KEYWORDS:** outreach, education, popular imagination, national identity, Boeotia, Thebes, Thespiae

Public archaeology is a means of communicating the past to the present, a tool for engaging contemporary communities in the process of excavating, interpreting, exhibiting, retelling, and reproducing the past: as it has been aptly put, 'the business of archaeology is the present' (Olivier 2013). This negotiatory/pivotal role of public archaeology becomes especially crucial in artifact- and site-rich landscapes that also happen to be contemporary urban landscapes, as the co-existence of ancient remains and the requirements of daily life and economic activity can lead to conflict and escalating social tensions. Boeotia, about 100 km northwest of Athens in Greece, is one such landscape where the past collides with the present and where a multitude of interests—archaeological, economic, political, institutional, personal—collide and occasionally clash (e.g., Symeonoglou 1972; Aravantinos 1994).

### The Past and Present of Boeotia

In the capital of this region, the famed city of Boeotian Thebes, ancient and historical layers of habitation ranging from the Early Bronze Age to the Ottoman era lie beneath the contemporary city grid. The fragmentary remains of ancient habitation dating to these various eras continue to emerge through rescue excavations over more than a century in this 'living museum' (Dakouri-Hild et al. 2003) (Fig. 1). The circumstances of Boeotian archaeology, especially at Thebes, have brought about a phenomenologically peculiar amalgam of bits and pieces of various habitation phases that poke through the fabric of contemporary urban development, making themselves omnipresent in

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FIG. 1 Satellite image of Thebes. (Google Earth/Digital Globe.)

everyday life. That said, such phenomenological status is not unique to the Boeotian or Theban landscape; it pertains to many other contemporary cities in Greece with a rich habitation history, including Athens itself (e.g., Parlama and Stampolidis 2001; Karachalis and Poulios 2015).

The materialities of the past in fragmentary form 'relive' in the present time through appropriation and reuse in later buildings. Ancient spolia are incorporated in the foundations or corner elements of later buildings. Fragments of funerary stelae, ancient columns and other architectural membra are showcased proudly in the ornate facades of churches and public buildings dating to the early twentieth century or prior (Fig. 2). Since the advent of professional archaeology and the Archaeological Service in the early twentieth century, formal excavations have brought about physical remains of the Boeotian past within the contemporary urban grid. In Thebes, property plots excavated since the 1900s punctuate the fabric of the city.

Some of these remains are preserved in the basements of modern buildings, accessible upon special arrangement. Others lie reburied under a protective fill between modern building pilotis, or beneath grassy public parks, paved squares or streets. Others still, remain uncovered and are visible to the public. The open-air archaeological sites are typically fenced in and signposted with their archaeological designations and additional information. The ownership status of these archaeological sites, of which there are hundreds, varies: many remain privately owned, even as the Archaeological Service maintains oversight of ancient remains excavated within them; others are public or have been expropriated by the state and are fully managed by the Archaeological Service. Given that modern buildings lie side by side with historical or prehistoric ones (Fig. 3), the cityscape of Thebes emerges as a lived-in ruin that incorporates and fuses together fragments of the remote past with the recent past and the present.





FIG. 2 Spolia in contemporary or early modern buildings in Thebes. (Photo by A. Dakouri-Hild.)

On a purely indexical/symbolic level, such a multifaceted, caleidoscopic past is represented and commemorated in the city through street names; these frequently honor historical personages associated with Boeotian or Theban (especially classical) antiquity, Greek myth and tragedies (Fig. 4). These famous personages are sometimes linked to excavated ancient ruins. For instance, some sites are well understood, celebrated as legendary by virtue of their connection to Cadmus (Keramopoullos 1909), Heracles (*Associated Press* Archive 2015), Alexander the Great, and so forth. Some are venerated by virtue of their religious underpinnings and a connection with Christianity (e.g., remains of churches, monasteries, etc.). Others are imbued by mysticism of the alternative/'fringe' kind, which presents its own challenges (see Simandiraki-Grimshaw and Stefanou 2012): such as the so-called pyramid of Thebes, which is heralded by some members of the community and the alternative media as (improbably) the earliest pyramid in the Old World and the inspiration of the stepped



FIG. 3 Ancient and modern buildings in Thebes side-by-side. (Photo by A. Dakouri-Hild.)

pyramids of Giza, even though it is not a pyramid by any measure. Paradoxically, some academically acclaimed archaeological sites (especially those emerging from 'the shadows' of earliest prehistory) have failed to capture popular imagination equally, perhaps by virtue of their very prehistoric status, which renders them somewhat alien to the body of classical Greek civilization, as well as by virtue of their anonymity/disassociation from famed personages. Finally, archaeological remains representing relatively abject phases of Greek history (such as the Turkish era) or aspects of the past representing minority groups (such as the Jewish or Muslim faiths) tend to be uninteresting; the exhibits of the new Thebes Museum laudably attempt to shift public perceptions in the direction of those less popular remains.

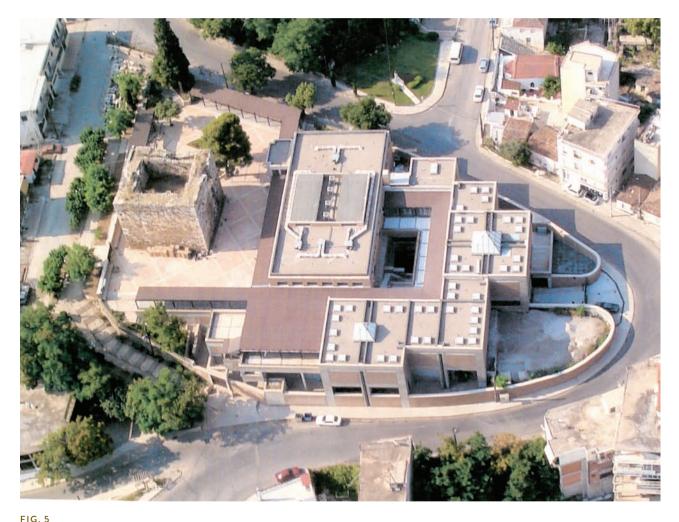


FIG. 4 Thebes street names. (Photos by A. Dakouri-Hild.)

# The Archaeological Service and Cultural Heritage

The Ephorate of Antiquities of Boeotia (a local chapter of the Archaeological Service) is the state cultural heritage authority in the region. Its principal strategic aim is to protect heritage, and enhance and promote the diverse and diachronic character of ancient civilization excavated within its jurisdiction. The former objective is achieved through research and excavations, most commonly performed as part of rescue archaeology, urban development, and major public works (including road construction such as is discussed below). The latter aim is accomplished through museum exhibitions, oversight of collections, and communicating with the public and educational activities.

Museum renovation and re-exhibition of archaeological collections are a significant component of public archaeology work undertaken by the Ephorate and complement the educational projects described below. Some examples include the recently inaugurated (2016), renovated Museum of Thebes (Fig. 5), made possible through the National Strategic Reference Framework (NSRF), and the renovated museums at Schimatari and Chaironeia, funded by the European Third Community Support Framework. In these new museums, an array of methods is employed to attract, inform, and engage museum visitors. Every display has a holistic and educational character, intending to



The new museum of Thebes. (Courtesy of the Ephorate of Antiquities in Boeotia.)

initiate and foster dialog between visitors and exhibits. A concerted effort has been made to employ multifaceted modes of communication in the exhibition areas, promoting new media (e.g., interactive communication, digital tools) (Fig. 6), as well as more traditional methods (e.g., guided tours—including accessible ones for people with disabilities, educational activities, one-day conferences, and artistic or other side events) (Fig. 7). Exhibits seek to make the most of what an archaeology museum (compared to other types of museums and educational settings) specifically offers: that is, encounters with the past and authentic artifacts carrying with them a particular historical charge. Thus, the overall scope is to convey historical-archaeological information, relate antiquity to contemporary life, and engage the public in interpretations of the past through the display of antiquities. Educational programs that seek to engage local audiences in the context of a museum help produce an enriched museum experience, which can be seen to simultaneously engage the mind, delight the senses and elicit emotions. In this article, we focus on the connections between rescue excavations and educational programs, rather than museological development per se.



#### FIG. 6 Digital media in the Thebes museum. (Courtesy of the Ephorate of Antiquities in Boeotia.)



FIG. 7 A group of blind persons exploring the outdoor exhibits of the Thebes museum. (Courtesy of the Ephorate of Antiquities in Boeotia.)

### **Public Works and Special Programs**

As previously mentioned, much of the work performed by the Ephorate of Antiquities in Boeotia is typically instigated by and connected with major public works and rescue excavation. A good example of how such work can dovetail with public outreach is the Kanavari Road project (Fig. 8). The construction of this road ("Intersection of Thespiae-Dombraina (Korvne)–Thisbe–Prodromos with Dombraina by-pass") entailed substantial rescue excavations, given that its planned course traverses the entire central and south Boeotia, which has brought to light antiquities of all historic periods. As soon as the excavations were completed, Ephorate staff initiated conservation and study of the material to convey the significance of the new and important finds to the public as soon as possible. The results of the study were communicated through a printed volume showcasing the finds and highlighting their significance in the framework of local heritage. The volume, entitled Ancient Thespiae: A Story of Gods and Humans, is a popular bilingual book (Greek, English), covering the archaeological research and history of the area of Thespiae, so that the general public of Boeotia can learn about it.

In addition, a dedicated educational program was designed to further engage local communities. This program, entitled "Ancient Thespiae: a history of gods and men," was centered upon the diachronic relationship of human settlement and the landscape, and the role of ancient Thespiae in Boeotian culture and history. Developed by the Ephorate in collaboration with the ethnologist/museologist Popi Georgopoulou, the program aimed to increase public awareness, present and promote the results of the excavations, as well as formulate the relationship of the new finds with the main exhibits in the Archaeological Collection of Thespiae and the Archaeological Museum of Thebes. Because of the affinity of the excavation finds with the extant collection at Thespiae and the relevance of the material to the local community, the local museum was chosen as the program location. This museum (Fig. 9), originally a nineteenth-century school building donated to the Archaeological Service in 1993 by the then mayor of Thespiae, has housed a small collection of antiquities in a single gallery space since; it also functions as a storage facility for excavation projects in the general area of Thespiae.



FIG. 8 The Kanavari Road project: partial view of the excavation. (Courtesy of the Ephorate of Antiquities in Boeotia.)

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FIG. 9 The Thespiae museum: exterior view prior to the renovation. (Courtesy of the Ephorate of Antiquities in Boeotia.)

"Ancient Thespiae" harnesses a wealth of informative material, photos, videos, and educational activities and addresses both school-aged children and adults. The program, which has been running since 2015, involves group visits to the archaeological collection at Thespiae. Visitors are encouraged to explore the first gallery of the museum and consult some background information displayed in posters and showcases containing antiquities (Fig. 10). This part of the museum includes information about the history of the building as a school, as well as a presentation of the art of sculpting and the toolset typically used, which is apt since the area of Thespiae was a key production center for Boeotian sculpture in antiquity. Other showcases and freestanding pedestals display antiquities that represent cultural highlights of Thespiae (myths, battles, sanctuaries, burial customs, etc.). Subsequently, visitors enter the second gallery, which functions as an educational activities area intended for the whole family. In that space, there is a video installation exploring the meaning of cultural heritage, as well as the process of excavation and restoration work, inspired by the local

excavations at Kanavari. There are also miniature excavation trenches for the children to interact with, puzzles in the form of terracotta objects for children to handle and experiment with, and technologically accurate replicas of ancient vases and toys. The gallery is equipped with artistic materials, books, a table question game, suggestions for activities in the yard of the museum, and more.

The Ephorate's public-archaeology efforts reach outside the museum ambit and into the local school communities. For instance, a traveling kit entitled "The Earthen Book of Thespiae," specifically designed for school groups, can be lent to schools for use in the classroom. The kit materials explore the relationship between the past and present-day life, and the role of archaeology in bringing about encounters with antiquity using the Kanavari case-study. For example, it contains materials for activities on daily life in ancient Thespiae, the nine muses, famous Boeotian battles, as well as details of the excavation. The activities are handson and multisensory, including board and memory card games, plots for theatrical performances, paper-cutting ideas, replicas of ancient artifacts, and more (Fig. 11). The kit



FIG. 10 The Thespiae museum: first gallery. (Courtesy of the Ephorate of Antiquities in Boeotia.)



FIG. 11 "The Earthen Book of Thespiae" traveling kit, replicas, and games. (Courtesy of the Ephorate of Antiquities in Boeotia.)

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can also be combined with museum-based activities, scheduled at regular intervals by appointment in the Thespiae Collection, or family-oriented days in the museum. Since the kit's introduction in 2012, we have received enthusiastic responses by pupils and teachers alike; the latter, while sometimes reluctant to borrow, soon realize the new classroom possibilities it offers in enriching lessons.

Over its course, the program as a whole has drawn spectacular and wholehearted responses from the local community, which includes both inhabitants and members of municipal and other local authorities. Cultural and educational entities, such as the Demophilos Cultural-Environmental Society of Thespiae, the Parent and Guardian Association of the Elementary School of Thespiae, and the Kindergarten of Thespiae, have also been enthusiastic about the program. Notably, community members and municipal authorities actively contributed to the program, by volunteering time, personal effort, information, or offering other support. In addition, revising the exhibition space to house the program entailed exploration of local and family archives, which produced a wealth of photographic material and other information about the history of the museum building as a school, thereby offering opportunities to weave in personal memories tied to a sense of the local community.

These combined efforts helped realize the program in a short period of time on schedule, breathing new life into the Archaeological Collection of Thespiae. Moreover, the spontaneous involvement of the community in shaping the educational program reinforced a sense of local identity and activated an immediate dialog with the local past. Notably, the Kanavari Road construction has been a vexed issue for the local communities, given the delays in completing the project (for reasons not exclusive to rescue archaeology) and the pressing need for improving road safety and expedite travel in the region. Helping the communities understand their own investment in the past of the landscape that they inhabit in their daily lives has also helped temper feelings of frustration with fascination/ pride. Ultimately, a sense of identity and 'ownership' of the local cultural heritage facilitates the protection and promotion of archaeological sites by ensuring

future successful collaborations using volunteerism and deterring looting and destruction. Through such public archaeology programs at the level of local communities, antiquities and archaeological sites can be perceived as intrinsic components of contemporary social life and as cultural resources improving quality of life today. They enhance a sense and love of place, giving prominence and adding value to landscape characteristics that the inhabitants themselves see as relevant to their lives.

#### **Reception of Antiquity in Thebes**

How is the past—and archaeology with it—perceived in the eyes of locals? There is no doubt that antiquity has commanded prestige in contemporary Boeotian culture since the inception of professional archaeology, especially among the literati, who have utilized icons of antiquity in early modern and contemporary buildings. A casual stroll in the city reveals decors inspired by ancient sculpture, Greek deities strongly associated with Thebes (such as Demeter and Hermes, Fig. 12), Oedipodian sphinxes perched on pillars (Fig. 13), and elements borrowed from the Creto-Mycenaean architectural repertoire (such as red columns). Even the new museum of Thebes strongly evokes Mycenaean palatial architecture, an obvious nod to the palatial civilization that flourished in the city in the Late Bronze Age. It features a sprawling, multi-level design centered on a megaron-like arrangement on the roof (see Fig. 5), an interior open-air court, sparse and small windows, concrete pillars and horizontal struts, and isodomic masonry that visually recall the half-timbered ashlar facades of Mycenaean palatial architecture.

Just outside the city center in the prestigious old cemetery of Thebes, famed for originally housing the remains of Saint Luke the Evangelist (now mostly located in Padua and Prague), images of Greek and Boeotian antiquity abound. There are stelae with classical funerary compositions associated with or incorporating the dead (Fig. 14), classical *naiskoi* (shrines) hybridized with symbols of Christianity (such as crosses), marble stelae with palmette *akrotiria* (Fig. 15), and scenes adapted



FIG. 12 Mural on the National Bank building. (Photo by A. Dakouri-Hild.)

from the Theban myths—such as Oedipus encountering the Sphinx and solving the riddle in a uniquely mortuary context (Fig. 16). These images are incorporated in residences and tombs as markers of high education, fine taste, social standing and elite privilege: they are a form of local symbolic capital (see Antoniadou 2012). Even though an interest in antiquity is not as strongly linked to social status now as it was in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a sense of connection with the past remains strong—especially among the offspring of prestigious early modern Thebans, many of whom own a substantial amount of property in the city and the general area.

Children's perceptions of the ancient cityscape are evocative in a different direction. In the summer of 2011 a visit was paid to the 4th Elementary School of Thebes, with kind permission by the Principal, Despina Nika. After a map of Thebes was circulated to several sections of the third and fourth grade, the children were asked to draw the most significant landmarks of ancient Thebes on the map during the school day without any guidance; students who asked to draw freehand instead were allowed to do so. The children were encouraged to use their knowledge and imagination in their drawings. Maria populates her drawing with a prominent castle on the north side of the city, next to the Museum, referencing the Frankish tower that still dominates that part of the Theban landscape (and is now fully accessible to the public after the museum-renovation works). She also depicts a monumental Sphinx perched on a pillar occupying the entire east side of the city plateau, the rivers of Thebes terminating in Egyptian-like pyramids or mountains to the east and the west as well as contemporary socially significant places, such as the Pouros public recreation area and the City Square (Fig. 17). Vangelis illustrates a 'Treasury Room' (a wellknown part of the Mycenaean palatial complex at the Kadmeion site), but in the style of a modern bank vault, in addition to the tower (Fig. 18). Anastasis utilizes a comparable 'treasure' theme: he depicts a vault with coins, a separate building dedicated to pots (one of them carried overhead by a person in a trench or corridor) and Mycenaean wheeled vehicles loaded with pots (which may be inspired by certain animations produced



FIG. 13 A house with antiquity-inspired decorations. (Photo by A. Dakouri-Hild.)



FIG. 14 A modern funerary monument in the old cemetery of Thebes: Greekstyle composition. (Photo by A. Dakouri-Hild.)

by the Hellenic World Cultural Center at Athens, see references). In this drawing, the ancient city (predominantly, in this case, the Mycenaean settlement) is portrayed as a maze, featuring spatially confusing walls and passageways (Fig. 19). Streets also feature in the drawings, as in Frixos's drawing (Fig. 20). Christina depicts 'pots' inside the Medieval tower, either conflating that site with the nearby museum or perhaps knowing through her family that artifacts used to be kept in the tower for decades prior to its restoration (Fig. 21). Other students include images of amphoras and other pots north of the Kadmeion site (not too far away from the Mycenaean palatial remains brought to light in the Kadmeion) and in the main square, which has been partially excavated on numerous occasions in the past. Georgia, along several other students, depicts



A modern funerary monument in the old cemetery of Thebes: palmette *akrotirion*. (Photo by A. Dakouri-Hild.)

a combination of the legendary seven gates of the city, an amphitheater (evoking a largely destroyed classical theater once located to the east of the citadel), a contemporary statue of the ancient Theban general Epameinondas, and Ionian columns in the city square (Fig. 22). One student includes a number of churches on the map, representing an era curiously absent from the other drawings. Some students do away with our map



FIG. 16 A modern funerary monument in the old cemetery of Thebes: Oedipus and the sphinx. (Photo by A. Dakouri-Hild.)

and choose to depict freestyle twin peaks, alluding perhaps to the 'seven hilled Thebes' of the legends. Giorgos depicts a three-dimensional view of Thebes, complete with tower gates, fortifications, Greek-columned temples without any reference to the present-day city (Fig. 23). Other children opt to depict the Delphoi shrine instead (a site located more than 100 km away from Thebes, but popular with local school field trips).

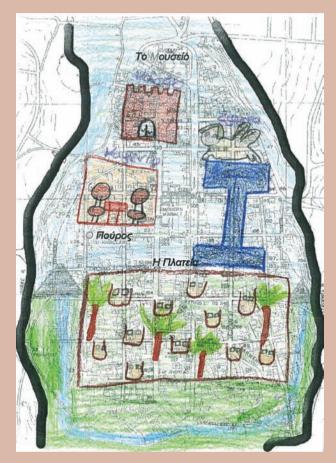


FIG. 17 Maria's drawing. (Courtesy of the authors.)



FIG. 18 Vangelis's drawing. (Courtesy of the authors.)



FIG. 19 Anastasis's drawing. (Courtesy of the authors.)

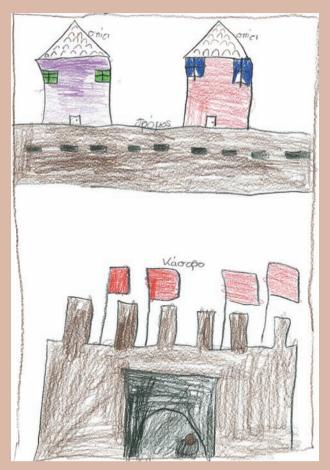


FIG. 20 Frixos's drawing. (Courtesy of the authors.)

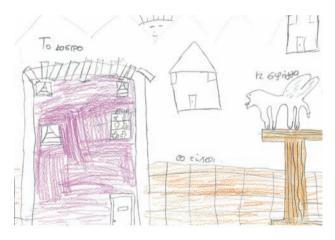


FIG. 21 Christina's drawing. (Courtesy of the authors.)



FIG. 23 Giorgos's drawing. (Courtesy of the authors.)

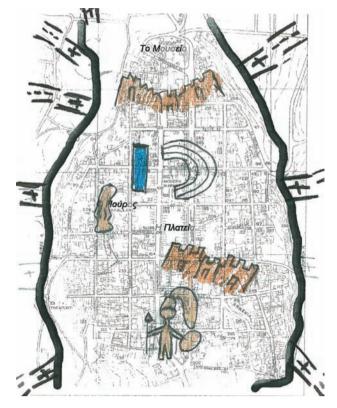


FIG. 22 Georgia's drawing. (Courtesy of the authors.)

The children's responses reveal constellations of ideas, perceptions, and beliefs that are inspired by a number of different sources, including:

- Generic knowledge of Greek myth (and the Theban cycle specifically) taught initially at school and through the family environment, such as the Sphinx.
- Knowledge of natural landscape or legendary features of Theban topography via the myth or the Greek literature, such as the gates, hilliness, and rivers of Thebes (none of which present themselves obviously in the Theban landscape today).
- Generic 'ancient' imagery, typically associated with classical antiquity (temples, Ionian capitals, etc.) and known to the children through field trips, etc. at characteristic and better preserved 'type sites' (e.g., Delphi); this imagery, consistent with the national imagination, can be cross-fertilized with Medieval (crenelated castles, etc.) or Byzantinerelated themes, but excludes more controversial eras (such as the Ottoman period).
- Personally experienced/witnessed physical architectural and archaeological remains, such as

the Frankish tower and part of the Kadmeion (in situ pots, 'Treasury Room').

- Fragmentary remains (such as parts of gate structures and the amphitheater) that do not survive well and are known to the public via detailed archaeological and topographic work, accessible to students by means of museum narratives.
- Personal memories of trenches, digging, excavation seen around the city (some misunderstood as 'mazes'; others possibly identified 'pyramids' in line with local imaginaries); corroborated by accounts of the immediate social environment (family/ neighborhood).
- Archaeological 'metaspaces,' such as the museum itself (as 'pot house') and animations/ representations of prehistoric spaces in museological exhibits (Hellenic Kosmos Cultural Center at Athens visuals, see references).
- Contemporary readings of antiquity, such as statues erected to commemorate ancient figures, and pure fantasy elements (such as caches of coins hidden in the city).

#### **Discussion and Conclusions**

Archaeological work in the region, especially in Thebes, is always a public affair in that it takes place within the fabric of local communities. Excavations are visible from the street levels of the city. Frequently, archaeological excavations entail closure of streets and diversion of traffic. They can take place in the busiest, most socially important parts of town, such as the main square, the pedestrianized zone of the city (Epameinondou Street) and other key streets, where most coffee shops, bars, restaurants, shopping, banking and government offices are located. Even when they occur in the suburbs or more regional sites, excavations are monitored, scrutinized, and discussed by the locals. Even the casual presence of 'professionals' at a plot attracts attention and questions, sometimes in the spirit of curiosity and helpfulness, other times expressing angst. When a new, recent topographic study of the Theban cemeteries was undertaken, a frequent question asked was: "What are you looking for here? Are you planning to excavate?" Thus, archaeology is under the curious or critiquing gaze of the public, as much as the city is under the protective or supervisory gaze of archaeology (in terms of development works and building activity; see Moshenska 2013).

Putting aside personal inspiration from antiquity in the form of the previously described reception examples. there is some disconnect between the glorified, mythologized, imagined, selectively appreciated past on one hand, and the past that projects itself into contemporary life on the other. There are two main reasons for this. Firstly, even though ruins can be seen everywhere, the unavoidable configuration of rescue excavations, the fragmentation of physical remains in plots, and the incredible complexity of a place that has been inhabited for 5,000 years, makes the ancient cityscape difficult to wrap one's mind around without specialized knowledge. The setting of excavations in the city itself shapes the perceptions of the past as 'other' (fragmentary/ below/ dead/ ancient/ unknown/ complex/ for everyone) next to the present (complete/ above/ living/ everyday/ known/ simple/ for specialist). Secondly, to the minds of some community members, archaeological sites can be liabilities, obstacles in the way of construction projects and economic development, rather than opportunities for learning, exploration, and reflection about local heritage. The very nature of rescue archaeology presents difficulties in the direction of public relations: archaeological work can be regarded as disruptive, a hassle, and potentially threatening of property.

Despite the prominence of antiquity in the public imagination, those who dislike archaeology have learned to ignore it for the most part. But even members of the community who have an interest in antiquity tend to get used to the ancient vistas: even the most exciting sight, gazed upon on a daily basis, can become routine and eventually escape mindful attention. It is when people are prompted, questions are asked, and archaeological work is witnessed, that the past flares up in collective consciousness. In this regard, the reopening of the local museum has been instrumental in cultivating and maintaining public interest in Boeotian cultural heritage, as well as breaking down knowledge barriers between lay and academic/professional audiences. Meaningful encounters with antiquity, such as the ones discussed earlier, are structured and enabled by educational programs of notable sophistication and success thanks to the diligent efforts and dedication of museum staff. These efforts are all the more impressive and commendable given the recent financial crisis and chronic lack of resources affecting the Archaeological Service as a whole.

Overall, stories about the past, whether official or community-derived, make archaeological finds 'real,' connecting them with specific needs and desires in the community. The measure of success for a publicarchaeology program is not whether it manages to instill a single hegemonic discourse, but whether it provides a structure within which the different 'colors' of the past can come to the fore (Holtorf 2012). The ideational/ humanized/cognized landscape of Boeotia, informed by material remains and literary representations alike, is both a source and a destination for signification, charged with unique imaginative meaning (Knapp and Ashmore 1999; Dakouri-Hild 2016) by present-day inhabitants of the Boeotian landscape, ranging from the mythical and legendary, to the official and national, and even to purely imaginary, mystical and alternative. These 'flavors' are clearly inspired by archaeological work in part, but are also deeply ingrained in popular perceptions and imagination about the past.

#### Note

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