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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

School of Humanities

**UNESCO's World Heritage Sites as Landmarks of Identity in the
Balkans.
Global Perceptions –National/Local Reflections**

by

Panagiota Pantzou

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

October 2009

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES

Doctor of Philosophy

UNESCO'S WORLD HERITAGE SITES AS LANDMARKS OF IDENTITY IN

THE BALKANS: GLOBAL PERCEPTIONS- NATIONAL/LOCAL

REFLECTIONS

by Panagiota Pantzou

In light of globalisation, many theorists have foreseen the imminent end of both nationalism and cultural intimacy. Some scholars claim that the global forces are resulting in a growing homogenisation, whereas others suggest that identity formation will become increasingly fragmented. Nevertheless, presently nationalism appears to be a continued driving force and the role of cultural heritage in identity politics appears to be augmenting. By exploring the ideological and practical aspects of UNESCO's World Heritage Convention through its materialisation: the World Heritage Sites (WHS), I address the interplay between the global, national and the local realms in an effort to examine the values of the remnants of the past, the ever-evolving character of national imagination and the transcending nature of local conceptions of the 'self' and the past. Despite UNESCO envisioning WHS as representative examples of 'humanity's shared past', I argue that on both local and national level, WHS are imbued with several layers of meaning, operate as landmarks of diverse identities, and occasionally serve conflicting purposes. By integrating the local realm in the dialectic, the intention is to juxtapose local readings of identity and heritage with national narratives and global concepts, and investigate their discursive and practical (in)compatibility.

Case studies explored in this study are drawn from the Balkans, a region that has become a centre of academic and public interest -particularly after the conflicts of the past two decades- in fuelling the burgeoning discussion on nationalism and politics of the past. The WHS of Butrint (Albania), Troy (Turkey) and Vergina (Greece) offer the raw material for a thorough analysis of archaeology's role in the politics of identity in a global context. They allow an exploration from a national and local perspective by stressing the multiplicity of meanings and values of the past and the new apparatuses of imagination.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Panagiota Pantzou

declare that the thesis entitled

**UNESCO's World Heritage Sites as Landmarks of Identity in the Balkans.
Global Perceptions- National/Local Reflections**

and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- none of this work has been published before submission.

Signed:

Date:.....20/10/2009.....

Acknowledgments

This project would not have been possible were it not for the help and support of many people. The A. S. Onassis Foundation and the A. G. Leventis Foundation provided generous financial assistance through all stages of this research and made this thesis possible at first hand. My supervisor Dr. Yannis Hamilakis and my advisor Professor Timothy Champion have provided continual support, help and (constructive) criticism since the very beginning of this thesis.

Given the wide geographical and thematic scope of this research, the list of those people to whom I am grateful is long. First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Richard Hodges, scientific director of the Butrint Foundation for his continuous support and generous help. My work in Albania would have been impossible without his help and the indomitable assistance and hospitality of all members of the archaeological team of the Butrint Foundation (East Anglia Project Team) within the borders of Albania and beyond. I would like to thank especially Elenita Roshi, Daniel Renton, Oliver Gilkes, Albana Hakani. Thanks must also go to Professor Ilir Gjipali, Ilia Papa, Dhimiter Çondi and especially Eduard Sehi for sharing with me their experience of conducting archaeology in Albania. From CISP, I would like to express my gratitude to Stephanía Petrosillo and particularly to Tani and Aldi, who acted as my translators and cultural advisors, and facilitated my research to the greatest extent. But many thanks are also due to the locals from Ksamili, Vrina, Mursia, Xarra and Shen Deli for letting me “intrude on their world”. Sophia, Barjam, Anusa, Vasileios, Periklis, Eduart, Tani thank you.

In Turkey and Greece, I also received help from a number of people and institutions who deserve to be mentioned. In Troy, the site’s mysteries were revealed to me through the narrations of late Professor Manfred Korfmann. Thanks are also due to all members of the Project Troia archaeological team and especially to Peter Pavuk and Gulsun for welcoming me to Troy during my short stay. In Greece, I would like to thank Professor Panagiotis Faklaris, Professor Chryssoula Saatsoglou-Paliadeli and the Dr. Aggeliki Kottaridi for sharing with me their passion and insight in regard to the values of Vergina. I would like also to thank all members of UNESCO’s Greek National Commission, as well as the staff of the libraries of the French and the British School at Athens.

This journey would have not been complete without my short internship in the World Heritage Center in Paris. In particular, I am grateful to the team of the East Asia and Pacific Unit which made my work in the WHC a memorable experience. Thanks must go to Giovanni Boccardi, Lise Sellem, Feng Jing, Junhi Hann, Ali Tabbasatum, Marcos Garcia, Laura Frank, Fujio Ichihara, Francesco Bandarin and Kyung Hoon Yi for sharing my interest in World Heritage and for their enthusiasm and support of the research presented here. Their assistance nevertheless went beyond that, and I am indebted to all for their friendship and perseverance. I would like also to thank Peter Stott and Anastasia Tzigounaki for their guidance and help during my first visit to UNESCO and ICOMOS in 2005, as well as Jose Garcia from the ICOMOS Documentation Centre in Paris for his assistance. Finally, many thanks should go to Sabrina, Luba, Chyi, Nick, Junko, Raheel, Souhila, Nadia, and Fabian for welcoming to the Center.

Without a doubt, many of the ideas found within this thesis have developed out of conversations with other archaeologists, heritage managers and scholars. I would like to thank especially Dimitris Papadopoulos, Laura McAttackney, Niall Finneran, Christopher Wilson, Christopher Young, Kerem Öktem, Güneş Duru, Stelios Lekakis, Joannita Vroom, Peggy Sotirakopoulou, Susan Keitumetse, Niels Andreasen, Dimitris Plantzos and again Giovanni Boccardi and his team. I am grateful also to Krysta Ryzewski, Dimitris Papadopoulos, Laura McAttackney, Yannis Vovos, Katerina Stefatos, Richard Hodges, Artemis Lychriti and Eleni Voulgari who have commented on various drafts of this thesis and have provided insightful remarks.

For general emotional and intellectual support I would like to thank my family and friends who made this experience more enjoyable and fulfilling. Yannis, Nefeli and Alexandros, Katerina and Dimitris, Maria, Vanja and Matthias, Athina, Maen, Luisa, Anna, Anastassia, Jon, Pagona, Renaud, Sabrina and Nico, Voula, Nikos, Liana, Nancy and Spiros. In particular, I would like to thank all past and present residents and friends of Upper S. 112, the Bee's, honorary or not, and the Chachalis' and Sarbanis' families for all these moments of laughter and distraction from my thesis.

Moreover I wish to offer my sincere thanks to all those friends in Cambridge that supported with enthusiasm my decision to engage in this research when still a master student. Hence, many thanks should go to Vanja Tepavcevic, Dusan Boric, Evi Margaritis, Alkis Dialismas and Eliana Martini, Thodoris Zygouris, Maen Tabari, Tanja Kranjac, Marco Cariglia, Anna Rozenberg, Susan Keitumetse, Krysta Ryzewski, Han-

Peng Ho, Laura McAttackney, Alex Ward, Hilary Soderland and Radu Iovita. I would like also to express my deep gratitude to Mary Stubbington from the Graduate Office (University of Southampton) for her patience, assistance and understanding through all these years.

Finally I would like to dedicate this thesis to my parents (Litsa and Thanasis), Yannis, my brother (Aris), grandmothers (Athanassia and Nota), and to the memory of my two grandfathers Dimitris and in particular Aristeidis for sharing with me his passion about the past, and issues of identity and memory.

Abbreviations

AHM	Archaeological Heritage Management
ARM	Archaeological Resource Management
AUTH	Aristotle University of Thessaloniki
BF	Butrint Foundation
BNP	Butrint National Park
CISP	Comitato Internazionale per lo Sviluppo dei Popoli
CRM	Cultural Resource Management
EU	European Union
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
ICOMOS	International Committee of Monuments and Sites
ICUN	The World Conservation Union
IoA	Albanian Institute of Archaeology
IoM	Albanian Institute of Monuments
GNTO	Greek National Tourism Organisation
MoC	Ministry of Culture (Hellenic)
MCYS	Ministry of Culture Youth and Sports (Albanian)
MCT	Ministry of Culture and Tourism (Turkish)
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Natural, Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation
WB	World Bank
WH	World Heritage
WHC	World Heritage Center
WHS	World Heritage Site

Foreign quotations (from written or oral sources) are translated into English by the author (P.P).

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In 1972, UNESCO's Committee adopted the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* in an effort to "encourage the identification, protection and preservation of cultural and natural heritage around the world considered to be of outstanding value to humanity" (source <http://whc.unesco.org/en/about/2009> [Accessed 23/04/2009]). Since then, 186 States Parties have signed the convention and 890 properties,¹ of which 704 are cultural and mixed (both cultural and natural), have been inscribed in the World Heritage list. The philosophy of the World Heritage convention is reflected on the World Heritage emblem (Figure 1.1): "The central square is a form created by man and the circle represents nature, the two being intimately linked. The Emblem is round, like the world, but at the same time it is a symbol of protection" (UNESCO 2008:68).



Figure 1.1 The World Heritage emblem.

Nowadays the emblem is omnipresent within cultural tourism, the heritage and public domain. It appears in stamps, tourist leaflets, websites, publications, brochures, road signs, maps, souvenirs, tourism campaigns, hotel prospectus materials and local food products (Figure 1.2). In a way, it operates as a *sign*, a symbolic marker in the spirit of Barthes' (1978) definition of semiology.



Figure 1.2 Stamp from the Solomon Islands showing the World Heritage emblem.

Its highly symbolic value, which is going to be examined in Chapter 5, seems to be a direct corollary of the successful integration of World Heritage Sites (WHS) in the public imagination and of their increasing ideological power (World Heritage cultural properties are the focus of this study). Although the discussion on the role of WHS and the implication of the concept of World Heritage stems from a critical appraisal of the management/conservation challenges and the limitations of the 1972 Paris convention (e.g. Ashworth 1997; Evans et al. 1994; van der Aa 2001), it has lately developed into a rather holistic approach towards the multidimensional role of these properties. A great deal of the discourse moves beyond management and protection issues, and touches upon the highly politicised role that the WH nomination and subsequent designation play. Such reflections on the impact of WH listing evoke that the significance of the convention is not limited only to the realms of protection, conservation and heritage management. Recently, academics (from various fields), heritage managers and cultural experts have opened a debate on the escalating role of WHS in the politics of identity.

While the interest in the ideological and political power of the WH convention increases, the archaeological discussion on issues of identity continues to evolve around the new reality of the politics of the past in a global context (e.g. Hamilakis 2000; Kane 2003; Meskell 1998). Despite the archaeological interest in globalisation being relatively recent, the phenomenon is a rather complex set of processes (Giddens 1999:12), which has been intensified in the last fifty years despite its existence being as old as capitalism and colonisation. In the light of global developments, many foresee the end of ethnic conflicts and the emergence of cultural pluralism, while others believe

that globalisation will lead to the strengthening of nationalism, and speak of the ever-changing character of identity formation. Taking under consideration the above conflicting views, WHS are approached here as a platform where one can observe identity formation and current politics of belonging at a global, national and local scale. More specifically, this thesis engages with the politics of identity from an archaeological perspective. It examines the operation of UNESCO WHS within the dynamics of the politics of archaeology and identity, and their role in the dialectic between global, national and local realms. This study will draw from the geographical and historical region of the Balkans in this regard.

Archaeology, which engages with the study of the material past, is at the core of the politics of identity. Identity formation is a process that requires “signatures of the visible” (Appadurai 2001:44). Monuments and archaeological sites as “signatures of the visible” are frequently employed in the narratives of national imagination. The connection between people and material culture is not reduced to the above. Gosden and Marshall (1999:169) emphasise that “as people and objects gather time, movement and change, they are constantly transformed, and these transformations of person and object are tied up with each other”. On this basis, in the course of their biography, monuments and archaeological sites have their meaning negotiated and their status transformed.

This thesis, in an attempt to illustrate the complexity of the politics of identity and the role that the past plays in the present in view of global actualities, focuses on sites that hold World Heritage (WH) status, as a means of exploring a significant shift in the value and meaning of a site and a monument. Even though the WH status is not a norm for all archaeological sites, in recent times WHS have become so widely acknowledged and welcomed by the public and scholars alike, that their study is deemed essential. The case studies covered here are: Butrint in Albania, Vergina in Greece, and Troy in Turkey (Figure 1.3). More concretely, Butrint is placed at the heart of this study, whereas the other case studies are to be utilised as complementary material (for justification of Butrint’s centrality see Chapter 4). All three sites figure in the WH list and are located in the Balkan region. It is important to clarify, however, at this point, that this research neither aspires to be a quantitative analysis of WHS and of the WH convention, nor to explore all WHS lying within the geographical region of the Balkans, acknowledging that the aforementioned three sites represent only 10 percent of the Balkan WHS.



Figure 1.3 Location of the WHS of Butrint, Troy and Vergina.

The selection of these WHS from the same geopolitical area is clearly not unintentional. This decision mirrors the shift in the Balkans' significance from a geographical region to a "powerful symbol" (Todorova 1994:8) and to an "object of coherent body of knowledge" (Bjelić 2002:4). More precisely, this choice is inspired by the political and scholarly interest that the Balkans has attracted in the last decades with respect to nationalistic manifestations and its characterisation as a highly contested area. Hence, it is an important case study for the examination of manifestations of nationalism through the appropriation of the past and negotiation of archaeological interpretations in a changing world. Furthermore, the choice has been influenced by these sites having existed before the emergence of nation-states and the demarcation of national borders. Originally they were probably culturally related to different ethnic groups and identities rather than the ones they belong to now. The Balkans is a region where several diverse cultural entities have coexisted and

interacted in the past and present. Finally, a benefit of this study is that it proceeds to a comparative analysis of diverse sites, thereby overcoming the limitations of a single-site research. Each selected site represents a landmark of national identity, which holds a special place in the national rhetoric. Even though Butrint monopolises this study, given the abundance of material and available sources (see Chapter 4), such a comparative approach is deemed valuable here, since I believe that Balkan nationalisms operate interdependently. In saying this, I mean that the construction of the “self” is made in opposition to some “other” or many “others”, especially given that Balkan identities have been moulded under interrelated geopolitical and socio-historical conditions. On this ground, Butrint’s -the main case study- WH status is examined in terms of its positioning in Albanian national ideology and in neighbouring nationalisms, whereas insightful analogies will also be drawn between Albanian nationalism and Greek and Turkish national ideologies respectively.

This chapter has endeavoured to highlight the rationale and the potential issues dealt with in this thesis. During the process of investigation and analysis throughout the course of this research study, however, a series of questions -both specific and broad- are addressed, including *inter alia*:

- What is the global value of these WHS?
- What is their national and local significance?
- Is the *outstanding universal value* of a WHS compatible with its national and local value?
- What are the motives behind the listing of WHS?
- Does the listing reflect nationalistic aspirations?
- Do these sites operate as landmarks of identity?
- How has the nomination affected the biography and the status of these sites?
- Have they acquired new symbolism and meaning?
- What was the sites’ status before the nomination, including their national and local importance?

Before proceeding to a brief presentation of the outline of the chapters to be included in the thesis, I would like to emphasise another important aspect of this research. Agreeing with Tilley (1994), I would suggest that the spatial should not be

seen separately from the temporal. In this sense, this research endeavours to examine the biography of these case studies also before and after their designation as WHS. The aim is to elucidate their values as well as the impact of the listing in terms of interpretation and representation at a global, national and local level. This is especially important as the WH status is seen here as a significant stage in the biography of sites and monuments. The concept of cultural biography (e.g. Gosden and Marshall 1999; Kopytoff 1986) is central to this research, on the basis that it is crucial not to treat sites merely as “archaeological” sites and conceptualise their past in an archaeological understanding of time and space. Moreover, this thesis aspires, especially through the case study of Butrint, to move beyond the national and the global realm and to incorporate local voices. A bottom-up approach in combination with a top-down method of inquiry is essential in a holistic examination of nationalism, the politics of identity and the influential role of WHS. For this reason, when possible I shall explore site identity through individuals’ identity, employing ethnographic research methods.

This thesis comprises nine chapters, with this introduction to the topic being the first chapter. The second chapter, through a review and analysis of current and past academic discourse, will be an examination of the main ideas that structure this study including: the politics of the past, nationalism and globalisation. Each of these concepts/subjects is examined separately and in combination with each other. In the last section, I endeavour to explore their correlation and interplay in order to engage with the burgeoning discussion in the field of archaeology and social studies in consideration of global realities. The ultimate aim of this chapter is to position my research within the present archaeological discourse and unfold its conceptual basis.

Chapter 3 seeks to highlight the theoretical framework upon which this thesis is organised. Value theory is placed at the heart of this study, since it is the contention of this thesis that it can effectively shed light on the mechanisms and processes operating at all levels of identity formation and of the archaeology-nationalism nexus. At another level, the concept of value can serve to present and stress the shifts of significance in a site’s biography, as well as the multiple layers of meaning attached to it through space and time and especially when acquiring the WH status. This study, as explained above, hopes to move beyond official readings of the past and embrace also idiosyncratic views, as held by both individuals and communities, these be archaeological or local. To this end, some of the most prominent and influential theories on value are assessed and a new value approach, tailored to the needs of this study, is proposed.

The next section, Chapter 4, summarises the main modes of conducting research. Ethnography is centrally placed along with several tools, such as archival research, participant observation and questionnaires, which are all held as essential for mapping the value of the past at all levels and realms. This chapter also provides a detailed list of methodological procedures and strategies in order to justify the selection of a multi-sited methodology and of Archaeological Ethnography as modes of inquiry.

In the fifth chapter, the operation of UNESCO as a means of creating meaning at a site, the symbolic power of the WH convention and the values of WHS are delineated and analysed. Examples are drawn from different geographical regions seeking to explore the impact and function of the convention not only at an ideological and political level, but also with regard to management and representation issues. In the sixth chapter the historical and socio-political background of my region of study is provided. Divided into two sections, this chapter aims primarily at presenting the ongoing discussion regarding the Balkan area through historical and archaeological texts. In the second section, having as a starting point the period of the rise of Balkan nation-states, the processes of national identity formation are highlighted. By concentrating on these formative years in the biography of the Albanian, Greek and Turkish nation-states, the interplay between archaeology and nationalism is unfolded and the reasoning behind the selection of this region as the setting of this research is given.

Chapter 7 explores all the phases in the biography of the WHS of Butrint. The aim is to juxtapose its *outstanding universal value*, as declared by UNESCO with its national and local importance through an analysis of primary and secondary data collected through interviews, participant observation, archival research, questionnaires and web search. Issues of management and interpretation will be touched upon, particularly in relation to the ideological and symbolic implications of the WH listing of the site. At another level, the national significance of the site and the myths linked to its biography will also serve to explore the reasoning behind its inclusion in the WH list. Following the same framework, the role of the WHS of Vergina and Troy in the national imagination and global politics, as the Balkan counterparts is explored in Chapter 8. These two case studies operate as a comparative to the example of Butrint and work together to illustrate the role of WHS as landmarks of identity in a Balkan context.

By concentrating on the specific political and symbolic role of WHS in the Balkans, the intention of this research is to contribute to the study of the role of archaeology in the mechanisms of identity building at a global, national and local level. The hope is also to contribute to the burgeoning discussion on nationalism's new modes of expression, the actors involved in the negotiation of cultural heritage and the politicised role of WHS, foreseeing those properties' ever-increasing centrality on the political, social and cultural realm.

¹ In WH Committee's and WHC's vocabulary the term "property" is widely used in order to describe monuments and (cultural or natural) sites. Therefore, it is often used here with the same meaning.

CHAPTER 2

Politics of the Past- Politics of the Present

Politics of the past and nationalism in a global context are key concepts in this study. By clarifying the context in which these terms are employed and by demonstrating their correlation through a critical review of the existing literature, the intention is to set the framework upon which the role of WHS as landmarks of identity at a global, national and local scale is examined. At several points, examples are drawn specifically from the Balkan region, in an effort to shed light on the complex interplay between archaeology and nationalism.

2.1 Socio-politics of Archaeology

“Whatever their theoretical differences, most would agree that archaeological interpretation does not exist in a vacuum, isolated from the outside world”. (Johnson 1999:167)

At the threshold of the 21st century, there seems to be increased interest in the social and political dimension of archaeological thought and practice. Socio-politics - elsewhere presented as the Politics of the Past, Politics of Archaeology, Archaeology and Society- as a field was introduced within the realms of archaeological discipline in the early 1980s (see also Gero, Lacy and Blakey 1983; Trigger 1984; 1989) and flourished from the 1990s onwards (see Hamilakis and Duke 2007; Hodder 1997; Joyce 2003:96; Kane 2003; Meskell 1998). Nevertheless, irrespectively of the term used, this field moves beyond the mere analysis of data and period-classification. It is concerned with the discipline’s social role and the politics, hidden or not, involved in the use of archaeological data, its interpretation, as well as the very process of excavation and research. But how did this concern over the political and social aspect of archaeology arise?

It seems that the first traces of awareness regarding the socio-political role of archaeology date much earlier than the accounts of the use of archaeological data for nationalistic purposes in the 1980s and mainly the 1990s (see below 2.2.2). Clark (1939; 1957) is widely regarded as the first archaeologist to discuss the social and political

value of archaeology. Already, in the 1940s, some fellow academics welcomed his work with enthusiasm. For Eiseley (1941:112), Clark by engaging with “the effects of dictatorship and nationalism upon archaeology”, succeeded to present the public and scholars “with a living science”, in this way justifying the title of his book, which was *Archaeology and Society* (see also in the *English Historical Review* J. N. L. M. 1942). Clark himself was deeply moved by the reactionary times he was living. In the preface of the 3rd edition of his book, he noted that, “the final chapter of Archaeology and Society was written in the angry era of Fascists, Nazis, and Stalinists- and revised during the hardly less difficult era that followed the end of the war” (1957:8).

I want, however, to push the date further back than 1939. In 1924, Ugolini the Italian archaeologist and excavator of Butrint in the introduction of one of his monographs on Malta (unpublished unfortunately) appears aware of the complex nexus between archaeology and society. “There is another element” he writes, “that of the political which must not intrude on the peaceful field of science” (as cited in Gilkes 2004:45). Another early example of “scholarly responsiveness” comes from the field of geography. In 1894, Brodrick (1894:405-407) and other geographers, in an article on the *Geographical Journal* say on the political dimension of their work: “To remove this approach from the Balkan Peninsula, we as Englishmen are particularly qualified. While we have not the obstacle of direct political interests, we have the advantage of the sympathetic friendships of the peoples”. In both cases, the firm belief in “scientific truth” and the need to treat science separately from politics are apparent and clearly indicative of these scholars’ era.

As my research on the archaeology of the Balkan region, and especially of Albania, Greece and Turkey indicates, several archaeologists working in the area appear extremely aware of the political implications of the past, already much earlier than the emergence of the Politics of the Past as an object of discourse and as a sub-discipline. For instance, the English historian Hammond (1976:127-132) in the proceedings of the first colloquium (1972) on the Illyrian studies in Tirana, alert of the political dimensions of cultural heritage for the Hoxha regime, does not compromise his academic views to please his hosts. He firmly supports his opinion and challenges nationalistic arguments on the Illyrianess of the modern Albanian lands (see also Hammond 1989a:295). Similarly, in 1979, Wilkes on a review of a Serbian historian’s book on Illyrians underlines the close tie between Albanian archaeology and Albanian nationalism (1979:175). Almost a decade later, the English archaeologist Harding

(1992:27), commenting on Albanian archaeologists' stance towards his interpretations of the archaeological material, says:

"Albanian archaeologists have criticised this skepticism [about identifying everything as Illyrian] on my part before, and will no doubt do so again: but they do not from any reasoned critique of the theoretical foundations of the role of the material culture, but from a powerful -and understandable- wish to see the evidence legitimising a specific, and politically necessary viewpoint."

Hammond's, Harding's and Wilkes' position towards deliberate actions to politicise the past reflect the evolving attitudes pertaining to the political role of archaeology. Obviously, several scholars over the course of years have moved from a strong belief in the objectivity of the past, to a reflexive positionality. It is accepted that Post-processualism dragged archaeology out of its scientific isolation and made possible the idea of socio-politics (see Díaz-Andreu 2001:438; Hicks 2003; Meskell 1998:6; cf. Bintliff 1991;1993). During the same period, the war in Yugoslavia, political actualities of oppression such as Apartheid and excluded voices from the discipline such as indigenous groups and gender narratives further raised archaeologists' awareness of their political and social responsibilities. However, I would like to stress that socio-political awareness is not attributable only to those archaeologists who embrace Post-processualism, nor should one strictly identify "post-processual" archaeologists as its only conscious practitioners. As it has been shown through the examples drawn from the Balkans, archaeologists appear to have been largely aware of the political dimension of archaeology and their endeavours. Undoubtedly, the systematic study and the institutionalisation of the field of Socio-politics occurred only in a specific time-frame. In fact, archaeology has moved to postmodern thinking following developments that other disciplines, such as anthropology have undergone earlier (on Post-processualism and Postmodernism see Johnson 1999: 162-175).

2.2 Nationalism and Archaeology-Archaeology and Nationalism in a Nutshell

Nationalism has been at the heart of the majority of debates about the social and political role of archaeology and whenever the past "becomes prey" for nationalist conflicts and agitation, concern arises again. It is, as Kane (2003:1) remarks, "one of the

most controversial topics in the late 20th century practice of archaeology". Bearing this in mind, in the following sections, the intention is to set the theoretical framework within which manifestations of nationalism in light of global actualities are understood and examined by presenting and analysing the existing literature, both archaeological and non-archaeological. It is within this context that a further definition of nationalism is attempted.

2.2.1 Mapping the Nation: Influential Theories on Nationalism

In the 1980s and 1990s, several of the most influential theories pertaining to the birth of the nation and the rise of nationalism were developed within the field of history and social studies. It was also at this time that discussion regarding the correlation between archaeology and nationalism flourished (see section 2.2.2). Prominent theoreticians such as Gellner (1983), Hobsbawm (1990), Anderson (1983; 1991) and Smith (1999; 2001a), laid the foundation on which nationalism debates were and are articulated. In relation to the above scholars and other expressed theories, one can discern four approaches: the *primordialists*, who consider the nation to be rooted in kinship ties and sometimes genetic similarities (e.g. Grosby 1995; 2005; van den Berghe 1995; 2005); the *modernists* who locate the conception of the nation and nationalism in modernity, pronouncing the centrality of phenomena such as the industrial revolution and capitalism in their creation (e.g. Gellner 1983; Hobsbawm 1990); the *ethno-symbolists* who advocate that albeit nationalism is an ideational product of modernity, and that most nations are indeed modern constructs, the strength of their claims for allegiance result from their being rooted in the myths and memories of actually existing ethnic communities, the *ethnies* (on ethnosymbolism see Bell 2003:68; Smith 1999:1-19; Smith 2001a:88; 2005). Finally the *post-modernist* approach focuses on representation and narration issues, exploring the apparatuses through which nationalism finds an outlet (e.g. Anderson 1991; Billing 1995). For example, Anderson's (1991) work on the role of the print media as well as of the map, census and museums, as tools of imagination was one of the first attempts to examine nationalistic apparatuses of control and identity construction. Most importantly, Anderson introduced the extremely useful - particularly when one deals with identity politics in a global context- concept of *Imagined Communities*. His conception of the nation as an imagined community, not based on face-to-face interaction and which is imagined as both inherently limited and

sovereign, illuminates new ways of perceiving “ourselves” and the “others” (*ibid.*:6). Of particular value for this study is also Anderson’s (*ibid.*:204) remark on that national narratives spring out from amnesias and oblivions. The merit of this idea is that Anderson presents the national imagination as a rather selective mechanism, based on the interplay of processes of remembering and forgetting.

Indeed, I perceive identity building as an evaluating process where fragments of the tangible or intangible past are cherished or discarded. As for nationalism’s modes of expression, archaeology -in all its expressions-, the modern media technologies such as the internet and legal frameworks such as the WH convention should be also included in recognition of their prospects as alternative institutions of power especially in light of global developments (see 2.3.1). The legal measures on the protection of cultural heritage, in particular are proposed on the basis of Carman’s (1996) assertion that law gives public value to heritage. Concerning the origins of the nation, I agree with the modernists that it is a modern construct. Yet, as for the essence of the nations, Smith’s concept of *ethnie* allows easily recognising pre-modern forms and helps to comprehend the framework within which ethnic communities occasionally imagine themselves. Of equal importance, though, for this research is the examination of the ideas articulated by the archaeologists themselves concerning the discipline and the phenomenon of nationalism.

2.2.2 Archaeology and Nationalism in Postmodernity

In archaeology, the 1990s are marked by the production of numerous publications dedicated to the study of nationalism and archaeology such as the edited books of Kohl and Fawcett (1995), Atkinson et al. (1996), Díaz-Andreu and Champion (1996), and Meskell (1998). All these books are collections of articles that endeavour to illuminate the dynamic and complex relationship between the discipline of archaeology and nationalism. Unfortunately, as for their geographical distribution with the exception of Meskell’s edition, a eurocentrism is evident in all of them due to either time restrictions or political implications (see Díaz-Andreu and Champion 1996). The purely descriptive historiography, which is highly criticised as lacking of a critical and political analysis of nationalism (Hamilakis 1996:957), is another common point. I believe, though, that in these first accounts, such a methodological line was essential, as it facilitated the better understanding of the roots of the nationalism-archaeology nexus. At a contextual level,

the centrality of the state is also a shared element in the authors' argumentation. Kohl and Fawcett (1995) regard the importance of archaeology as a state-funded enterprise, while Díaz-Andreu and Champion organise their edition around different nation-states. However, in many of these texts the role of archaeologists in archaeological processes seems absent, and occasionally archaeology is portrayed as a discipline whose data and findings are manipulated by nationalists (e.g. Ascherson 1996:ix; Kohl and Fawcett 1995). Despite these weaknesses in these first endeavours to elucidate the connection of the discipline with nationalism, however they positively paved the way for new ideas on the topic to be articulated.

Without doubt, since then studies on the close link between nationalism and archaeology have thriven, providing a fresh insight. Especially numerous articles - though often from a western perspective (on western readings of the archaeological record see Hamilakis 2007b)- are concerned with the symbolic power and national significance of the past in diverse geographical and political contexts (e.g. on Africa see Finneran 2003; on Iran, Abdi 2001; on China, Sautman 2001; on Central America, Joyce 2003; on Mexico, Castañeda 1996; on Turkey, Duru 2006; Erdur and Duru 2003; on Greece, Hamilakis 2007a; Yalouri 2001). What is however missing from the existing literature is a self-reflexive approach from the point of view of archaeologists. There have been some steps towards reflexivity recently (see Hodder 1997; 2003), but it is still a long way away. It is essential not just to critique on others' abuse of archaeological work and ideas, but mainly to engage in a self-reflexive scrutiny of our own archaeological thought and practice, and their nationalistic "nuances".

2.2.3 An Introduction to Borderland Nationalism: The Importance of Liminality and Marginality in the Making of the Nation

Borrowing part of the description of the phenomenon given by two archaeologists, Hamilakis and Yalouri (1999:115), nationalism is not a fixed programme, and as Anderson (1991:5) highlights, neither it should be considered as a political ideology, such as liberalism and fascism, but mainly seen as a complex phenomenon, a cultural system, such as religion (Anderson 1991:115), which is closely linked to the need for identity building and deeply influenced by economical, political and social transformations. In this study, nationalism is approached as a dynamic living organism that can adapt to every environment and evolve according to needs. What is, however,

the link between nationalism and archaeology? As Díaz-Andreu and Champion (1996:3) emphasise, the close tie between nationalism and archaeology is founded upon the concept of the nation. Indeed, the nation-state as political formation structures our world for more than two centuries now and constitutes the milieu within which nationalism emerges and archaeological theory and practice are moulded. More precisely, archaeology and nationalism are closely entwined because the former produces locality and provides credibility, whereas the latter often encourages, finances or controls archaeological projects (see Hammond 1989a; Harding 1992). Although nation and state are considered to be congruent for more than a century now, using Gellner's (1983) words, it is essential however to keep in mind that ethnic identities can exist separate from the existence of states (e.g. Kurdish Nationalism) and some sort of manifestations of national imagination have even occurred before the rise of nation-states (e.g. Greek case see Chapter 6).

This thesis specifically deals with modern nation-states. In particular it deals with *Imagined Communities* that aspire to be sovereign and homogenous entities. Nowadays, nation-states are established in public consciousness as bounded entities with demarcated limits. In this respect, I argue that the concept of borders is crucial for our understanding of nationalism. National borders define our world almost since the birth of nation-states in the early 19th century. But in the context of this research the concept of border does not have only geopolitical sense but also a metaphorical and ideological nuance. As it has been often stressed, national narratives are developed with regard to the dichotomy "us" and the "others", and borders unquestionably define these realms (on issues of otherness see Brown and Theodossopoulos 2004; Özkirimli and Sofos 2008). Similarly, identities, as Sutton (1998:35) remarks, in a structuralist insight, are "always relational, always defined in opposition to at least one other". Hence, national movements and nationalistic imagery emerge in opposition to and in conjunction with neighbouring nationalisms and identities. Borderlands, accordingly, must be of highly national significance, since they provide the limits of nations' imagination. On these grounds, I would like to propose that nationalism is often shaped in the periphery- in the borders. Thereby it is more appropriate to speak here of *borderland nationalism*.

The concepts of borders and marginality have been gaining ground in anthropology, but not yet in archaeology.¹ To my knowledge, only the Greek archaeologist, Papadopoulos (2005) has recently engaged with the concept of state

borders and their impact upon people and material culture from a phenomenological spatial perspective. In anthropological studies marginality is presented as a rather complex concept (Green 2005:5) and is largely imbued with a sense of ambiguity (*ibid*:4). Thus it often attains the meaning of a “periphery containing distinct people or places that have been ignored and /or oppressed, and/or misinterpreted by the centre, or as the ambiguous flotsam and jetsam of life that has been discarded, or hidden in the process by which things are made to seem clear, bounded and fixed” (*ibid*.). For instance, Karakasidou’s work (1993; 1997) on Greek Macedonia demonstrates that borderlands are subjected to intensive enculturation programmes and attract state’s interest. With regard to the Greek case, the historian Peckham (2001) also discusses the naturalisation processes triggered by the Greek nation-state in the 19th and early 20th centuries and the prominence of the concept of “frontier” in the politics of place. What is though of interest for this study is that a great number of these studies address issues of identity formation on these fluid regions (see De Rapper 2004; Donnan 2005:70; Karakasidou 1997; Myrivili 2003; Vereni 2000b). Within the spectrum of this research, borderlands are also examined in relation to processes of national imagination and identity building, and not as mere geographical areas occupied by minorities and groups. Although the understanding of borderland areas is highly facilitated through the current discourse on marginality, the term liminality is considered in many instances more suitable. Liminality, from the Latin word *līmen*, meaning “a threshold”, expresses perfectly the ambiguity of borderland areas (for an alternative use of the term see Turner 1979). I agree with Fleming (2000:1232) that, “to be ‘liminal’, after all, is to be between (and overlapping) two (or more) domains, while to be marginal is merely to be at the edges of one”. Overall marginality, liminality and the idea of borderland nationalism are embraced in an effort to address processes of identity formation through a selective signification of the material manifestations of the past. However, in the context of this research these terms/concepts often acquire a metaphoric nuance and transcend materiality and geographies.

2.3 Politics of Identity in a Global Context

“Globalisation may not be a particularly attractive or elegant word. But absolutely no one who wants to understand our prospects at century’s end can ignore it”. (Giddens 1999:7)

Far from being ignored, globalisation is omnipresent and makes “its effects felt upon us” (Giddens 1999:7). Nationalism and archaeology, thus, cannot be seen independently of global actualities. Fortunately, during the last decades, the number of articles and books dealing with globalisation has increased enormously (e.g. Bentley 1998; Ellwood 2001:12; Hobsbawm 1996:262; Stiglitz 2002:ix; Tehranian 1998). Regardless if the concept is employed within different contexts and with various nuances, the question that dominates most discussions and surfaces in recent archaeological discourse, is whether the phenomenon leads us either to homogenisation, to nationalistic agitation (e.g. Demertzis 2003:350,451; Riggs 2002:36) or even to cultural pluralism (e.g. Giddens 1999) and to new types of identities. By delineating current theories from social sciences on the impact of the phenomenon, I hope in the next paragraphs to position this research within the problematic. Before doing so, I shall clarify the primary context within which my conception of the global-national nexus has developed. The global is largely defined in relation to or in opposition to some local. Nevertheless, most scholars define the local in relatively abstract ways (see Appadurai 1999; Sassen 1998). It can simultaneously refer to nation-states, local communities, or even minority groups. I believe that it is important to discern between the global, the local and the national, since they represent separate realms. In the context of this study, by distinguishing just between global and local, it is like espousing the idea that nation-states are homogenous, and all citizens comply to the national rhetoric. For the purposes of this research, the local realm is equally important to the national, since it helps to illuminate processes of identity formation undergone at diverse levels, various actors involved in processes of valuation and evaluation, and explore the significance of the past in the global, national and local imagination.

2.3.1 Globalisation: Nationalism, Homogenisation or Cultural Pluralism?

In view of the impact of globalisation the most prominent figures of nationalism studies were foreseeing the end of the nation-state. It was thought that globalisation would leave no space for national agitation and turmoil. Hobsbawm (1990), Gellner (1983), and Anderson (1983) were preaching that no more martyrdoms, wars and conflicts would occur in the name of nationalism. However, during the last few decades, humanity faced the collapse of the communist block and a series of wars and bloodless acts for national independence. Nationalism proved to be, to many people's surprise, a persistent and driving force, which has kept and will probably keep fuelling agitation around the globe. Yugoslavia's division into independent nation-states, the break-up of USSR and others events forced theorists such as Hobsbawm (1992) to confute their earlier sayings. In consideration of the new developments, Anderson also proceeded to the publishing of a revised version of *Imagined Communities* in 1991. Almost 15 years later, on the eve of the launch of a new edition of his book, during an interview to the question "but isn't nationalism outdated in our global society? More and more people live a transnational life", he responded: "That's exactly what I don't believe" (Khazaleh 2005). For Anderson not only nationalism is very real, but its vocabulary and form have evolved, exhibiting the phenomenon's adaptability (see Anderson 2001; Khazaleh 2005).

At the same time several scholars identify globalisation with homogenisation or Americanisation as referred to by many scholars, meaning the cultural dominance and popularisation of western ways of living and consumption of ideas and products across the globe (e.g. Hamelink 1983; Mattelart 1983). For Appadurai (1996:32), however, the majority of the supporters of the idea of cultural uniformity, fail to recognise a degree of indigenisation undergone by local cultures. On the other end, holding an overoptimistic viewpoint, some scholars such as Giddens (1999) go as far as to foresee the emergence of cultural pluralism as a result of the globalised cultural, social and economical interplay. Undoubtedly, globalisation's effects cannot be reduced just to the above concepts. It is an entangled web of processes (Giddens 1999:12) that transcends all realms of life. Most notably and of value for this study as Featherstone (1995:89) remarks, "globalisation changed our way of perceiving the world and provided the means for articulating histories of up to the point excluded cultures". Nowadays people can perceive and imagine themselves not only as part of their own locality, but also as part of the whole world. They imagine themselves as a

small dot on one of the colourful patches of the globe. This imagining is facilitated by schooling, economic alliances, the new technological advancements and especially the media, this be the press, the radio, the television and recently the Internet. Under these circumstances, marginalised groups, communities and ethnicities have also gained a voice in the global arena. Unfortunately, at the same time one cannot overlook that not all the inhabitants of this planet are that privileged.

Speaking of national identities, Appadurai (1996:29) illustrates how new conditions of neighbourliness have also surfaced and emphasises that ethnicity "has become a global force, forever slipping in and through the cracks between state and boundaries" (ibid.:41). As for nationalism, as Anderson (2001:42) aptly puts it, it is no longer nationally bounded, since "electronic communications, combined with the huge migrations created by the present world-economic system, are creating a virulent new form of nationalism: a nationalism that no longer depends as it once did on territorial location in a home country". Hence not only nation-states have undergone transformations, but also nationalism appears to have acquired new modes of expression, whereas identity formation seems to have become a rather compound process, which apparently surpasses national boundaries and the limits of specific localities.

As the agendas of nation-states do not remain unaffected by global developments, one could except that the role of the past and respectively of archaeology would have evolved accordingly. In this regard, Anderson attests (2001:38) that actually "our relationship to the past is today far more political, ideological, contested, fragmentary, and even opportunistic than in ages gone by". Unquestionably, new conditions of neighbourliness and imagining exert influence on people's mental and visual communication with the past. The abundance of voices and means of visualisation allows also suggesting that the values of the past must have proliferated and the actors contemplating about it, exploiting it and asserting their authority over it, must have significantly multiplied (see Apparurai 2001; Hodder 2003). In these evolving circumstances, one cannot definitely speak of the decrease of cultural heritage's prominence in fuelling national narratives and providing the tangible link between the past and present.

Under the current social, political and economical conditions, the interplay between the global, the national and the local has been set on new ground. It is preferable that these realms are seen as complementary and not exclusive and

incompatible, as it has been highlighted frequently. Therefore, it would be better to avoid generalisations and precarious assumptions about cultural assimilation or nationalistic conflicts. The new reality, where identity formation has become a far more complex process, and at the same time easier due to modern technology probably shows that these forces can coexist.

2.3.2 Archaeology in a Changing World

Archaeologists have not been unmoved by the current circumstances. In their attempt to redefine the discipline, globalisation has been introduced into the agenda. The amount of references, however, to the phenomenon cannot be compared with the number of texts dedicated to nationalism. Indeed, it is a rather new topic in the field of the Politics of the Past. *Archaeology Under Fire* published in 1998 can serve as a starting point, since for the first time it placed the whole nationalism discourse on a global ground. It moved beyond the limits of specific localities, and suggested a global reading of nationalistic processes. Concretely, Meskell, the editor, in her preface, acknowledges the duality of global and local by recognising the importance of both realms. Not only did Meskell follow this line of approach towards national identity manifestations, but so did a number of the contributors (see Hodder 1998; Knapp and Antoniadou 1998). Hodder's perspective, for example, is quite interesting as he positioned the whole discourse about East and West in a global context. He argues that nowadays "there is a diversity of global and local experiences and responses within which cultural heritage is embroiled" (1998:135). By stark contrast, during the same period some archaeologists perceived the word global only in strictly geographical terms disregarding its political, economical and cultural parameters (e.g. Kohl and Fawcett 1995:3).

In the last decade the discussion on the archaeology-globalisation nexus has grown significantly, and most recently the terms global and globalisation appear in a great number of editions (see Andrén 1998; Appadurai 2001; Hodder 1998; 1999; Kane 2003; Silberman 2004). Accordingly the global has escaped the narrow limits of geography. It seems however, that to some extent, several archaeologists in their approach still widely endorse popular views of the phenomenon or fail to account for its political, social and cultural implications. Despite the promising title of her edited book *The Politics of the Archaeology and Identity in a Global Context*, Kane (2003), for

instance, fails to see globalisation in its real dimension. Notwithstanding, this collection of essays includes a lot of interesting reflections from scholars such as Hodder, Meskell and Joyce who properly situate archaeology in the problematic. Of value for this study are also Hamilakis' (2000) and Yalouri's (2001) contributions, which investigate modern apparatuses and modes of national identification in a global context. Hamilakis (2000:244-245) explores cyberspace as a new device for national narratives, whereas Yalouri is mostly concerned with the tension between the global and the local, as expressed through the commodification of heritage and national claims to authority over the past. More specifically, by focusing on the example of Acropolis, she juxtaposes global with local values placed upon heritage.

Not surprisingly at the core of the current archaeological discussion is the increasing sense of archaeological responsibility and issues of ownership (e.g. Hamilakis 2003b; Meskell 2002; see also Hamilakis and Duke 2007). An interesting voice from outside of the discipline is Appadurai who argues that "the spatial diffusion of identities surely complicates the field within which the work of archaeology as a national discipline by and large exists" (2001:38). Despite the cautious stance, he encourages, however the proliferation of plural appropriations of the past (*ibid.*:48), even though, at the same time, scholars such as Díaz-Andreu (2001:438), see multivocality as a global process with a critical eye. The asymmetry in the interplay between the global and the local, but also between the locals that make the global evidently shape the milieu within which archaeologists think and work. The abundance of voices is not however something new. Suffice it to say that all societies and communities (past or present), archaeological or not, around the globe have never shared the same values (archaeological and social) and have never read the past in the same way. Today, however, more than ever, archaeologists being alert of our changing world, are more prepared to embrace pluralism's prospects overcoming anachronistic perceptions towards cultural heritage.

2.4 Conclusions

Current academic discourse suggests that no space disappears in the course of growth and development (see LeFebvre 1991). In such contexts, identity formation as a process seems to have gained new forms of expressions and a new position in the dialectic

between the global, the national and the local. Accordingly cultural heritage's role in the making of identities is expected not to have been reduced, but to have evolved according to the needs of modern societies. The profusion of voices and consequently of the meanings ascribed to the past clearly signify that it is essential to map attentively the complex negotiations of identities.

Since identity, and more precisely national identity, is central to this thesis, I would like to provide briefly a description, borrowing a definition given by Smith (2001a). National identity is "the continuous reproduction and interpretation of the pattern of values, symbols, memories, myths and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations, and the identification of individuals with that pattern and heritage and with its cultural elements" (2001a:18). It is obvious that the concept of value is central in the above description. Indeed, as noted earlier, I perceive identity building as a rather evaluating process where fragments of the tangible or intangible past are treasured or concealed. Taking into consideration the nature of identities and the diverse meanings and functions of the past, value theory is placed at the core of my argument, and in the following chapter I endeavour to present the theoretical basis upon which this thesis is orchestrated. Thus by examining WHS as landmarks of identity and the WH convention as a new mode of representation, the delineation of my key themes such as nationalism, globalisation, politics of the past and value is justified and helps set the framework of this study and analysis.

¹ The concept of social boundaries has been discussed within archaeology (see Stark 1998).

CHAPTER 3

On Value

Value is a key concept in the deciphering of identity politics at a global, national and local level and in examining WHS' role in the politicisation of the past. Value is given such centrality in this study, specifically on the basis of the assertion that identity building "always involves a process of selection" (Anderson 1992:268). In this sense, fragments of the tangible or intangible past are given specific value and are employed in the formation of collective and individual identity. In such context, not only archaeology's role is indisputable, as the mediator between the past and the present, but also as a generator of value. Both in theory and practice archaeology is a highly selective process. Therefore, value theories and models lie at the heart of my theoretical approach. First I shall attempt to define the concept and outline the ongoing value debate in Economic Anthropology, Archaeology and especially in the field of Archaeological Heritage Management (AHM). The intention is to subsequently propose a new value-scheme, through a synthesis of the existing ones.

3.1 Defining Value

3.1.1 The Value Debate in Economic Anthropology

The theories on value articulated by scholars from the discipline of Economic Anthropology serve as a starting point in this analysis in recognition of their wide scope and seminal impact on archaeological thinking (e.g. Gosden and Marshall 1999; Yalouri 2001). The discourse that Malinowski (1922) and Mauss (1990) initiated, aims at exploring gift exchange practices within indigenous population of the Pacific. Even though exchange theories might appear of minor relevance here, many ideas regarding gift practices and object circulation are applicable and could help illustrate the dynamic interplay between humans and the material world.

Of importance for this study is not, however, the origin of the discussion but its development. By critiquing fellow anthropologists for drawing generalisations based on the dichotomy "us" and the "others" and examining objects' exchangeability and symbolism, Thomas (1991:23) proposes that humans rather than objects should be at

the core of the debate about gift exchange systems. In particular he emphasises the distinction between idiosyncratic and systemic processes of value that justify how each thing has potential to attain absolute value and become the object of conflicting interests. In a similar fashion, Weiner (1992), with the concept of inalienable possession -an item or object whose inalienability is a result of its exclusive and cumulative identity- seeks to readdress the whole discussion on gifts by adapting a gender approach and by clarifying misconceptions expressed by previous ethnographers such as Malinowski. Despite the merit of her ideas, I would like to challenge the exclusive character of these possessions, and also the very fact that they constitute an independent category of objects. I would rather argue that uniqueness is a relative value, context and time dependent and that those possessions' inalienability should be seen as a phase in the biography of an object or a site, suggesting that each object or site is candidate for becoming an inalienable possession. Appadurai (1986) and Kopytoff (1986) in their seminal contributions, successfully touch upon the biography of objects and the politics of value. For both, it is the object and its social life that are of major importance, rather than the various forms of exchange. Appadurai's contribution is influential, since he engages with the social context within which exchanges occur. He employs the terms *commodity* and *commoditisation* instead of gift on the basis that gift can be just a phase in an object's social life and not a distinct form of exchange as the previous scholars have proposed. As for Kopytoff, he expounds his ideas on the cultural biography of objects, aiming at highlighting the shift of value and meaning in the life of a thing.

The attempt to outline a theoretical context for the concept of value could not be definitely considered complete without the delineation of Bourdieu's and Thompson's work. The two scholars have provided the intellectual platform where a lot of the theorising on value takes place. Bourdieu (1980), the French sociologist has contributed greatly to the value debate by introducing the concept of cultural capital; a symbolic and social power that someone subtracts through prestige, honor, recognition, status or reputation. It is a concept beyond material capital, which, according to Bourdieu (ibid.:120) has the ability to make capital go to capital. Another asset of this intangible type of capital, and of particular interest for this study regarding the role of WHS, is the fact that its accumulation and exhibition is considered a very prestigious activity, a process of establishing credentials and an apparatus of difference.

Thompson (1979) with the renowned *Rubbish Theory*, is believed to have laid the foundation for the ideological development of Cultural Theory and Social Sciences in general. He offers, most importantly, an inspiring insight into valuation and evaluation through his conception of value. One of the undisputed merits of Thompson's study is that he does not perceive value as a fixed concept. In fact he endorses and celebrates its complexity. He says: "People in different cultures may value different things, and they may value same things differently, but all cultures insist upon some distinction between the valued and the valueless" (ibid.:2). In this respect, he introduces three categories of value: the *durable* (valuable objects), *transient* (valueless objects) and *rubbish* (negatively valued objects or object of no value). His intention is set out the relationship between the status, possession of objects and the ability to discard objects. Thompson's exemplary model is applicable and useful for archaeology to the extent that it demonstrates how the value of objects can decrease or increase, and they have their meaning altered. Carman (2002:169), for example, asserts that by describing the transition from rubbish to durable, we depict the transition from ancient remain to something we call heritage. This drawn analogy is insightful. Yet within the context of archaeology and heritage studies, the rubbish concept has to be approached and used charily, since objects and sites are never of no value, albeit sometimes in their biography they can be imbued with even "negative symbolic" value, as it happens for instance with places of imprisonment or convict sites. Another very interesting point of Thompson's (1979:9) theory and of potential relevance for this study is the idea that "some objects are located within a region of fixed assumptions" and on this basis "world view is prior to action". To offer an example, until the 1950s, the Cycladic figurines were deemed of no archaeological interest in a period when Greece and the western world invested principally in the Classical past. From then onwards, the rising interest in these schematic figurines' aesthetic value lifted them to objects of high artistic value and made them very collectable (see Gill and Chippindale 1993; also Sotirakopoulou 2005). Since exhibiting or collecting them has become a prestigious act and a kind of accumulation of cultural capital among museums and collectors, therefore viewing and visiting them has also become highly symbolic. Hence, the high esteem of Cycladic figurines has rather become a "world view".

The above-presented theories have exerted immense fascination on archaeological theory and have also provided the ground upon which archaeologists contemplate on the complex nexus between humans and the material world, both in

the past and the present. With a philosophical nuance, *Rubbish Theory* has managed to attract several archaeologists' attention (e.g. Carman 1996; 2002; Lowenthal 1985). Similarly, the theories of cultural biography and cultural capital have been proven valuable in scholars' effort to theorise on the fluid connection between people and material culture, and on processes of identity building (see Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996; 1999). One such example is Gosden and Marshall's (1999) theoretical perspectives on the biography of objects, which are of great value here. The two archaeologists elaborate on the existing anthropological theories and state that "the notion of biography is one that lead us to think comparatively about the accumulation of meaning in objects and the changing effects these have on people and events" (1999: 169). Borrowing Kopytoff's idea of biography, thus, they underline the mutual biographies between people and objects. Biography is a key concept within the framework of this research, since it enables me to trace processes of value ascription undergone both in space and time. In this sense, I want to propose that sites have biographies too and in the course of years and in space, they gather value and meaning (see 3.3; on the biography of monuments see Holtorf 1998; Yalouri 2001). Overall value theories can be proven a valuable device helping us not only to demystify the past or understand the present in relation to the past, but also to comprehend the nature of archaeology as such.

Archaeologists widely acknowledge that archaeology is not a value-free "undertaking" (Díaz-Andreu and Champion 1996:2). Indeed, the concept of value is omnipresent in archaeological theory and practice. I believe that regardless of whether an archaeological discussion deals with archaeological periodisation or data analysis, with conservation, representation or ownership issues, deliberately or not, it simultaneously raises to some degree issues of valuation and evaluation. Despite all this, a great bulk of the existing archaeological discussion on value derives mainly from the field of AHM, due to the growing awareness towards issues of protection and conservation.

3.1.2 Archaeological Heritage Management and the Value Debate

A large volume of the scholarly texts that deal with the analysis of the existing value trends and theories stems from the field of the Archaeological Heritage Management [Europe] (AHM), Cultural Resource Management (CRM) [USA], or Archaeological

Resource Management (ARM) [UK] (further on the issue see Carman 2002:5). Thereby, the majority of the literature concerning value has been published within the Anglo-Saxon world, that it has also served as the area from which examples are drawn. The interest in the topic emerged in the 1970s as a result of the escalating awareness pertaining to environmental issues and raising concerns regarding landscape management in view of the new developments within the legislation framework, the increase of the number of excavated sites and the considerable improvement of excavations techniques (see Moratto and Kelly 1978; see also Cajes 2001; Mathers et al. 2005). However it is only in the 1990s that the discourse on value breaks new ground. Although the discussion evolves chiefly around conservation, protection, management and subsequently legislation issues, a new conceptual and theoretical framework has been laid with Lipe's model (1984), Darvill's (1995) value systems and Carman's (1996:viii) consideration of law's role in valuing heritage. At this period, it is noteworthy that the academic discourse even touches upon matters of ethical concern (see Cooper et al. 1995:236; Pydyn 1998:97) and monetary value (see Carman et al. 1999; Cooper et al. 1995; Wheatley 1995:168).

In the wider scheme of things, Darvill (2005:22) considers the development of the field of AHM as "a consequence of modernity". In other words, the burgeoning interest in value and value assessment in the 1990s should be attributed to the conceptual changes undergone in the discipline of archaeology as a result of Post-processualism. Subsequently, nowadays and always in relation to current archaeological theory, the field of AHM envisages also a shift from a "western-gaze" on matters of importance and valuation to a more reflexive attitude towards the value or the values of the past (see Mathers et al. 2005), especially in view of their proliferation due to the immediacy and accessibility of modern media technologies.

3.2 Theorising Value

From the 1990s onwards, the concepts of value, significance and importance were much debated and discussed (e.g. Hardesty and Little 2000; Leone et al. 1992; Tainter and Lucas 1983). Aside from the differences in terms of definition, most scholars conceive value and valuation in similar ways. Most of them concur on that value is not inherent in the archaeological remains but it is attributed to them through the process

of practising and theorising archaeology (see Carver 1996; Lipe 1984:2; Schaafsma 1989; Tainter and Lucas 1983:715). For instance, Lipe (1984:2) asserts that "value is not inherent in any cultural item or properties received from the past, at least not in the same sense, as say, size or colour" and he adds that "value is learned and discovered by humans". In more recent accounts of the term, scholars accord more emphasis on the role that archaeologists play in value ascription both as processors of scientific knowledge and as social actors (e.g. Cooper et al. 1995; Darvill 1995:42; Leone et al. 1992:143). Without doubt, value is embedded in the very nature of archaeological theory and practice and archaeologists, consciously or not, are always making decisions about the value of different things. Yet as Wheatley (1995:168) insightfully comments, archaeology acquires value not only by the actions of archaeologists, but also by the interference of other interest groups.

Since value is not inherent, what meaning do archaeologists ascribe to it? I distinguish between those who reduce value to just the archaeological one, and to those who see value also in economic, social and political terms. On the one side, for Firth (1995:56), values are characterised as being archaeological and non-archaeological, and collection, science and conservation are the main realms within which the value process is activated (see also Carver 1996). On the other side, Darvill (1995) defines values on the basis of a consumption-production nexus. In recognising that "changes in values are not independent of innovations in cognitive orientations created by shifting perspectives on the social world", he seeks to place archaeological values along with other social values (ibid.:42; see also Darvill 2005). It is within the same context that Lipe (1984) conceives and presents his value scheme on different categories of value. With his model, he examines the multiple meanings and uses of cultural resources within society. He principally elaborates on how cultural resources through their materiality and durability can serve as symbols, as sources of information, as aesthetic stimulus and can be monetary exchangeable or profitable. Nevertheless, he focuses on the present and fails to mention, that cultural resources have social lives and that by moving through time they are getting imbued with value and meanings. Finally, a rather valuable insight into the issue is Carman's (1995:30) theoretical considerations on law and archaeology. He does not engage with types of value, but with the process of valuation, and how publicly recognised value is given to the archaeological material through legislation. This idea is extremely relevant for the

study scope, given that the WH convention serves as tool for the examination of the Politics of the Past in a global, national and local context.

The question of what is significant and insignificant and how this can be defined is still left unanswered. Certainly, it is rather difficult and precarious to classify something as more important than something else. However, significance is often defined in relation to insignificance, especially when conservation, protection and management needs are pressing. At this point I agree with Schaafsma (1989) and Carver (1996) on the fact that it is more appropriate to regard everything as significant until proven otherwise. For this reason, it is better to replace the negative term insignificance with the more inclusive concept of *marginal significance*, since the past, tangible or intangible, is never of no value.

Several of the above ideas and arguments examine value as a means for better management, improved archaeological practice and adequate protection of cultural heritage (see Carver 1996; Cooper et al. 1995; De La Torre 2005; Mathers et al. 2005; Schaafsma 1989; Tainter and Lucas 1983), overlooking this way its ideological power and diverse processes of signification, or excluding various actors of value ascription. Most notably, the value debate focuses attention entirely at archaeological sites. It concentrates on the archaeological value of sites from the time of their discovery, excavation and management, without taking into account a site's biography, and the social values attached to it in the course of its biography. First, I do not wish to argue that value is ingrained in the material manifestations of the past. But undoubtedly, one cannot ignore how past interpretations and social values as survived through myths, written sources or inscriptions can influence the current meaning of sites and can affect not only their protection, but also their management and representation. Second, it is important to bear in mind that many actors get involved in value ascription, apart from archaeologists and heritage managers. I would like to suggest that value is attributed to the past from every one who writes about it, interprets it, manages it, lives by it, visits it, or just contemplates about it. During recent decades, the flow of people, information and images has further multiplied the values of the past and has increased the actors involved in its signification.

As stressed earlier, it is obvious that value is not a static concept. It is dynamic, processual and deeply contextual. Hence the intention here is to fill the theoretical vacuum by proposing a more dynamic approach which takes into account the biography of sites and processes of signification of both spatial and temporal character.

3.3 A Processual and Dynamic Value Approach

Accounting for the past's multiple values and the extended web of actors involved in the evaluation and valuation of cultural heritage, the suggested theoretical scheme will hopefully contribute further to the discussion on value by proposing an approach that both explores processes of valuation in time and space, and focuses on diverse categories of value. My value scheme is built upon two basic dualisms. First, time and space are at its core and cannot be seen separately from each other. Second, inspired by Herzfeld's (1991:11) distinction between social and monumental time, according to which "social time is the grist of everyday experience, while monumental is reductive and generic, it focuses on the past -a past constituted by categories and stereotypes", I conceive value in relation to idiosyncratic and systemic forms of valuation (see above Thomas 1991; see also concepts of public and private realm Carman 1996). Therefore, I distinguish between embodied and idiosyncratic perceptions of the past, as expressed by individuals through their physical interaction with the remains of the past, and systemic views as conveyed by institutions, such as the state, ministries, local authorities, non-governmental organisations (NGO) or international organisations. It is important to clarify here that by individuals I refer to local communities, tourists (or field archaeologists) and everyone that enters into an embodied dialogue with the past and imbues it with her/his personal meaning. Hence the concepts of idiosyncratic and systemic value delineate two different processes of value ascription -not necessarily compatible- that operate both at a temporal and spatial context, signalling diverse processes of conceptualisation and signification of the past. To this end, I also introduce the mythical realm/value, which resides beyond and within the systemic and idiosyncratic realms. The mythical value shows how value can be placed upon things, even when they do not exist anymore, or even if they have never existed apart from the realms of fantasy, such as the myth surrounding the lost city of Atlantis, or the myths that fuelled European travellers' journeys to the antique lands (see Eisner 1991). Overall, this approach is based on the conception that all these forms of valuation, along with the processes and categories of values occur and operate at three levels: the local, the national and the global which at the same time function as a separate set of values ascribed to heritage.

Since the objective here is to examine what types of value are attributed to archaeological sites at global, national and local scales, and trace shifts of significance

in their biography, it is imperative to differentiate between various phases in the biography of monuments and sites. In the spirit of Thompson's (1979) *Rubbish Theory* and Appadurai's (1986) phases of commoditisation, I propose three stages in the biography of a site: a) *life*, b) *afterlife* and c) *eternal life*. The distinction of these three phases is based on the idea that the biography of a site does not start with its discovery from archaeologists. Instead a site's biography can be constantly imbued with value and meaning, as an integral part of a dynamic social and historical landscape.

First, it is essential to explain that *life* can refer to that phase in the history of a site that lasts from its creation to its destruction and discovery (if this ever occurs) or it can correspond to a continuous phase, given that some sites are never lost to waste into oblivion, such as in the case of the historic city of Jerusalem. Additionally, most proposed value models from the field of AHM deal exclusively with sites from the time they enter the archaeological or heritage realm. Thus, the objective here is to propose a more integrated and dynamic approach, that considers not only the present of a site, but also its past; not only its archaeological or official value, but mainly its more idiosyncratic significance as manifested in diverse geographical locations and various cultural contexts (see Nara Document on Authenticity 1994). Suffice it to say that some sites however may never be discovered and their *after-life* or *eternal life* may never be launched. The *afterlife* of a site commences with its discovery, exploration, study, and publication; and it gets enhanced through its protection, management, and interpretation. Nevertheless, it is proposed that several sites achieve *eternal life* by being lifted to markers of symbolic and to our case national rumination. Thus, *eternal life* corresponds to this stage in the biography of a site, when its symbolic, political, mythical, national and global significance and visual prominence hugely grow, attaining "absolute" value.

Speaking of the *eternal life* of a site might sounds like an overstatement. Yet, sites being considered as part of the heritage of mankind and treated as symbols (national or global), that there is the need to be safeguarded and protected to posterity, stand out for their monumentality and for Herzfeld (2006:129) "monumentality implies permanence, eternity, the disappearance of temporality except in some mythological sense". Nonetheless, monumentality does not entail physical permanence in all geographical contexts and cultural perspectives, since conservation practices and principles are also conditioned by spiritual and naturalistic sensibilities (on conservation through cultural survival see Stevens 1997). Furthermore, although these

properties (whose *eternal life* is triggered) are imbued with absolute value, they are not withdrawn from circulation, as Carman (2002) suggests. As a matter of fact, I would like to argue that properties' biography is continually enriched by being exchanged symbolically as *symbolic capital* (Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996) or by being treated as commodities.

A site's or a monument's value is certainly not fixed. It can decrease or alter, such as on occasions of political and societal changes, or conflicts and wars. In other words, none of the three phases should be seen as a permanent stage in the biography of a site. One conspicuous example is the case of the statue of Apollo in Delos (Greece). The Aegean island of Delos is the birthplace of god Apollo and the statue (the colossus) is its physical embodiment (see Bruneau and Ducat 1983; Bruneau et al. 1996; Hermary 1993; Hermary et al. 1996). From the 15th century onwards, travellers visited Delos and admired, through colossus, the genius of Greek art. However, many travellers inspired by it, attempted to capture the god's spirit; by sketching, engraving and cutting to pieces the Colossus. The dismembered Apollo, which in the past represented the tangible connection between travellers and antiquity, for modern tourists ceased to be a prominent feature and for most it is invisible (see Pantzou 2008). Colossus' *eternal life* ended, its symbolic value decreased and no more stands for the main reason for visiting the island, demonstrating in this manner how the past's remains can move from one stage to the other and experience value shifts.

Before proceeding to the presentation and analysis of the four types of values proposed here, it is more appropriate to describe first another set of three values/realms: the national, the local, and the global. It refers to the different spatial significance of a site and at the same time to the different agents involved in the ascription of value, such as state and local authorities, archaeologists, local communities, tourists, non-governmental or international organisations. The above distinctions mirror the proliferation of actors that openly or subtly engage with the valuation or evaluation of the past in light of globalisation. Perhaps, an archaeological site and a monument can simultaneously possess all three values, albeit to a different degree. Furthermore, this set of values mirrors the spatial dimension of the following four values: the use, interpretive, aesthetic and symbolic/political value. Inspired by Lipe's associative/symbolic, informational, aesthetic and economic values (1984), the proposed set of values aims at showing the different meanings and qualities assigned to the past. Each type is not exclusive and an archaeological material most likely can

have all of them. Nonetheless, under different circumstances, a different type of value might be promoted or projected and another concealed or not taken under consideration.

More concretely use value here refers to how a site can be "exploited" by various agents, such as archaeologists through reports and data analysis, and private, governmental and local agents for economic development, for symbolic/nationalistic or tourism-industry related purposes. In this regard it is considered that visitors and the public also make use of the sites, either by visiting them, walking around them, or even by participating in special events or programs. Within this context, archaeological sites can also operate as commodities, since they are used in the sustaining of tourism and they are often accessible only with tickets. But most importantly, local communities make use of sites and monuments, by living and working on and close to them.

The second type of value is the interpretive, which resides in all archaeological remains. What varies, however, is its meaning or use in cases where more importance is given to symbolic, use or aesthetic values. I would like to suggest that interpretive value can be ascribed by all involved actors such as local communities, archaeology students, the public, archaeologists, managers, and representatives of governmental or international organisations. Within the framework of this research, in some instances this type of value is also called archaeological value, since often the main mediators of interpretive value are archaeologists, but definitely not the only ones.

Aesthetic value is equally important and highly employed. People often think and select on the basis of something being aesthetically pleasing and unique or not. For instance, sometimes aesthetic value can dominate over archaeological and interpretive values, such as in the case of Roman and Classical sites in comparison with prehistoric sites, which are deemed less aesthetically pleasing. It is also possible that at times this type of value can be even employed to serve utilitarian purposes, such as in tourism development or in the strengthening of national pride.

Last but not least, is the category of symbolic/political value. This type of value is central to this thesis. It is a special category, as it is believed that it can appear on all phases in the biography of a site since, can strongly influence the other sets of values and many players can interfere in its ascription. For example, a site of high symbolic value is probably promoted and publicised more than other sites, is more visited by public, and authorities, and even international, governmental or local interest groups

become more involved in its decision-making and protection. To the symbolic value is also attached a more specific category of value, the mythical one. Myths play critical role in identity formation processes, either local or national (on myths as a mode of signification see Barthes 2000). Myths nourish people's imagination and can be easily deployed and manipulated without the need of any justification. In the case of national myths, monuments and archaeological sites give them material presence.

Obviously, valuation is approached here as a very complex process, which can involve many actors (apart from archaeologists), acquire many meanings and have multiple functions. Accordingly the value of cultural heritage should not be regarded as static and unitary, but variable and plural, and heavily dependent on context, especially under the current economic, social and cultural global conditions.

3.4 Conclusions

I argued here that value as a concept is heavily embedded in the nature of archaeology. In this sense, I perceive archaeological practice and theory as processes of value ascription, since archaeologists continuously through excavations, interpretation and management, attribute meaning to the archaeological record and constantly become involved in highly selective processes and dilemmas of "significance" over "insignificance". Yet a site's value is not solely archaeological.

In Chapter 2, it was proposed that in open modern societies identity building appears to be a rather compound process, nationalism's apparatuses have evolved and heritage's values have proliferated. As Boardman (2002) affirms "in the modern world" the past has developed into "a commodity of mixed value". Therefore, value ascription should not be examined only as a temporal process, but mainly as a complex mechanism which functions at multiple spatial and also temporal levels. By saying this, I mean the various actors across space and time that have interacted mentally or physically with the material manifestations of the past. The merit of this approach lies also on that by examining the biography of a site, one could possibly shed light on the biography of a nation's or community's identity. I would like to suggest that sites and monuments have identity and on many occasions several identities. Their identities evolve as peoples' identities alter. More precisely, sites are seen within the context of this research as visible landmarks of identity, whose past meaning can regulate their

present and future. As Hamilakis (2003a:59) notes, national narratives are essentially iconographic and this iconography is provided by monuments and other archaeological material. Hence, national identities are created through a thorough collection of pieces of the past and projection or concealing of their specific qualities with the objective to match up and support the national narratives and imagination.

Finally, sharing similar views with Gosden and Marshall (1999), I would like to clarify that the proposed approach is not just about archaeological remains, be it sites or artifacts, but about the complex relationship between people and the material world. Human agents give to past's remains life and constantly imbue them with meaning. Material world, in turn, exerts fascination and provides the visual signatures of imagination. Within this framework, the biography of the selected WHS is going to be unfolded in order to explore their political and social role as markers of identity, this be local, national or global. Therefore this theoretical approach serves to detect the shifts in significance in those sites' biography, and their idiosyncratic and systemic value at various spatial and temporal levels.

CHAPTER 4

Fieldwork in Postmodernity

Archaeological fieldwork is a central and integral part of the discipline, that has been tremendously influenced by contemporary discussions of archaeological reflexivity and responsibility (see Faulkner 2002; Hodder 1997; 2000; 2003). The increasing use of reflexive field methodologies indicates that the discipline is undergoing a thorough scrutiny, one that surpasses the limits of theoretical production. This was a position similarly experienced by the discipline of anthropology over a decade ago (see Clifford and Marcus 1986; Davies 1999:3). Archaeology's transition towards reflexivity is, according to Hodder (2003:55), neither delayed nor ironic. What triggered the demand for reflexivity is, in large part, archaeology's active role in the building and interpretation of identities (see Hodder 2003:56). As a matter of fact, it is archaeology's impact on modern societies that provides the justification for its evolving attitudes. Hodder (2003:56) defines reflexivity as, "initially the recognition and incorporation of multiple stakeholders, and the self critical awareness of one's archaeological truth claims as historical and contingent". Of particular interest for this study is that in contemplating reflexivity Hodder largely equates fieldwork with excavations. He asserts that archaeology does not really involve locals in the ways that anthropology and ethnography do, and respectively does not employ the same methodology. I argue against this description here, provided that archaeological fields, such as the Politics of the Past or Historical and Community Archaeology, widely employ ethnographic methods and many times do engage with purely ethnographic work (e.g. Forbes 2007; Glazier 2003; Moser 2003; Moser et al. 2002).

Archaeologists have long recognised the beneficial role that ethnography can play in archaeology, acknowledging the "resounding similarities in questions and approaches to social space" between the two disciplines (Robin and Rothchild 2002:167; see also Meskell 2007). Already from the 1970s, Ethno-archaeology (e.g. Gould 1978; 1980; Watson 1979), the study of modern communities and people for archaeological reasons, "became a standard research focus" within the discipline (Watson 1995:686). Nowadays, practitioners and scholars who practice reflexivity conduct what is known as Ethnography of Archaeology, the very act of ethnographising the archaeological practice (see Edgeworth 2006; Holtorf 2006). By

embracing the usefulness of ethnographic modes in addressing archaeological questions, I agree with Meskell (2007:384) that “there is a significant difference when archaeologists conduct their own ethnographic work” in comparison to cultural anthropologists. “This is not to say our accounts are implicitly better” Meskell (2007:384) argues, “but they are grounded in different ways”. Actually, archaeologists have basic grasp on the archaeological problematic and the discipline’s theoretical considerations, allowing them to engage more fully in deeply contextual ethnographic studies (see Meskell 2007:384). It is within this context that the concept of Archaeological Ethnography emerges. Watson was the first to use the term in 1979 in order to describe ethnographic research conducted by archaeologists.¹ In 2005 Meskell took a step further. She used Archaeological Ethnography to define a new methodological approach for archaeologists. For Meskell (2007:383), Archaeological Ethnography is a hybrid practice that encompasses “a mosaic of traditional disciplinary forms including archaeological practice, museum or representational analysis, studies of heritage, as well as long-term involvement, participant observation, interviewing, and archival work”. Most notably and of relevance to this research, Archaeological Ethnography provides the means to map the complex nature of archaeological practice and theory using society and politics, and in turn to negotiate various ways of reading the social and political character of the past. As a practice, it differs from doing Ethnography of Archaeology, since it moves beyond a mere study of archaeological interpretations and of fieldwork by incorporating examinations of the socio-political and public role of archaeology. Therefore, I believe that ethnography can efficiently operate as methodological framework for various fields within archaeology, especially those engaging with the future and present of archaeological remains.

4.1 Towards a Multi-sited Methodology

In the spirit of Archaeological Ethnography, ethnographic modes are placed at the core of my research methodology. Marcus’ notion of Multi-sited Ethnography lies at the heart of this research and lays the ground on which I conducted my fieldwork. Multi-sited Ethnography, introduced by Marcus in 1995, is a “methodological trend in anthropological research, which concerns the adaptation of long-standing modes of ethnographic practices to more complex objects of study” (1995:95). He asserts that

Multi-sited Ethnography moves out from the single sites and local situations of conventional ethnographic research designs to examine the circulation of cultural meaning objects and identities in diffuse time-space (ibid.:96). Marcus (1995:99) believes that it is through the study of the local and the concrete that truths about the world system will be revealed.

His reflection on the global-local relationship, the basis on which this study operates, is influential (see also Appadurai 1997:115). Marcus (1995:102) sees the global as having collapsed into and made an integral part of parallel, related local situations, rather than something monolithic and external to them. As far as the practical aspect of Marcus' (ibid.:105) proposed idea is concerned, multi-sited research "is designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites". In this regard, he identifies and proposes seven different ethnographic modes that demonstrate different objects of study and imply the opportunity for the researcher to employ a variety of tools and designs. His idea is a revolutionary proposition that reveals new ways of investigation and new categories of objects of studies. Thereby it has been readily embraced and adapted from scholars of various disciplines, as it provides alternative means and theoretical background, at a time where single-sited ethnography has failed to address the emerging issues (e.g. Bartu 2000; Gefou-Madianou 1998a; Hicks 2003; Ortner 1997). This methodology facilitates comparisons and correlations of a variety of socio-political milieus and levels, and allows me to utilise various tools, which in the context of this research also move beyond ethnography (see section 4.3). Thus, within the framework of this study, not only Butrint, Troy and Vergina, but also UNESCO, the WH convention, the Internet, as well as the press and the media represent diverse *sites* of study.

To provide a more concrete example of this method's qualities, it is important to note that the Internet is approached here at the same time as a site and a tool. The Internet has been currently gaining ground as an object of study and as a methodological means in the discipline of archaeology (see Hamilakis 2000; Hodder 1999). Apparently, it can function as an extremely useful device for the inspection of the global-national-local nexus. Hence, its use here is crucial in considering how national imaginations evolved when they acquired new ways of expressing themselves in modern media societies. For the purposes of this study, thus, along with interviews

and archival research, I also scrutinise official websites, personal websites, as well as those of cultural and tourist character.

Another interesting aspect of my methodology is that I am conducting to a certain degree ethnography of the insider (see Messerschmidt 1981). In anthropology, Native Ethnography emerged in the 1960s as a reference to how the anthropologist studies his or her own society's or neighbouring societies' structure and systems, as it is reflected through specific groups and communities (Gefou-Madianou 1998b:365). A salient asset of indigenous ethnography is that the concept of otherness acquires totally new meaning and dimensions (ibid.:368), as the anthropologist is an insider, therefore manifests a specific position or relationship towards the object of study. Although emic approaches have been criticised for their inherent biases and subjectivity, and recently interest has been focused on issues of positionality and legitimacy of those conducting insider ethnography (see Jacobs-Huye 2002; Narayan 1993), the approach's immediacy is undoubtedly both a drawback and a virtue. As Bakalaki (1997:513) very aptly states: "Research in their own society -'homework' rather than fieldwork...- may provide anthropologists with opportunities to become conscious of their own privileges as well as of the traumas often concealed under the gloss of their professional identities". Concerning the term insider, though I concur on that it "is an insufficient descriptor for the manner in which scholars negotiate multiple identities in the field" (Jacobs-Huye 2002:794), I employ it here since it provides to a certain degree the justification behind the selection of my specific sites of inquiry. Perhaps, in the framework of this research the term "partial insider" is even more appropriate, since I was partially indigenous with regard to my objects of study (see Mullings 1999; Sherif 2001). As Sherif (2001), an American-Egyptian anthropologist remarks concerning her ethnographic fieldwork in Cairo, the concept of "partial insider" defines a scholar's constant moving between worlds and identities.

On these grounds, the selection of my case studies was based on my personal affiliation to their cultural, social and political landscapes. I chose the Greek case study on the basis of my own national identity, whereas Turkey and Albania were chosen because of their regional vicinity and cultural proximity to Greece. These three nations/cultures have been interacting and evolving under similar historical and socio-political conditions for centuries (see Chapter 6). In Butrint (Albania), the location of my main case study, it is noteworthy that I often transcended between the status of the insider and outsider, given that in the region where I conducted my fieldwork, a great

part of the population is bilingual, Greek and Albanian-speaking or of Greek origins (see Chapter 7). Accordingly, most of the interviews were conducted in my native language, Greek. Thereupon, in this process of practicing ethnography of the (partial) insider, my research structure has been more dynamic because the cases were selected on the basis of cultural rather than modern national ties.

Finally, ethnography as a method of study has also provided me with the tools to engage with a bottom-up approach. In archaeology the majority of studies on the nexus between archaeology and nationalism deal with the analysis of official views, which translates to the recording and promotion of systemic and generic interpretations of the past. The aim here is to incorporate and to empower the heretofore unheard marginalised voices (as far as possible). In the context of this study, the notion of local does not imply only local communities (see Chapters 2 and 7). It refers to all idiosyncratic voices, all actors directly-physically engaged with the past. Nevertheless, employing bottom-up approaches is a challenging undertaking. I agree with Sutton (1998:8) that “simply to promote ‘history from below’ as an alternative to ‘history from above’, so as to reveal ‘hidden histories’ is insufficient”. As John and Jean Comaroff (1992:17) assert: “Improperly contextualised, the stories of ordinary people [from the] past stand in danger of remaining just that: stories”. It is suggested instead that in order for those stories to become something more, they have to be seen in connection with their political, social and cultural landscape (see *ibid.*).

4.2 Methodological Tools

In many applied settings, long-term fieldwork is neither possible nor desirable (Fetterman 1998:9). My fieldwork was not a continuous and long-term process. My intention was to apply ethnographic techniques, together with other modes of conducting Archaeological Ethnography such as archival and Internet research, in a specific time frame instead of conducting a full-blown ethnography. In the course of this research, I spent three summer seasons from 2003 to 2005 conducting fieldwork on my case study sites. During the winter of 2005, 2006 and 2007, I also conducted research in the ICOMOS Documentation Center, UNESCO’s WHC in Paris, the Butrint’s Foundation headquarters in London and in the Institute of World Archaeology (University of East Anglia) in Norwich.

With Archaeological Ethnography and Multi-sited Ethnography underlying my methodological strategies, the main tools that I have utilised are listed in Table 4.1.

Formal or Informal Interviews	With the locals, managers, archaeologists, UNESCO's specialists, students and local government officials in order to gain an insight into their perceptions of heritage's value, and their involvement in the politics of the past. ²
Secondary and archival data	World Heritage Center online database, National Commission archives, local authorities, ICOMOS Documentation Center, Butrint Foundation archives, Institute of World Archaeology archives, British School at Athens Library, French Archaeological School at Athens Library.
Internet Research	Official websites of Ministries of Culture, National Tourist Organisations and of UNESCO, as well as tourist, personal and other related websites.
Participant observation	(see Appendix 1).
Observation from a distance	(see Appendix 1).
Questionnaires	These were distributed exclusively to Albanian students participating in the Field School in Butrint (in total 42, during field season 2005; see Appendix 2).

Table 4.1 Methodological tools.

4.3 The Chronicle of Doing Fieldwork

In this study of WHS' role in the politicisation of the past by juxtaposing the reality of WHS with local and national attitudes, I initially intended to conduct a comparative research of five case studies. These sites were: Vergina, Troy, Butrint, Kotor (Serbia/Montenegro -at the time) and Ohrid (FYROM). Nonetheless, due to time, funding and other limitations (such as limited response from field managers, archaeologists and other administrators), the number of the sites was reduced to three; Kotor and Ohrid were excluded. Although the original objective was to pay equal attention to each site my second fieldwork season (2004) led me to another direction. The amount of data I could collect from each of the three sites was not equal. In Turkey I was permitted (from the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism) only one day on the field in order to meet and talk to the director of the project and the team (Added to this, Professor Korfmann passed away the following year). Furthermore, I was

discouraged from contacting the local archaeologists for information, on the basis that they would have been unwilling to help me and more importantly they would have not been able to provide me with any data. In Vergina, which I visited in the summer of 2003 and 2004 for a couple of weeks each time, I faced certain bureaucratic challenges and realised that archaeologists working at Vergina had little knowledge on the site's designation, given the centralised character of the Greek Ministry of Culture. However, in Albania, by being included in the Butrint Foundation project, my research was facilitated to the greatest extent, though I was at the same time marked by locals and Albanian archaeologists as member of a specific team. Due to the abundance of material and easy access to data and people, I decided to place Butrint at the centre of my research and to consider the other WHS as satellites, but extremely important for sustaining my argument and examining politics of belonging in a regional context. Moreover, I decided to include the site of Kotor as a complementary case (see Chapter 5), which I had previously eliminated as a case study due to lack of possibilities for extended fieldwork. I had only visited Kotor for a short period during the preliminary fieldwork season of August 2003. In a way, my fieldwork ended in April 2007, when I was given an internship by UNESCO, where I spent three months working in the World Heritage Centre (WHC) in Paris. Although I had visited the WHC and ICOMOS Documentation Centre before (in November 2005), my unexpected internship granted me the status of the insider and offered me with a valuable insight into the world of World Heritage.

During the fieldwork seasons, I experienced and identified the meaning of conducting ethnography having an (partial) insider status. It is obvious that in Greece, my identity and my knowledge of how the archaeological system operates, facilitated my access to the site and my communication with the archaeologists and the locals. In the case of Albania my identity was proven both a negative and positive attribute. The fact that the relationship between the two countries has been tense over the last two decades (see 7.7), resulted in very few incidents of prejudice and distrust from the locals, and especially from Albanian students participating in the field school. At the same time, thanks again to my national origin, the majority of locals warmly welcomed me and they were friendlier to me than in many instances to the other members of the team who were predominately British. Perhaps, the locals felt to a certain extent more culturally affiliated with me, given that the majority of the population in the area have worked and lived themselves in Greece, speak Greek and several are of Greek origins

or have relatives living and working in Greece (see Chapter 7). This dynamic considerably enabled me to shift between the status of the insider and the outsider. Finally, in Troy, my impression of the response of the locals or Turkish citizens is unquestionably limited due to the short time I spent there. However, the locals were generally positive about my presence, particularly the villagers from Tevfikiye and several Turkish archaeologists working on the site.

On the whole, the choice to conduct ethnographic fieldwork rather than to restrict myself to archival and bibliographic research, permitted valuable insights into the object(s) of my study. Ideas cannot be studied separately from those who produce and embody them. But most importantly, as Kant (1950:B1) stated: “There can be no doubt that all our knowledge begins with experience”.

¹ Since 1979, the concept of Archaeological Ethnography has been occasionally equated with Ethnoarchaeology (e.g. Rathje 1978; Robin and Rothschild 2002; Stiles 1977).

² All informants quoted in the text or had their picture taken, were aware of the purpose of this study.

CHAPTER 5

UNESCO, World Heritage and the Politicisation of the Past

Having set the theoretical and the methodological framework upon which this thesis operates, from this chapter onwards I deal with the portrayal and analysis of the national-local-global nexus, as mirrored in the interplay between global politics and local/national identity processes. For the purposes of this chapter and this study in general, I specifically employ UNESCO, the *Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage* of 1972, and its materialisation; the WHS.

This thesis, however, is neither about UNESCO nor the convention solely. It does not aspire to be an essay on the concept of World Heritage (e.g. Ashworth 1997; Labadi 2007; van der Aa 2005). Therefore, I did not engage into full-blown ethnography and detailed survey of the organisation, as for instance the anthropologist Shore (2000) did with the European Commission in the study of the cultural politics of the European integration.¹ In the spirit of Marcus' multi-sited methodology, both UNESCO and the World Heritage (WH) convention are approached here as sites, that means as objects of study and apparatuses of inquiry.

Earlier, it was noted that cultural heritage's significance and meaning are constantly negotiated and altered, whereas multiple actors participate in the process of value ascription. Within this framework, UNESCO is approached as one of these actors, especially after having introduced the concept of *outstanding universal value*. As for the 1972 Paris convention, its exploration is important on the basis that law, as Carman (1996:viii) argues, is a "mean of giving value to ancient things". Hence, UNESCO's and the WH convention's centrality in this study lies on their potential role as sites of meaning making and value ascription.

More specifically, the aim here is to explore UNESCO's stance and role with regard to the globalisation-nationalism nexus, as reflected on its ideology and mission statements, and then as mirrored in its actions and the WH list. Before engaging with the analysis of UNESCO's role in the politicisation of culture, the significance of the WH convention as an alternative mode of expression, and consequently WHS' function in the politics of identity in light of global realities, I offer insights into these three "sites

of inquiry". Finally, the role of the WHS is examined in terms of their use, interpretive, aesthetic and political/symbolic values.

5.1 UNESCO's Biography and the 1972 Paris Convention

5.1.1 Mapping UNESCO

UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organisation was founded in the aftermath of the Second World War. In a deep humanitarian spirit and with strong belief in the power of international cooperation, the organisation was established taking under consideration "that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed" (UNESCO 2004c:7). Since then the organisation's philosophy and goals have been evolving and as one can see, UNESCO always aspires to keep in touch with current developments. Nowadays, alert of the challenges of our times, it places itself as a missionary who:

"is working to create the conditions for genuine dialogue based upon respect for shared **values** and the dignity of each civilisation and culture. This role is critical, particularly in the face of terrorism, which constitutes an attack against humanity". (UNESCO 2003a:2)

War and terrorism are not its only concerns. UNESCO deploys its action in five diverse fields: Education, Natural Sciences, Social and Human Sciences, Culture, Communication and Information. Culture, however, holds a special place in UNESCO's rhetoric. Since its foundation, the organisation valued high the protection of cultural heritage. In 1954, the *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict* was adopted. From this year onwards, numerous programs have been elaborated and legislative frameworks have been established on Cultural Diversity, Tangible and Intangible Heritage, Cultural Tourism, Museums and World Heritage. Nevertheless, the WH convention stands out, since it "is considered one of the most successful international instruments for the conservation of heritage sites" (Te HeuHeu 2007:9).

5.1.2 Mapping the World Heritage Convention

UNESCO adopted the WH convention in the 17th session of the Committee, in Paris in 1972, envisaging for itself a role as a custodian, regulator of world's heritage, mediator between countries and sponsor of financial and scientific support (see UNESCO 1972). In this spirit, the WH convention primarily aimed at ensuring that effective measurements are taken for the protection, conservation and management of the cultural and natural heritage of importance to the whole world and future generations.

For the purposes of the convention, the list of WHS was created in order to include natural, cultural and mixed properties of *outstanding universal value*. These sites according to UNESCO, "constitute a common heritage, to be treasured as unique testimonies to an enduring past" (source <http://whc.unesco.org/> [Accessed 23/04/2006]). For deciding "what is it that constitutes the outstanding **universal value** of a cultural and natural treasure?", the organisation proposed a set of criteria. Until 2005, cultural properties had to satisfy one of the six criteria listed in Table 5.1, whereas natural properties four criteria (see 1999a).

Criteria	
i)	Represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
ii)	exhibit an important interchange of human values , over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;
iii)	bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
iv)	be an outstanding example of a type of building or architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
v)	be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement or land-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
vi)	be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances and in conjunction with other criteria cultural or natural).

Table 5.1 Criteria for cultural properties (source UNESCO 1999a:6-7).

With the adoption of the revised *Operational Guidelines* (2005a) however, only one set of ten criteria exists (see Appendix 3). This decision is based on the fact that since 1992 significant contexts where interactions between people and the natural environment took place have been recognised as *cultural landscapes*. UNESCO and the WH

Committee have introduced the concept of *cultural landscapes* in view of the increase of threats in detriment of both cultural and natural properties and of their treatment as independent categories and realms.

For the inclusion of sites in the WH list, UNESCO also initiated a standard nominating procedure, which involves a number of committees and organisations. First, the States Parties, which have ratified the convention, create a tentative list of sites and propose some for nomination. In the second stage, the WH Committee examines the proposal and in the third phase, ICOMOS' and IUCN's experts visit and evaluate the sites as technical advisors (see Appendix 4). In the next stage, the WH Bureau scrutinises the evaluation and finally, the WH Committee makes the decision and proceeds to the inscription. Overall, the nominating procedure could be seen as a process of signification, in the spirit of Barthes' (2000:112-113) definition of semiology. Thereby, in this sense cultural properties stand for the signifier, whereas the *outstanding universal value* is the signified. The two of them unite to create a sign, the WHS. As Barthes (ibid.) attests in his analysis of myths, the sign gives meaning and is an added value to the signifier (see also Barthes 1978). Consequently the WH status should be perceived as an added value to cultural heritage. To illustrate the relevance of Barthes' syllogism in his presentation of the core of semiology to my case, I would like to cite the example of "passionified roses". To quote Barthes himself:

"Take a bunch of roses: I use it to signify my passion... For these roses weighed with passion perfectly and correctly allow themselves to be decomposed into roses and passion: the former and the latter existed before uniting and forming this third object, this is the sign". (2000:113)

Similar to the "passionified roses", thus, WHS carry a message from which we cannot disassociate them. WHS cannot be confused with sites not being WHS. They carry this extra attribute that distinguishes them from other sites, and lifts them to *signs*. In fact, I would like to propose that with their designation, they move to another realm. They attain symbolic value and consequently one could suggest that their *eternal life* is triggered. In Pomeroy's (2005:302) eyes, the Avebury WHS officer: "Theoretically, inclusion on the list is the ultimate distinction that can be bestowed on archaeological remains" (cf. van der Aa et al. 2004:301). Practically, the symbolic significance of the WH designation can only be assessed at a national and local level, and only through an elaboration on the impact of the WH status at the micro level (see section 5.3 and Chapters 7 and 8).

Without a doubt, the WH convention has been one of the most successful legal instruments in the history of UNESCO. This is confirmed by the nearly universal membership and the amount of properties listed as WHS. According to Bandarin (2007:18) director of the WHC: "Seldom has an international treaty based on a proactive approach by Member States been more successful" (see also Rössler 2000:27). In 1992, in recognising the increasing role of the WH convention, the WH Committee proceeded to the foundation of the WHC, focal point for the implementation of the WH convention and the evolution of the concept of World Heritage. In WHC's current director's opinion, the convention's success can be further measured by its special public appreciation and by its centrality within the UN system (see Bandarin 2007; see section 5.3.2).

The WH convention, most notably, has raised awareness regarding the conservation and protection of cultural and natural heritage. Yet this is just one aspect of the convention's significance, whose role is not limited to this of a legal instrument, but also operates as a mediator of value. I believe that it should be approached as the most representative example of UNESCO's ideology, authority, legitimising power, and of its role in the politicisation of the past, than any other convention and report. This is reflected on the symbolic power and significance that the concept of World Heritage has acquired, as it particularly arises from the increasing academic awareness on the ideological and practical implications of the designation (e.g. Ashworth 1997; Bianchi and Boniface 2002; Fowler 2004; Harrison and Hitchcock 2005; Hitchcock 2002; Labadi 2007; Leask and Fyall 2006; Scott 2002; Silberman 2003; 2004; van der Aa 2001; 2005). Although the convention has entered into force since 1972, it is only recently that its practical and ideological aspects have been taken seriously into consideration. For a long period, scholars referred to the WH status of properties as an added value, which enhanced their meaning and prestige, and not as a significant factor in their management and representation (e.g. Finneran 2001; Hodges 2006; Pomeroy 2005). Nowadays, academic discourse touches upon the ontology of the convention (e.g. Labadi 2007; van der Aa 2005), conservation and management challenges in light of uncontrolled development and tourism (e.g. Ashworth 1997; Drost 1996; Evans et al. 1994; Hall and Piggott 2002; Harrison and Hitchcock 2005; Leask and Fyall 2006), and the political character of the designation of properties (e.g. Silberman 2003; 2004; Scott 2002). It is remarkable that with the exception of few examples (e.g. Silberman 2003; 2004), a great deal of the publications on WHS stems mainly from the field of AHM

and Cultural Tourism. Nevertheless, it is more appropriate that academic views on the complex character and multiple functions of the convention are presented and critically reviewed while unfolding the diverse values of WHS (see 5.3). To better understand the WH listing as a dynamic evaluation process, it is also essential to see the convention within the wider constitutional and ideological milieu of UNESCO. For this reason, the objective is first to examine UNESCO's role as a site of meaning making, before analysing the interpretive, use, aesthetic and political/symbolic values of WHS.

5.2 International Organisations and the Politicisation of Culture

In recent years, UNESCO's role as a site of constructing meaning has developed as a discourse among anthropologists and within the field of organisational studies (e.g. Eriksen 2001; Wright 1998). Organisations have been attracting a lot of academic attention lately. In fact, their study not only has been introduced into the realms of anthropology, but it has also developed as an independent field of inquiry known as Organisational Studies. Both subject areas examine organisations with regard to the current socio-political conditions and always in relation to the concept of culture (Wright 1994:1), on the basis that organisations are sites of meaning making. The interest in organisations has increased proportionally to the growth in number and impact of international and non-governmental institutions. Attention has shifted accordingly from the examination of power relations between employers and employees, to a thorough scrutiny of the political power organisations possess and the centrality of the concept of culture in organisations' logistics and philosophy (see Nugent and Shore 1997; Shore 1997; 2000; Wright 1994; 1998). On the issue, Wright (1998) characteristically claims that organisations have adopted old meanings of culture. As a result, they present culture as a bounded entity consisted of identical homogenous individuals, instead of treating it as a political process, an ideological claim rooted in historical conditions and subject to challenges (see *ibid.*). In a similar fashion, Shore pertaining to his work on the European Commission's role in the negotiation of culture, suggests that "culture is the fundamental bedrock upon which political legitimacy is established" (2000:2), underlying organisations' prominence in the cultural politics.

Language and power hold a central position in organisations' mechanisms,

showing how the terms of discourse are constructed and contested, and why and with what outcome (see Wright 1994:25). The means through which organisations manifest their ideology and achieve their aims represent a crucial component in scrutinising UNESCO and the WH convention. Mongan (1986:133) elaborates this idea by adding how the “slogans, evocative language, symbols, stories, myths, ceremonies, rituals, and patterns of ritual behaviour that decorate the surfaces of organisational life merely give clues to the existence of a much better and all pervasive system of meaning”. On the same topic, Douglas (1987) explains that institutions are built on thought worlds, on the basis of which decisions are made and classifications are institutionalised. In other words, organisations and institutions embody and reproduce culture regulating in this manner individuals’ cognitive process. Culture’s centrality to organisations’ structure and agenda is thus indisputable. But what is essential is the recognition of culture’s political dimension and power of legitimisation, and in our case the symbolic power of the past. These ideas lay the framework upon which UNESCO, as an international organisation, is approached and studied.

UNESCO as a Site of Meaning Making

By treating UNESCO as a site of construction of meaning and of value ascription, the intention here is to explore its role in the politicisation of heritage and its involvement in the global, national and local politics of identity. The organisation’s ideology as expressed in its mission-statement, in the language of the convention and other documents, and its action as illustrated through the mechanisms and implications of WHS, serve as the means to clarify the discrepancy between UNESCO’s aspirations, the idea of World Heritage, and the reality of politics of belonging.

Culture holds a unique position in its agenda (see UNESCO 2005c). To paraphrase Wright (1994), culture for UNESCO has become from something the organisation possesses to something the organisation is. In other words, UNESCO produces and at the same time embodies culture. It is not surprising then that UNESCO often figures in the debate on the politicisation of culture in the last few years (see Eriksen 2001; Wright 1998). Academic interest concentrates mainly on the report *Our Creative diversity*, published by UNESCO in 1995. Even though this report does not construe a useful tool for this analysis, the ongoing discussion that has evolved around it represents solid ground for the elaboration of this study’s arguments.

As seen above, UNESCO endeavours to play the role of a mediator, a missionary taking a holistic, humanitarian and non-racist view of the world. Despite its best intentions, UNESCO in a Boasian understanding of culture, in *Our Creative Diversity* maps out “a world made of cultures as discrete entities without engaging with the issue of contestation over the power to define” (Wright 1998:12). But our world cannot be just viewed “as an ‘archipelago’ of distinct cultures”, as Hann (2004:291) underlines in her critique of UNESCO (see also Kasten 2004). Moreover, the organisation uses culture as a political tool in its vision of a new ethical world order and “deploys a disembodied we to authorise a top down definition of culture as if it were common sense or natural” (Hann 2004:14). In Eriksen’s (2001:130) perception: “The report is almost to the point of hypochondria regarding the concept of culture”. Yet, as he observes, identity politics are entirely omitted from *Our Creative Diversity*. For Eriksen this is again “symptomatic of the report’s shortcomings” (ibid.).

Cultural tolerance and cultural diversity are thus key concepts in UNESCO’s ideology. These ideas underlie numerous apparatuses of its mission, such as the magazine *UNESCO Courier*, published since 1948. This magazine’s goal is: “To open to the other, to all others in order to discover and understand both the universal and unique dimensions of their identities” (source http://www.unesco.org/courier/2001_12/uk/index.htm [Accessed 25/06/2009]). No matter, though, how the organisation places at the core of its mission the recognition of each cultural identity’s value and the equal rights of all people, it has not overcome the limitations of a bounded vision of culture and of ethnicity. Indeed it ascribes each culture to a nation-state, assertion that is more apparent in the analysis of the convention of 1972 and the operation of WHS.

At the same time, apart from envisaging a world of fixed cultural identities, it espouses popular views about the dangers of globalisation to cultural diversity. UNESCO has shown increasing awareness concerning the effects of globalisation and placed the phenomenon at the heart of its mission identifying two major threats for cultural diversity: homogenisation and nationalistic conflicts. Since its constitution in 1945, UNESCO has accorded emphasis to the significance of protecting and defending the fruitful diversity of cultures. In 1972, the organisation adopted the WH convention considering among other things “that the deterioration or disappearance of any item of the cultural or natural heritage constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world” (UNESCO 1972:1). In recent times, under pressure from

the accelerating pace of globalisation UNESCO has given priority to durable diversity (see UNESCO 2000b). UNESCO's director Koïchiro Matsuura, (2000b:5-6), in the preface of the *World Culture Report 2000*, identified two main pressures exerted by globalisation: cultural conflicts and cultural uniformity. In Matsuura's (2000b:6) opinion, cultural pluralism can be achieved only "by respecting the equal dignity of all cultures and by acknowledging their interdependence". In November 2001, UNESCO took a step further by introducing the *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* as a follow up to the 1995 report *Our Creative Diversity*. This 2001 declaration emphasises the cultural issues raised by globalisation and the need of States Parties to firmly support the principle of diversity. A short time ago, UNESCO's proposed Draft Programme for 2004-2005 in a similar fashion highlighted the necessity of promoting intercultural dialogue in consideration of the imminent risks outlined in the passages cited in Table 5.2 (see also UNESCO's Bureau of Strategic Planning's agenda and Draft Programme for 2006-2007 UNESCO 2005c).

04011 The heritage is increasingly targeted as the embodiment of collective memory when conflicts or outbreaks of intolerance occur, and it already suffers from the effects of globalisation such as those wrought by tourism, sometimes uncontrolled, which jeopardizes both its tangible and intangible forms of expression.

04014 Globalisation represents a very real challenge for cultural diversity because of the risks of standardization and impoverishment inherent in the increasing commercialisation of cultural goods and services which impinges on creativity and cultural innovation.

Table 5.2 Draft Programme 2004-2005 (UNESCO 2003c).

The organisation endorses the idea that the global abolishes the local and that globalisation triggers nationalistic conflicts. Regardless of such views of a traditional, anachronistic understanding of the concept of culture, of cultural identities and such grim reflections on the impact of globalisation, many scholars, collaborators of the organisation express opposing ideas. A great part of the discourse develops around hybrid identities. During the meeting *21st century Talks* held in UNESCO's headquarters in 1998, Appadurai (2004) recognised the potential of ethnic and cultural hybridisation. On the same occasion and in this frame of mind, Portella, the Brazilian philosopher (former minister of Culture and Education and former Deputy Director General of UNESCO), remarked that touching upon the notion of culture one has to

seriously take into account two conflicting but strongly entangled forces, globalisation and nationalism. He underlined that “culture can no longer be developed without a basic, existential, vital tension between the universal, the regional, the national and the local”. In his perception “this interaction leads to hybridity, not cloning” (Portella 2000). Despite these valuable insights, UNESCO continues to embrace obsolete ideas about culture and cultural identities. Its contribution however to the politicisation of heritage can be better comprehended through a scrutiny of the ideology behind the WH convention, the mechanisms of listing and the effects of its application (see next section 5.4).

Yet UNESCO is more than that. It resides also in the realms of philosophy. For Trifonas (2002a:ix), UNESCO represents “a post-Kantian institution that both imbibes philosophy and is the practice of philosophy”. The cultural critic and philosopher also comments on “how UNESCO extends this intermingling of thought and action toward generating a vision of what the community of nations, states and peoples is and should be beyond a separation between particular interests and universal aims and goals” (*ibid.*). His assertion stems from Derrida’s lecture (in 1991) *The Right to Philosophy from the Cosmopolitan Point of View*, held in the headquarters of UNESCO in Paris. Derrida (2002:3) maintains that not only UNESCO’s language is philosophical, but also its documents and conventions are reflections of philosophical history. UNESCO, for Derrida (2002:4-5) implies philosophy, both in its ontology and its every-day practice. Within this context, for Derrida, the ratification of UNESCO’s conventions and charters by States Parties “contracts a philosophical commitment” (2002:13-14). His understanding of the dynamic character of UNESCO’s conventions is valid, if one takes under consideration for instance the 1954 Hague Convention and the 1970 Convention on Illicit Traffic, where a philosophical commitment is contracted in relation to looting and the respect of other’s heritage in the event of armed conflicts.

Another of Derrida’s contribution to the discourse on UNESCO’s essence is his open assertion on the organisation’s foundation “on the principles of European philosophy” (Trifonas 2002b:72). This is especially valid for the WH convention, whose European and western character is thoroughly explored in the next section. Needless to mention that the WHC’s and UNESCO’s headquarters are located in Paris, and the official languages that the organisation regularly utilises are English and French. It is rather myopic, as Trifonas (2002b:72,75) notes, to dismiss UNESCO simply as an institution and “a political organon” of western influence. In this sense, we should not

approach UNESCO just as a bureaucratic and rigid organisation, but as a living organism, since it is a unit that consists of individuals, whose cultural and national identity shapes UNESCO's ideology and mission. From my personal experience as an intern, I saw how the existence of different geographical and cultural perspectives, for example with regard to conservation practices and principles, greatly influence and can definitely enhance UNESCO's and WHC's philosophy and agenda on these issues. No matter its ideological foundation in its conception, UNESCO as an institution has also exhibited lately genuine interest in readdressing its practices and agenda, and in disentangling itself from the association with the West (as far as possible, given its location and synthesis). UNESCO shows signs that it has largely embraced its philosophical role. It is true that it has actively challenged hegemonic views on the past, as in the case of the Declaration of Universal Museum, a manifesto in favour of the preservation and continuation of the concept of "universal museums", such as the British Museum and the Louvre, in the public debate "Memory and Universality" in 2007.² Moreover, having recognised the value of local sustainable development, the organisation has launched programmes for the alleviation of poverty, elimination of gender disparity, development of primary education in all countries, and protection of both tangible and intangible heritage. UNESCO's focus has become more local nowadays, both practically and ideologically.

In embracing Derrida's idea on the philosophical character of UNESCO, I strongly believe that the WH convention implies philosophy, but most importantly WHS with their ideological power can possibly operate not as mere commodities, but as dynamic cultural resources and landmarks of identity in the politics of difference.

5.3 Of Outstanding Universal Value or National Significance? The Values of World Heritage

It is impossible to speak of the concept of World Heritage and not refer to the terms of value and significance (e.g. Labadi 2007; van der Aa 2001; 2005). First the designation should be seen as a process of signification, the WHS as *signs*, whereas UNESCO itself as a site of meaning making. Evidence of this has also been the frequency with which the term value appears in the organisation's vocabulary and agenda (see highlighted words throughout the text). Nevertheless, the attention is specifically centered in this

section on the interpretive, use, aesthetic and symbolic or political values of WHS. Prior to doing this, it is important to examine in brief those properties' global and national value in order to set the framework within which the multidimensional character and role of WHS is understood.

UNESCO in its mission statement on World Heritage, states that "sites selected for World Heritage are approved on the basis of their merits as the best possible examples of the cultural and natural heritage" (2000a:5). In this sense, WHS' global value is confirmed through their inclusion in the WH list. Nonetheless, the listing is principally a process of national character supervised by a global organisation. On the one hand, we have the States Parties i.e. governments and governmental institutions, making the selection (by supporting nominations). On the other hand, UNESCO seems to play mainly the role of mediator by providing the credentials for the global recognition of sites as common heritage, provided that the organisation's role is largely limited to accepting or deferring a nomination.³ As a result, instead of sites of global significance, properties of national momentousness are enlisted (further on the issue see Kavoura 2001; Labadi 2007). Thus, to Derrida's discontent, the 1972 convention's ratification is still more an act of national empowerment and symbolism, rather than a philosophical commitment. At a State Party level, its adoption signals the need to protect and project one's own heritage rather than it expresses the commitment to safeguard the heritages of the world, given its highly national emphasis. Notwithstanding this, these sites with their inclusion in the WH list move beyond the national realm and whether of global significance or not, they get established as properties of *outstanding universal value*.

From its point of view, UNESCO appears to be aware of the national and local character of WHS. It accepts that sites operate as landmarks of people's identity. As it is expressed in its mission statement: "Our cultural and natural heritages are both irreplaceable sources of life and inspiration. They are touchstones, our points of reference, our identity" (UNESCO 2000a:5). At the same time, however, UNESCO emphasises that "World Heritage Sites belong to all peoples of the world irrespective of territory on which they are located" (*ibid.*). This statement in a way confutes article 4 of the WH convention where it is stated that "the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation, and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage referred to in Articles 1 and 2 and situated on its territory, belongs primarily to that State" (UNESCO 1972:3). Besides UNESCO's Delphic

statements, currently States Parties, that is nation-states, are the primary actors in the nomination, protection and management of sites proposed to be included in the WH list. In this sense, national values figure prominently, whether the discussion concerns the use, interpretive or even the symbolic value of WHS.

5.3.1 Interpretive Values

For UNESCO (2000a:5), “what makes the concept of World Heritage exceptional is its universal application”. UNESCO’s aspirations though for a “universal application” of the World Heritage concept, have been proven to a great degree futile (see van der Aa 2001). Until the 1990s, sites and monuments predominantly of European and western heritage figured in the WH list (see ICOMOS 2005).⁴ European and western conceptions of what constitutes the world’s heritage, thus, dominated over “global” readings of the past’s remains. Pertaining to the WH list’s regional imbalance van der Aa et al. (2002 as cited in Silberman 2004) propose that it is not that much direct outcome of the western underpinnings of the concept of World Heritage, but that it is rather related to current conditions of the tourist industry, the system of heritage administration and world economy. By contrast, I believe that since ideas must not be seen in isolation from economic and societal structures and the complex power relations underlying them, the WH list should be seen as a mirror of both ideological and practical aspects of the last thirty years political, social and economical actualities and inequalities.

From the 1990s onwards, UNESCO redefined its agenda and adopted more inclusive strategies. In 1994 the *Global Strategy for a Balanced and Representative World Heritage List* was introduced. In conjunction with this strategy, ICOMOS published an analysis entitled *The World Heritage List: Filling the Gaps- an Action Plan for the Future*, ten years later. According to the report, commissioned by the UNESCO Committee, the majority of the enlisted properties were located in Europe (see Table 5.3; Appendix 5), and they were representative monuments of Christianity, Classical Antiquity and Renaissance (see for more details ICOMOS 2005; Labadi 2007). Since then, UNESCO has notably espoused a more reflexive attitude towards issues of under-representation and has bestowed the WH status to numerous properties from diverse geographical and cultural contexts (see 2009 Pacific Programme UNESCO2004a). Yet it is a rather long road to a perfectly balanced list, given that up to the present Italy, Spain,

Germany, France, USA and UK still figure prominently among the top 10 countries with the most designated WHS (see Appendix 5).

Comparative analysis of the World Heritage List and the Tentative Lists by region						
	WHL		TL		Totals	
Africa	27	5%	89	10%	113	8%
Arab States	49	9%	83	10%	132	9%
Asia/Pacific	104	18%	198	23%	302	21%
Europe/North America	325	56%	399	46%	724	50%
Latin America/Caribbean	72	13%	100	12%	172	12%
TOTALS	577		866		1443	

Table 5.3 Table with WHS and tentative lists by region (source: ICOMOS 2005:31).

Fragments of European and western readings of heritage can be also detected in the justifications for inscription in the WH list. It seems that in some cases the European significance and western underpinnings of a site can overshadow its *outstanding universal value*. Arles (1981), for instance, was designated WHS because it “is a good example of the adaptation of an ancient city to medieval European civilisation” (source <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/164> [Accessed 25/06/2009]). Along the same lines, almost two decades later, Assisi’s inclusion in the list was justified by the fact that its “medieval art masterpieces ... have made the town a fundamental reference point for the development of Italian and European art and architecture”. These justifications for inscription appear in opposition to the spirit of the concept of World Heritage. However, cases where the global significance of a WHS is projected are not also rare. In harmony with Word Heritage’s philosophy, in 1979 the Auschwitz Concentration Camp was designated with respect to its importance as a “symbol of humanity’s cruelty to its fellow human beings in the 20th century” (source <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/31> [Accessed 23/02/2009]).

UNESCO and ICOMOS through the inscription of WHS ascribe interpretive and most specifically archaeological value to the properties. It is extremely relevant to speak here of archaeological values, since archaeologists’ role in the application of World Heritage is instrumental. In all nominations, archaeologists and other experts are responsible for providing the scientific proof for the successful addition of sites to the list. Additionally, the criteria for the assessment of sites echo by and large the significance of the properties from an archaeological perspective. As Joyce (2003:84) points out, archaeological knowledge dominates the identification of sites worthy of

World Heritage status. A look at the official descriptions of the sites on the website of UNESCO is informative to this end. The temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae, Greece was designated because (see also the WHS of Roskilde):

“This famous temple to the god of healing and the sun was built towards the middle of the 5th century B.C. in the lonely heights of the Arcadian mountains. The temple, which has the oldest Corinthian capital yet found, combines the Archaic style and the serenity of the Doric style with some daring architectural features”. (source <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/392> [Accessed 15/02/2009])

Given the popularity of the WH convention, it should be expected that these archaeological categorisations and typologies become also known to the public. In this context, archaeologists' involvement in the politics of the WHS is not only undeniable but considerably influential (see Joyce 2003; Chapters 7 and 8).

Practicing and theorising World Heritage appears to be a challenging endeavour. “There should be no illusions about the difficulty of this task” Ashworth (1997:12) claims, “If all heritage, by being someone's, must disinherit someone else, then a World Heritage is not a happy summation of local and national heritages, but rather a denial of them”. In practice, national values are persistent in the conception and function of the notion of World Heritage. As stressed earlier, the nomination of WHS itself is a process of national character, since the selection of sites for classification as World Heritage is made by States Parties. In this respect, nomination dossiers stand for evidence of the specific meaning with which nation-states imbue the properties (see Chapters 7 and 8). As Labadi (2007:166) stresses in her detailed study of the nomination files, States Parties principally employ values that “project carefully constructed images of the past, the nation and cultural diversity” (*ibid.*). However, striking evidence exists that ICOMOS and the WH Committee do not always endorse the significance ascribed to a site or monument by a State Party. They often reject it, alter it and the site is re-interpreted, perpetuating western conceptions of heritage's value (see Chapters 7 and 8).

5.3.2 Use Values

Protection and conservation represent salient elements in UNESCO's agenda with respect to the WH convention (see UNESCO 2000a). Towards this objective, UNESCO

has energetically taken action by launching safeguarding campaigns and raising awareness, as in the case of the Bamiyan Buddhas and the Kabul Museum, when threatened during the armed conflicts that burst in Afghanistan (see <http://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/2/> [Accessed 02/02/2009]; see also Dephi case UNESCO 2000a).⁵ Yet, it is true that on several occasions, it is individuals, local authorities, NGOs or even neighboring countries that draw UNESCO's attention when a site's integrity is undermined, rather than the other way around (see Chapter 7).

The value of the WH status is not solely restricted to issues of immediate protection and conservation, but it also deeply affects managerial practices in general. This is because each WHS has to comply with a set of standards of management and protection in order to be proposed and designated as such. Nowadays, it is a precondition that the State Party together with the nomination file proposes also an adequate management plan. Consequently celebrated sites such as the Minoan site of Knossos (Greece) and Ephesus (Turkey) are excluded from the list, because they have not met the firm legal and managerial requirements set by the convention. Since the WH status has broken new ground in the field of AHM, not surprisingly WHS figure in numerous publications on the challenges of site management and protection (e.g. Hall and Pigggin 2002:410; Shackley 2000; Thorsell and Sigaty 2001; van der Aa 2005). Characteristically, Shackley (2000:7) remarks on the issue that WHS "act as a magnet for visitors", posing this way many problems for site management and threatening in the long run the integrity of the properties (see also van der Aa 2005). In theory and practice, UNESCO primarily concentrates its efforts on protection and conservation through raising public awareness and supporting international collaboration (see the Butrint case Chapter 7). The organisation, however, does not pay equal attention to two significant parameters of the listing: tourism development and legitimisation of authority over the past.

In UNESCO's rhetoric, the benefits of the ratification of the WH convention are summed up to the following four points: public awareness, the right to submit nominations, international assistance and international recognition (UNESCO 2000a). Why does a country endeavour to enlist properties in the WH list? The first thing that comes to mind is financial benefits following UNESCO's funding (see Chapter 7). In reality, it is not UNESCO that regularly subsidises the States Parties, but the other way around. Each member state has to contribute the equivalent of one percent or more of their annual UNESCO dues to the World Heritage Fund. Funding is given only to

emergency cases, like for "WHS in Danger", or when it is considered crucial for training, preparatory, educational assistance or in cases of technical cooperation.

Regardless of the WH status' direct advantages, the States Parties can indirectly benefit from the listing. I speak of the advantages that the membership of a property brings, such as easy access to funding and prospects for tourism development. With respect to the latter, I would like to distinguish between *active* and *passive* WHS. By *active* I mean all those sites which make active use of their WH status by publicising and commercialising it (see Figure 5.1), whereas *passive* are those which do not really employ UNESCO's name for the "marketing" of the site.

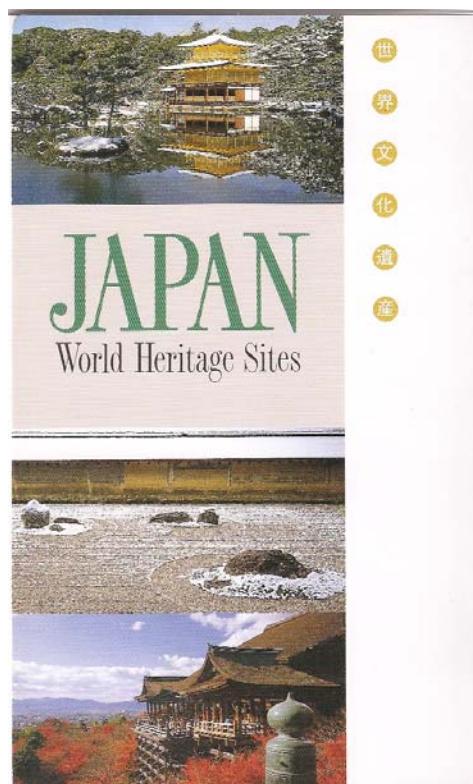


Figure 5.1 Tourist Brochure on Japanese WHS.

This is the case of celebrated sites often located in countries, which are known tourist destinations, like the site of Athenian Acropolis (Greece), and Palenque (Mexico). At the other end of the spectrum lie cultural properties such as Kotor (Montenegro) and Campeche (Mexico), for which the WH designation seems to facilitate their promotion and projection to the wider public.

An important indicator of the type of WHS is the frequency and the ways in which the WH emblem and the UNESCO logo are employed (on logo's use see

Operational Guidelines 2008).⁶ These two emblems' symbolism mirrors UNESCO's philosophy. With the passing of time, these images have been imbued with concrete meaning and have been lifted to badges of distinction either national or local, and to *signs* of the Paris 1972 convention. As a result of these symbols' increasing semiotic potency, I would like to propose that World Heritage is gradually transforming into a type of cultural capital. Its accumulation, thus, by visiting WHS, buying souvenirs with the WH logo, and its exhibition by inscribing sites can be considered as a very prestigious activity and a process of establishing credentials. In such context, this intangible type of capital could also operate as an apparatus of difference for those who possess it and for those who consume it. On the one hand, some scholars concur on that the World Heritage status significantly acts as a major attraction for visitors (see Thorsell and Sigaty 2001; Schakley 2000). On the other hand, Hall and Piggin (2002:410), suggest that the designation has "only a marginal effect on visitor numbers or relative attractiveness". In their opinion, "the intrinsic qualities of the place itself may be themselves a major factor in tourist visitation to the area", rather than the WH status (*ibid.*). In considering both views and recognising the different degrees of a site's WH status' use, projection and commodification, I regard the distinction between *active* and *passive* sites as useful and essential in mapping WHS' values.

In Mexico, within the same country examples from both categories exist.⁷ For instance, celebrated sites such as the Pre-Hispanic city of Teotihuacan (Figure 5.2) and the Pre-Hispanic city of Palenque (1987) appear not to necessitate the name of UNESCO in order to attract tourists. In these sites, the reference to the WH status is only limited to the commemorative plaque (Figure 5.3). It is important to underline that these sites are two of the most renowned archaeological sites of Mayan and Aztec civilisation in Mexico and in the world, and stand for landmarks of Mexican identity (on cultural heritage and Mexican nationalism see Brading 2001).

On the contrary, in the Gulf of Mexico, the city of Campeche (inscribed in 1999) greatly projects its historical value and tourist assets by according great emphasis on its WH status (Figure 5.4). The city is inundated with the emblem of World Heritage. It figures from hotel brochures, municipal tourist information offices to signposts and local products (Figure 5.5). Although UNESCO (2008) states that the emblem should not be used for predominantly commercial purposes, it can be argued, that the WH status has been proven a highly praised commodity for a city that struggles to establish itself in the competitive tourist industry of Mexico.



Figure 5.2 The plaque that commemorates the WH inscription of Teotihuacan.



Figure 5.3 View of the temple of serpent (WHS of Palenque).

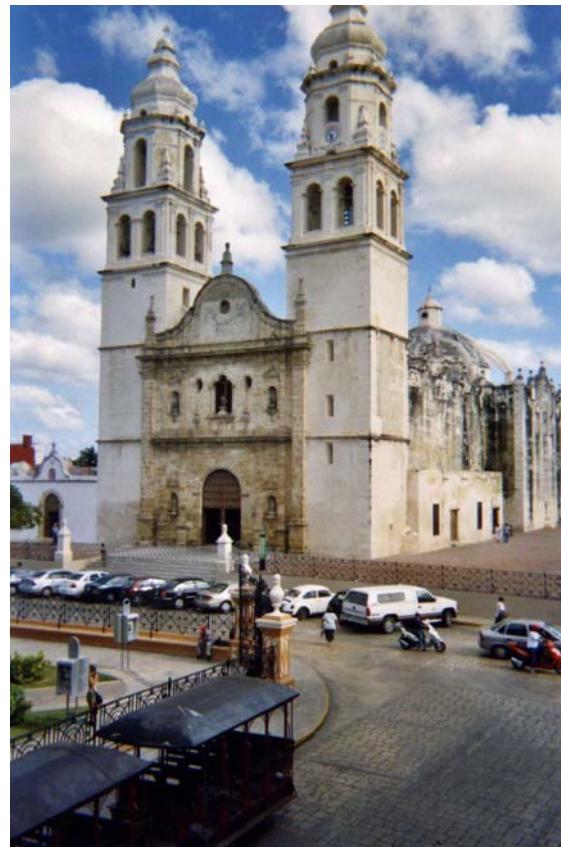


Figure 5.4 View of the cathedral of the WHS of Campeche.



Figure 5.5 Tourist info center in Campeche with the WH emblem in prominent place.

In Campeche, in contrast to Palenque and Teotihuacan, the local community appears to openly acknowledge the role of the concept of World Heritage in heritage tourism (on local Mexican communities' role on heritage tourism and identity politics see Breglia 2005 and Castañeda 1996).

Added to the direct or indirect material benefits that a State Party can enjoy, is undoubtedly the prestige that the nomination can bring to a site and the member states respectively. UNESCO greatly projects the reputation that is established for a country on becoming a member of the convention. It preaches that the "overarching benefit" of joining the scheme is that of belonging to "an international community of appreciation and concern for unique, universally significant properties that embody a world of outstanding examples of cultural diversity and natural wealth" (2000a:9). However, in van der Aa et al.'s (2004:299) perception, the more the list expands, the more "the value of the World Heritage label" depreciates. Striking evidence exist that the semiotic and symbolic value of the status still remains a driving impetus. In contradiction to the ambiguous agenda of the Mexican State Party towards WHS, Cyprus recognises openly the prestige and recognition the membership can bring. The Cypriot Ministry of Culture highly promotes and widely projects the WH status. Apart from the standard commemorating plaque all three Cypriot properties inscribed in the list have several signs in place celebrating the inclusion (Figure 5.6, 5.7, 5.8 and 5.9).

Along the same lines, the Cypriot Tourist Organisation has placed great significance on UNESCO's semiotic value and power to attract tourists. As a result, the logo is incorporated in the majority of the Cypriot promotional material (brochures, maps) and references to the status are extensive. To illustrate the importance laid on the WH nomination of Cypriot sites, it is worth referring in brief to the case of the International Airport of Larnaca. The first impression of Cyprus that the visitors get when they arrive at this airport, is images of celebrated WHS thanks to the installation of panels over the passport control, that project and publicise the WH designation of Cypriot sites (see Figure 5.10). Suffice to say that representations of the celebrated Cypriot past are also the last iconic souvenir the travellers take with them from the country. In the lobby area of the international airport, several exhibit cases with Cypriot material culture remind to them what is the most highly praised tourist commodity of the island. As Michael (2003:4), a Greek-Cypriot archaeologist, notes: "Tourism is of immense importance to the Cypriot state as it is one of the main industries fuelling the economy".



Figure 5.6 Sign at the entrance of the WHS "The tombs of the Kings" in Paphos.



Figure 5.7 Sign at the entrance of the WHS of Paphos.



Figure 5.8 Sign at the entrance of the church of Panagia Asinou, part of the serial nomination “Painted churches in the Troodos Region”.

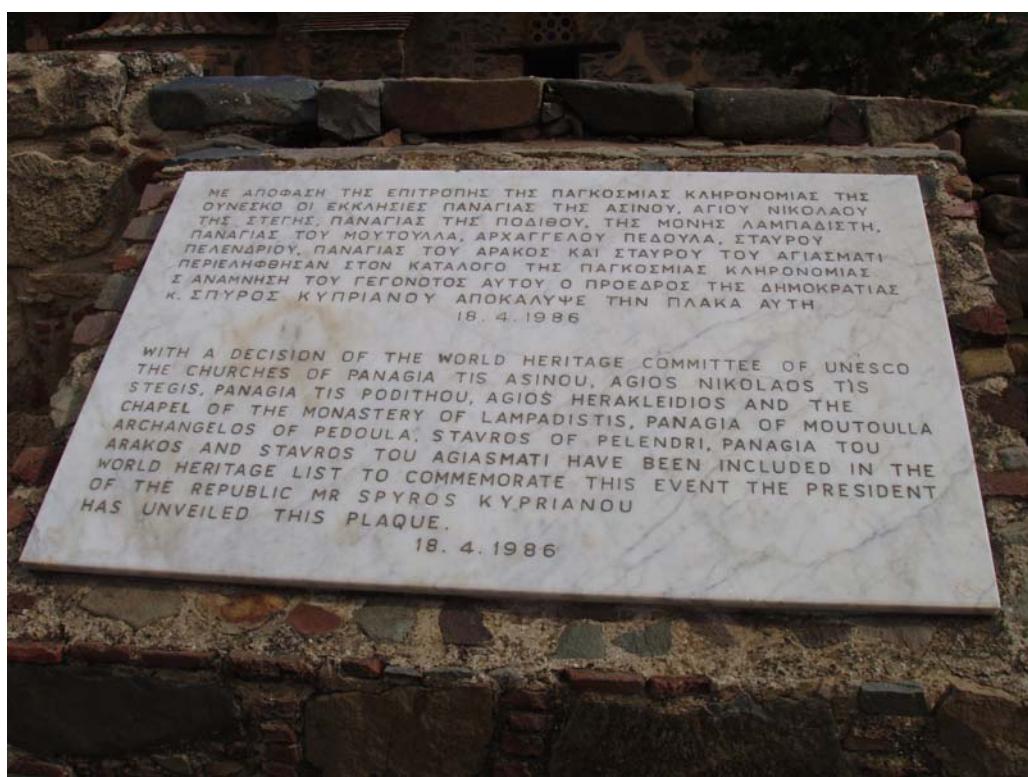


Figure 5.9 Commemorative plaque that celebrates the nomination of Panagia Asinou.



Figure 5.10 Informative panel regarding the WHS of “the Tombs of the Kings”, above passport control at Larnaca Airport.

It is on these grounds that in Cypriot promotional material and the tourist organisation’s campaign images of the eminent past feature prominently (see Michael 2003; 2006). The past is a powerful symbolic resource in Cyprus. Nonetheless not only the inscription of the sites seems to attract kudos for the States Parties, but also it can be argued that visiting WHS has become a prestigious act. Since the high esteem of WHS has rather turned into a “world view”, visiting WHS represents a way of accumulating cultural capital. This is indicated by the amount of personal websites dedicated to WHS and by the number of personal accounts recorded pertaining to visits to WHS on the Internet, an increasingly popular apparatus of imagination. For example, Slots from the Netherlands, keeps a website on WHS since 1997 (for further examples see Table 5.4). Although Slots’ website was not meant “as a UNESCO fanpage”, it has developed as a magnet for WHS aficionados (source www.visitworldheritagesite.org [Accessed 20/04/2009]). The website’s popularity is reflected on the number of reviews submitted by those having visited WHS (see table 5.5).⁸

1	"As of 3/1/2009 I have visited and taken photos of 299 of the 878 World Heritage Sites in 145 countries. My Life List of World Heritage sites I have visited."(source http://www.galenfrysinger.com/world_heritage.htm [Accessed 12/02/2009])
2	"Alica's "UNESCO World Heritage Sites I have visited." (source http://www.listsofbests.com/list/571 [Accessed 12/02/2009])
3	"Alison Gardner's guide to UNESCO World Heritage Site vacations." (source http://www.travelwithachallenge.com/UNESCO-Sites.htm [Accessed 12/01/2009])

Table 5.4 Personal websites referring to WHS.

Choirokitia (Cyprus)	<u>ExpatBrit(Cyprus):</u> "I live 15 minutes away from Choirokitia and have visited many times with house guests and friends. I have travelled widely and have visited many places that have become WHS or should do, in 4 continents."(source www.visitworldheritagesite.org [Accessed 20/04/2009])
Epicurius Apollo (Greece)	<u>ChristerSundberg(Sweden):</u> "While in Olympia for a couple of days, I hired myself a local guide to take me up the mountains to visit the temple of Vasses, my 142nd World Heritage Site..."(source www.visitworldheritagesite.org [Accessed 20/02/2009])

Table 5.5 Representative quotes regarding WHS from Slots' website.

To elucidate further the burgeoning interest regarding WHS, a quick search in cyberspace, using Google's search engine, shows that the name of UNESCO for example, in relation to the site of Kotor appears 3.530 times in 05/2004, 12.000 in 02/2005 and 80.000 in 05/02/2009 while in relation to Vergina 537 times in 05/2004, 1950 in 02/2005 and 8.420 in 05/02/2009. With respect to Troy it appears 15.900 times in 10/12/2004, 27.900 in 04/04/05 whereas 135.000 in 05/02/2009. In all cases the notable increase of the number of citations is dramatic, indicating probably the rising significance of the WH status for the promotion of sites and the burgeoning public interest in the convention (cf. van der Aa et al. 2004). Nonetheless, in the case of Cyprus, the concept of World Heritage has an additional function aside from facilitating the commoditisation and promotion of Cypriot heritage. Scott (2002) points out the political dimension of listing cultural properties for Cyprus. In view of the island's partition between "Greek Cyprus" and "Northern Turkish Cyprus", the

country has embraced the ideological power of World Heritage seeking to legitimise its authority over the past and territory (on Cypriot nationalism see Mavratsas 2001; Papadakis et al. 2006; Stamatakis 1991). It is evident that prestige, management standards, protection, conservation, international assistance and tourism development are just some of the facets of the implications of the WH designation. As it is suggested already through the case of Cyprus, WHS are also *signs*, often imbued with political and highly symbolic value.

5.3.3 Political/ Symbolic and Aesthetic Values

The symbolic and political character of the concept of World Heritage and WHS is an integral part of this research. Yet UNESCO's and WHS' role in the politics of belonging is explored in depth in relation to Butrint, Troy and Vergina (see Chapters 7 and 8). In this section attention is centered on UNESCO's stance towards its highly politicised and ideological role, and the escalating academic discourse on the politics and symbolism of WHS.

UNESCO is composed of nation-states. Hence its nature is deeply political. It would not be surprising then if global politics and trans-national conflicts are put on the table, when the WH and UNESCO Committees meet every year. On the issue, Eriksen (2001) blatantly asserts that internal tensions and disagreements within the UNESCO Committee are not absent. Indeed, he believes that by exposing them, for example the report of *Our Creative Diversity* (1995) would have been more credible. In Silberman's (2004:5) perception the lobbying is one of the factors responsible for the imbalance of the WH list, on the basis that the States Parties with representatives in the WH Committee, renewed every six years, have more properties designated WHS during that period. As for the role of WHS in the politics of belonging, it is enough to look at the existing WH and tentative lists, which they are largely composed of landmarks of national identity (e.g. the British, Italian, Israeli and Mexican list of WHS; for the Greek case see Kavoura 2001).

The case of the Montenegro through its single cultural WH property (Kotor) is informative in this respect. The town of Kotor lies in the Southern Adriatic. It is a natural harbour located at the end of the deep bay Boka Kotorska (see Figure 5.11).⁹ The site's biography is marked by the succession of various ethnic and cultural groups dating from the Neolithic period up to the present. In 1979, after a catastrophic

earthquake, Kotor was inscribed both in the WH list and the list of WHS in Danger (see ICOMOS 1979). From this point onwards, Kotor's *eternal life* was triggered, and the site's symbolic, national and global value has grown.¹⁰

Even if the nomination was placed by Yugoslavia, later, in light of the new events in the region and its fragmentation, Kotor was subsumed under the auspices of Serbia-Montenegro and from 2006 onwards Kotor figures as a Montenegrin WHS. Within thirty years, the site attained different national connotations and significance. Few years before Montenegro's declaration as an independent republic, the World Heritage's symbolic power in the politics of difference was striking.



Figure 5.11 Postcard of a view of the historic city of Kotor.

On one tourist document *The Old City Map*, issued in 2003, Kotor was presented as "the only town in Yugoslavia registered as the world's universal natural and cultural property the UNESCO". In a crucial period of transition this document reveals the efforts of the republic to project its cultural distinctiveness by singling out this cultural property for its global recognition. Kotor has been undeniably a major heritage attraction for the Montenegrin Republic and UNESCO's logo has been widely used for marketing, tourism and political purposes (see 5.12 and 5.13).

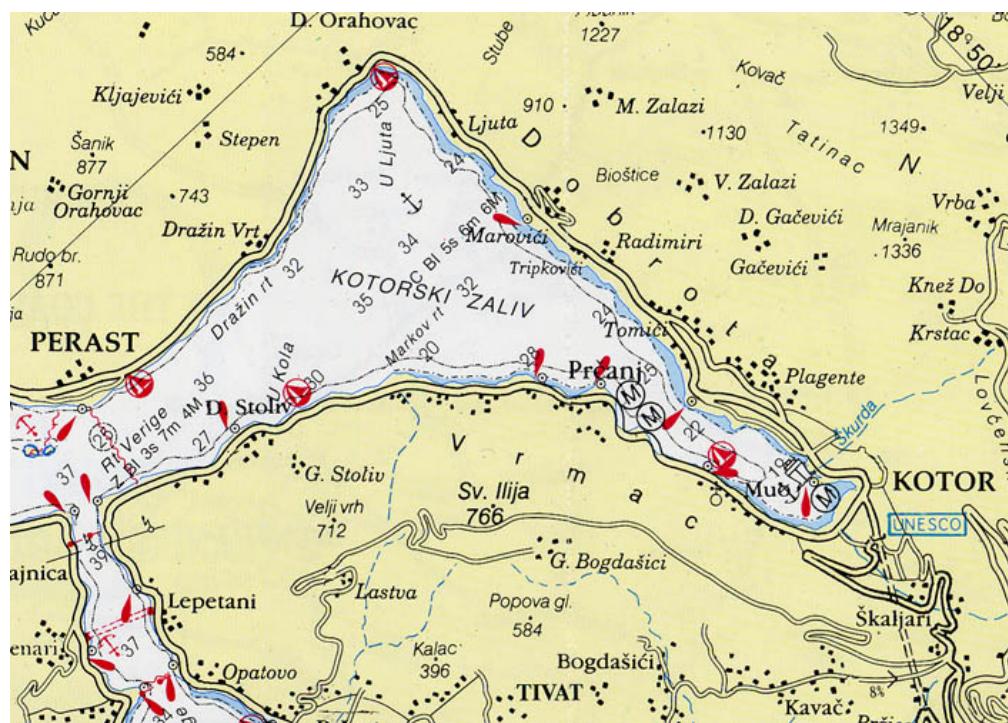


Figure 5.12 Tourist map of Kotor showing UNESCO's logo.



Figure 5.13 Kotor's tourist brochure with the WH emblem.

At the time of my visit to Kotor, the emblem of World Heritage featured almost on every tourist brochure, card, sign and official municipal, or governmental website. In addition, the locals, the majority of whom recognised the potentials of tourism development and involved themselves actively in the tourist industry, have assigned a

special meaning to UNESCO's role. From their perspective, as reflected on official tourist and local websites, and tourist brochures, Kotor's designation as a WHS has been perceived as a recognition of the ecumenical importance of the site on behalf of UNESCO, and they have taken great pride in this (see Appendix 6).

Montenegrins, in their attempt to become sovereign, have ascribed major importance to the development of cultural tourism and to the creation and projection of the Montenegrin cultural identity particularly in opposition to a Serbian one (on "Yugoslavian" nationalism see Bjelić and Savić 2002; Kečmanović 2001). According to Hall (2002b:88), especially for the newly founded nation-states of the Former Yugoslavia, such as Montenegro, "the promotion and marketing of tourism can become inextricably linked with the portrayal of self-perceived national identity" (see Hall 1999; 2002a; 2002b; 2004). It is in this context that Montenegro acknowledges and embraces the WH convention's commoditising power and role as a symbolic resource in the politics of difference.

Politics of belonging is not just an attribute of the States Parties such as Cyprus and Kotor in South East Europe. The temple site of Preah Vihear featuring in the list of Cambodia is an interesting example from a remote area to the Balkans. Preah Vihear is a contested site on a contested territory. Not only the limits of the site coincide with the Cambodian-Thai borders, but also this temple has been an object of dispute between the two countries since the early 20th century. Yet following the decision of the International Court of Justice, under unclear circumstances and to Thais' surprise the site was ascribed to Cambodia in 1962 (see Cuasay 2001). Notwithstanding this, on legislative literature, the Preah Vihear case still appears as one of the most debated and controversial decisions in the history of the International Court of Justice (see Chan 2004; Cuasay 2001; Posner and Figueiredo 2005). It is not surprising then that its nomination for inclusion in the WH list triggered political agitation. What makes however the case of Preah Vihear unique and attests to WHS' strong political role is sadly the fact that following the designation, clashes, that led to the loss of human life, burst between Cambodian and Thai armed forces (see <http://globalvoicesonline.org/2008/10/20/thailandcambodia-conflict-over-preah-vihear-temple-part-ii/> [Accessed 25/06/2009]; <http://globalvoicesonline.org/2009/07/20/cambodia-thailand-preah-vihear-dispute-continues/> [Accessed 25/06/2009]; on UNESCO's stance see http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php?URL_ID=43689&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html [Accessed 25/06/2009]).

Recently, there have been signs that UNESCO takes into account its highly political role. In February 2007, UNESCO's Director-General, Matsuura, expressed his "deep concern over the work initiated by the Israeli authorities on the site of the Old City of Jerusalem", since such interference for him entailed the danger "of undermining the respect for sacred beliefs", given the multi-religious character of the city and its monuments (see Appendix 7). For this reason, Matsuura launched an appeal to cease any action that could lead to contestation between the interested groups. He hoped that UNESCO's intervention will "alleviate tensions and restore a climate of confidence favourable to the dialogue that we all wish for" (ibid.). This incident characteristically mirrors UNESCO's increased awareness of its political and ideological power. It reflects concretely the efforts of the organisation to "contribute to peace and security" and fulfill its goals as stated in its mission statement. In my experience, UNESCO's employees and collaborators are greatly aware of the political implications of their work. As the above example illustrates, they even get entangled in political skirmishes in playing the role of diplomats.

In recent years, academic interest has grown immensely concerning the role of WHS. Some part of the discussion develops around the aesthetics of the listing. There are scholars who consider the WH list as a beauty pageant devoid of any pragmatic and proactive plans for conservation and protection (e.g. Evans et al. 1994; Finneran 2005). In the same context, Silberman (2003:8) visualises the WH list as "the great reliquary and cabinet of curiosities all rolled into one". To some degree, I agree with Silberman's vision of the WH list as a cabinet of curiosities, since the WH Committee's intention has been to include properties of *outstanding universal value* and to create a catalogue of the most representative "treasures" of the world. In this sense, WH properties could be seen as the 878 wonders of the modern world, a selection of the most aesthetically pleasing and unique cultural and natural sites. As one can notice from the case of the WHS of Kotor, beauty is highly appreciated as an attribute of the property's *outstanding universal value* (see Appendix 6). However, it is not appropriate to dismiss the value of the WH convention as purely aesthetics, overlooking its significant contribution towards management, protection and raising public awareness.

At the same time there are many academics, for whom above everything else the WHS intensify tensions and contestation "around universal values of cosmopolitanism, discourses of citizenship, patterns of exclusion and the symbolic

meaning attached to the site" (Boniface and Bianchi 2002:79). Among them, Hitchcock (2002) on his study on the town of Zanzibar stresses the symbolic value of the nomination in linking virtually the site with the rest of the world and in providing global recognition and assistance to a site of national importance. Scott (2002) a Research Fellow on cultural tourism, deals more openly with the politics of WHS. In her study on Cyprus, she explores the circumstances under which the nomination of a site can operate as a symbolic resource for different actors in the politics of a nation-state. More precisely, in the case of Cyprus, WHS embody current political actualities and serve mechanisms of exclusion to the detriment of UNESCO's vision of shared heritage. Accounting for global developments, Silberman (2004:5) insists on that WHS "are rooted in the contemporary political and social realities and inequalities of core and periphery in an increasing globalised economy". In recent years, WHS' conspicuous role in the politics of identity has become a truism among scholars and specialists that concern themselves with the convention. Since 2000, the number of publications dealing with the politics of WHS, their wide geographical coverage (e.g. on Fiji, Kyrgyzstan, Luang Prabang see Harrison and Hitchcock 2005; Long and Sweet 2006; Thompson 2005) and the growing symbolic value of World Heritage allow us to suggest that a new field of inquiry has developed. But most importantly, with regard to the field of the Politics of the Past, all these contributions on the role of WHS in the politics of identity -albeit mostly stemming from the field of AHM and Cultural Tourism- offer a valuable insight into the evolving nature of the nexus between the national and the global, enriching the existing discourse within the discipline of archaeology and sketching diverse processes of identity formation. No matter the socio-political focus of recent publications in reference to WHS, fortunately World Heritage has been also gaining ground as a concept that unites rather than excludes. Some scholars holding an optimistic view point have embraced the concept of World Heritage as an imagined community (Hitchcock 2002) and have conceptualised it as a "vehicle for envisioning and continuing global polity within the conceptual space of a global cultural commons" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006:1).

5.4 Conclusions

Since 1972, WHS have gradually dominated the global, national and local realms. The WHS' escalating significance is indicated by the amount of publications referring to and analysing the WHS and the WH convention, the increasing awareness of the public and the properties' growing symbolic power, stressing in this way the need to introduce the concept of World Heritage as a separate field of inquiry.

First, what I have been attempting to clarify in this chapter is that UNESCO as an organisation represents a specific system of knowledge and thought, which is apparent throughout its mission statement, structure and decision-making. It is also a site of value ascription with a highly politicised and ideological role. The WH nomination has to be seen consequently as a process with political and ideological implications and as a selection between significant and "non-globally significant" properties. More precisely, it is the process that could trigger a site's *eternal life* and consequently lift it to a *sign* and imbue it with global and symbolical value.

Second, evidence exists that the evaluation and valuation of WHS operates significantly as a process of national and local character. States Parties select national properties worthy to be considered World Heritage, and local communities can draw benefit from the financial and tourist profit that the commoditisation of the concept of WH can bring. I believe that WHS' role is not restricted to this. More precisely I would like to suggest that the concept of WH given its ideological and symbolic potency could serve as an apparatus through which nationalistic manifestations and sentiments can find outlet and surpass the limits of nation-states. In fact, as suggested in Chapter 2, nationalism has acquired new modes of expression in light of global actualities, and the WH convention is examined here as one. More precisely, in the spirit of Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, both UNESCO and the WH convention are seen as alternative institutions of power and imagination. In such context, the WHS of Butrint, Vergina and Troy are approached as markers of identity and political signifiers, in an effort to explore politics of belonging in a global context. Although more emphasis is accorded to the active and political role of these highly praised commodities, the intention, however, is to offer an insight into their multidimensional character in the interplay and contestation between global, national and local realms, by exploring the shifts in their interpretive, use, aesthetic and symbolic value, when embracing their WH status.

¹ Without doubt, this chapter has been greatly shaped by my personal experience as an intern in WHC and by my personal involvement in its daily practices. Nevertheless, given my working status there, I engaged in participant observation and I carried just informal conversations. Finally, I decided to avoid any direct references to people or cases with which I was acquainted through my internship.

² See the webcast of the debate on http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=32655&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html [Accessed 23/02/2009]; for the discussion on Universal Museums see Curtis 2005.

³ Overall, nominations are withdrawn before being declined in order to stand more chances of a future nomination.

⁴ For Silberman (2003) and for van der Aa, Groote and Huigen (2004) the listing is an expensive, time-consuming and complicated process. Hence it can act as a hindrance for those States Parties that lack the resources and expertise.

⁵ In the case of Kotor, during the war in Yugoslavia, UNESCO was absent, as the two conservators working for the Institute of Cultural Heritage of Kotor told me.

⁶ UNESCO's emblem was inspired by a cultural symbol, the Parthenon (see <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/404> [Accessed 12/10/2009]).

⁷ This is on the basis of the data I collected during my short stay there in 2004.

⁸ See also website <http://www.friendsofworldheritage.org/>.

⁹ Part of the data presented here, was collected between 2003 and 2005. Consequently, the views expressed here represent reflections on the efforts of the Montenegrin state and people back then to protect and promote the Montenegrin cultural heritage.

CHAPTER 6

Mapping the Balkans

The Balkan Matrix

Rebecca West in the preface of her book *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, a vivid account of her journey in Yugoslavia in the 1930s, wrote:

“Violence was, indeed, all I knew of the Balkans: all I knew of the South Slavs. I derived the knowledge ... from the prejudices of the French, who use the word ‘Balkan’ as a term of abuse, meaning rastaquouère type of barbarian. ... But I must have been wholly mistaken in my acceptance of the popular legend regarding the Balkans. I had to admit that I quite simply and flatly knew nothing at all about the south-eastern corner of Europe;” (West 1977:21)

What is the Balkans? Who are the Balkan people after all? In the previous chapter, UNESCO’s ontology and philosophy, as well as the values of the WH convention, provided insight into the symbolic and legitimising power of WHS. Here the focus is centred on the Balkans, the geo-political region from where the main case study (Butrint) and the complementary examples (Vergina and Troy) are drawn. Having the above questions in mind, this chapter is organised in two sections. The first concentrates on the semiology of the Balkans. More precisely, it aspires to briefly mark out the geographical boundaries of the region, its historical trajectory and its political connotations as seen through the ongoing debate on Balkanism and on the Balkans as a topos of extreme manifestations of nationalism. Archaeologists’ views on this problematic are deemed valuable, as frequently they reflect stereotypes associated with the area. In the second part, the intention is to delineate the “biography” of Balkan nationalism in an attempt to explore the socio-political and historical circumstances under which Albanian, Greek and Turkish nationalism have emerged, identities have been forged and archaeology has been practiced and theorised. However, the aim here is not to review exhaustively all literature regarding nationalism and archaeology in the region. In the spirit of borderland nationalism, it is important to examine all three national manifestations in context in order to understand WHS’ role in identity politics. Hence this chapter intends to provide the reasoning why Balkan nationalisms cannot be seen independently, why the region serves as an ideal platform for the study of

nationalism and to illustrate the reciprocity of Balkan identities by unfolding the period of identity formation. More detailed analysis of how such political actualities influence archaeological interpretations and how archaeology contributes to the politics of the region, through analysing the role of WHS, follows in the ensuing chapters.

6.1 Follow the Discussion: The Semiology of the Balkans

Butrint, Vergina and Troy are situated in a region which was named after the mountain chain that runs through Bulgaria and is characterised by its dramatic landscape (see Brunnbauer and Pilcher 2000; Lambropoulos 2003; Stavrianos 2000:12; Stoianovich 1994).



Figure 6.1 Satellite image of the Balkans (source <http://worldwind.arc.nasa.gov/> [Accessed 24/05/2009]).

Who are the Balkan people? Defining those who qualify to be studied and considered as Balkans has proven to be a difficult task. Scholars do not share the same views in their definitions of the inhabitants of the region (e.g. Jelavich 1983; Ristelheuber 1949;

Stavrianos 2000). Within the spectrum of this research as Balkan people are considered: the Albanians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Former Yugoslavs, Romanians as well as the Turks. Regarding Turkish people, I positively agree with Todorova (1997:31) that they qualify to be classified among the Balkans, since in some ways they belong geographically to the region and they have played a dominant role in Balkan politics as bearers of the Ottoman legacy (cf. Jelavich 1983:xi).



Figure 6.2 Map of the Balkans.

This brings us to the reason why I chose to address the region as the Balkans and not as South East Europe. The term Balkan, as it will be pointed out in the following section, has been evolving in meaning along with the politics of this region. By contrast, South East Europe is a relatively neutral and vague term. Given that my research deals with manifestations of nationalisms and perceptions of identity as expressed within the limits of the modern nation-states of Albania, Turkey and Greece, the term Balkans is deemed more appropriate for the purposes of this study.

But how did the term Balkans, from a mountain chain, come to stand for the whole region, and how from a geographical appellation did it turn into a highly pejorative political cognomen? How did this region become greatly associated with nationalism? These issues are addressed in a large part through the academic discourse on Balkanism, both as a rhetorical paradigm and body of knowledge. Beforehand, it is essential to define succinctly the historical and political processes that have led to the

stereotypical characterisation of the area as one of escalating violence and ancient animosities. In doing so, the justification for examining Butrint and the other supportive case studies in a Balkan context is provided and the entanglement of Balkan politics is presented.

6.1.1 The Nebulous Balkans

From antiquity to the Roman and Byzantine times, the region fell under many rulers and survived tremendous conflicts. Yet up until the Ottoman period, it was not perceived as a discrete geographical, political or historical entity. The Balkans was introduced and established as an appellation, and a geographical and virtual *topos*, only when discovered by the flocks of travellers who traversed the peninsula in their quest for the antique lands and the exotic Orient during the 18th and 19th centuries (see Todorova 1994; 1997). But it is with the outbreak of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) that the word Balkan has been increasingly used with a political connotation rather than in a strictly geographical sense, whereas its symbolic value has been rooted in collective memory. By the end of the Second World War, with the establishment of communist regimes in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania and Romania, the Balkans' significance shifted from a region of perpetual conflict to a relatively tranquil area in view of the new political realignments. Again, with the war in Yugoslavia in the 1990s and its disintegration into autonomous nation-states, the Balkans were re-introduced into the public imagination as a region of ancient hatred and radical nationalism. Since then, its symbolic value has been constantly negotiated and will continue to be so, for as long as the Kosovo and Macedonia issues do not reach a satisfactory solution for the West.

Violence is often stressed as a characteristic pertained to the area and its people (e.g. Kaplan 2005). This is a (mis)conception that has dominated western thought since the First Balkan War. Vaclav Havel, the Czech intellectual, for instance, refers to the area as the "traditionally agitated Balkans" (as cited in Todorova 1994:478). However one should bear in mind that "life in the Balkans was no more violent than elsewhere" (Mazower 2000:143) and as Mazower (2000:147) further notes, aggression in the Balkans is not about a different degree of violence, but a different perception of what violence is.

Apart from drawing political and public attention, the case of the Balkans has also instigated much scholarly awareness. As mentioned earlier, during the 1980s, it

was thought that globalisation would prevail over nationalism and scholars such as Hobsbawm (1990), Gellner (1983), and Anderson (1983) deeply believed that there was no space for histories of ethnic conflicts. Nonetheless, Yugoslavia's fragmentation forced theorists such as Hobsbawm (1992) and Anderson (1991) to recant their belief in the positive impact of modernity. Since then, the discourse on nationalism has been laid on new ground and the notions of nations and nationalism, as subjects of inquiry, were reinvented. In these discussions, stereotypical distinctions between ethnic and civic nationalistic movements are often drawn on the basis of the Eastern-Western dichotomy (on the Eastern-Western dichotomy see Kohn 1944 as cited in Smith 2001a:39). Guibernau (2001:249), for example, suggests that the rise of civic nationalism in France and Germany gave place to ethnic nationalism in Eastern European countries. She advocates that where civic and economical structure did not prove adequate to inspire sentiments of belonging, the past served to create a sense of community and forge national identities. First, it is not intellectually valid to distinguish between generic categories of nationalism, as not all nation-states followed the same processes of national self-determination. Accepting that, is like denying the existence of some sort of ethnic consciousness in the so-called civic nationalism of France or downplaying Kemal's vision of a Turkish nation based on citizenship and common ancestry (see 6.2). Additionally, the above dichotomy does not leave space for nationalisms that emerged in a post-colonial context or in a non-European context. By no means, ethnic nationalism is an exclusive attribute of the Balkans. To this end, Anderson cites the example of Chinese nationalism which principally "seeks imagining to the distant often external past as an anchor to the present" (2001:31; see also Clark 1957:257).

Archaeology was not left unaffected. In a big part of the body of literature on nationalism and archaeology, especially in the 1990s, the pejorative image of the Balkans was widely used to justify the increasing awareness in the discipline concerning the use of the past (see Bernbeck 1997; Härke 1998; Kaiser 1995; Kohl 1998; Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Meskell 1998). Kaiser (1995:99) on his account on *Archaeology and Ideology in South East Europe* stresses that, "nowhere has it been made more horrifyingly clear that the past is a prize, a resource to covet and for which to contend, than in the west Balkans today". Suffice it to say that the war in Yugoslavia coincided with the flourishing of literature on nationalism and archaeology. It seems like the Balkans operated in the same way as Nazism did in the past and feelings of guilt

haunted western archaeologists (on Nazism see Arnold 1990; Junker 1998; Stein 1988). Unfortunately, many scholars did not avoid the pitfall of western stereotypes. For example, in Kohl and Fawcett's (1995:3) view:

"It is not surprising, however, that the blatantly political manipulation of archaeological data is particularly acute today in those areas, such as the Caucasus and the Balkans, which are experiencing ethnic wars".

They also espouse the idea of ancient antipathies and as for the equation of nationalism with ethnicity, they emphasise that, "this correspondence, however, is a peculiar product of the Balkan's specific, ethnically troubled history" (ibid.:11; see also Díaz-Andreu 2001:435). Fortunately, there are those such as Silberman (1995:249-250) who very wisely affirm that the manipulation of the past is not symptomatic of the Balkan case, but a common practice everywhere. Silberman, acknowledging the powerful symbolic value of the past, already from the 1980s observed that "it was now the archaeologists -not the traditional storytellers and mythmakers- who determined which colors each nation's poets, prophets and politicians should use" (1989:9). Yet the stereotypical associations of the area with radical nationalism and the widespread belief in the deliberate manipulation of the archaeological record can greatly serve as the basis for an investigation and analysis of the Balkans' symbolic role in global politics.

6.1.2 Balkan Occidentalism- "Imagined Balkans"

The concept of Balkanism surfaced as a result of the interest that the region attracted, specifically after the ethnic clashes in Yugoslavia and its association with nationalism and conflicts. Todorova (1994; 1997), the Bulgarian historian, was the first to coin the term and develop a theory on the western stereotypical perceptions of the Balkans. In Todorova's words (1997:20), Balkanism is a highly political discussion "that creates a stereotype of the Balkans". The discourse on Balkanism largely touches upon two main issues: the processes that resulted in the Balkans being lifted to an abstract notion, and the roots and dimensions of the East-West dichotomy (on Balkanism's relation to Orientalism see Bjelić 2002; Fleming 2000; Gourgouris 1996; Jusdanis 1998; Todorova 1994; Tziovas 2003). Within this academic context, the Balkans are largely portrayed "as the object of a coherent body of knowledge" (Bjelić 2002:4), "a place in a discourse

geography" (ibid.) and "a powerful symbol floating conveniently outside historical time" (Todorova 1994:8). The above definitions argue that the Balkans have been elevated to a symbolic resource of mythical dimensions and have been established as a type of imagined community (cf. Lambropoulos 2003:266; on Balkan mentality and culture see Kitromilides 1996; Todorova 2004:176).

In order to understand the dynamics of this "community" and the making of the Balkan nation-states, the ideological East and West conflict construes a particularly intriguing parameter. The Balkans is the land where two continents meet, where in popular notions the "West" meets the "East". The Balkans have often been presented as a bridge between these two worlds, a crossroad, an in-between, and liminal land (see Bjelić 2002:6; Fleming 2000:1232; Mazower 2000:71; Skopetea 2003). The dichotomy East-West, though, is the result of processes undergone both in the West and the East simultaneously. Processes that, as Skopetea (2003:171) argues, begun "long before any Balkan nationalism came into being". Since their emergence, the Balkan nation-states struggled to establish themselves within the West and aspired to a western/European identity. Thus, in the 19th century the Balkan states "subverted their own identities by orientalising one another" (Bjelić 2002:4; see also Todorova 1994:9), and by degrading their Ottoman heritage (see Jusdanis 2005). By doing so, identities in the Balkans are often described as hybrid (see Bjelić 2002:19), meaning that they are created by combining two different elements. The Balkans is a world of many "selves" and many "others". More concretely, many "others" correspond for each "self". In this sense, contemporary Greek identity is being constructed, to a great extent, as opposed to an Albanian, a Turkish, a Slavic Macedonian and a Bulgarian "other". As current studies on the politics of otherness demonstrate, modern ethnic stereotypes among Balkan states exhibit the polysemic and dynamic role of representations of otherness in state nationalism and resultantly everyday life (see Brown and Theodossopoulos 2004; Dimitras 2000). Therefore, the selection of the notion of borderland nationalism seems justified (see Chapter 2). Yet one should bear in mind that constructions of otherness and power relations in the Balkans are not fixed but context-dependent and constantly negotiated (see Brown and Theodossopoulos 2004:12). As for the Ottoman past, which stands for a significant part of all Balkan nation-states' "self", it is greatly neglected since Balkan people deny the contribution of Ottoman heritage (e.g. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1991; Papouli 2002; Reistelheuber 1949), even if following communist regimes' collapse "the cultural amnesia of a shared past" gradually "evaporated"

(Tziovas 2003:7-8). In a world of national communities, imagined or not, hybridity is not entirely acceptable in the Balkans. It seems that there is still space only for “singularities”.

Both Balkan nationalism and identities are recurrent issues in academic and public discourse. Their study is deemed essential given the stereotypical associations of the area with aggressive nationalism, Balkan nation-states’ strivings to orientalise one another, or more specifically the struggle to distinguish themselves from one another and lastly the notion of fluid and contested identities both within the limits of the various Balkan countries and especially in the areas where different nation-states intersect (see Carabott 1997; Cowan 2000; Karakasidou 1993; 1997; Mackridge and Yannakakis 1997; Winnifrith 1995). The nature of identities along with the ontology of nationalism in the region are largely understood in light of the five centuries of Ottoman rule and the events that shaped the area throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. These are the historical conditions that led to the foundation of the Balkan nation-states and define the context within which nationalism manifests in the Balkans today. Consequently attention is basically focused on the period of the national uprisings, the establishment of nation-states and the institutionalisation of archaeology.

6.2 Follow the History

6.2.1 The Ottoman Past and the Yearning for Nationhood and Statehood

Dealing here with processes of identity formation, it is necessary to take into account that the region of the Balkans has been moulded ethnically and culturally over the course of many centuries and that identities have been constantly negotiated. Often, however, the Byzantine and the Ottoman Empires are mistakenly perceived as ethnically homogenous cultural blocks. Not only the area of Anatolia has been repopulated, but also the western part of the Byzantine Empire, has been ethnically transformed with the arrival of the Slavs between the 6th and 7th centuries AD and the constant flow and displacement of people (see Stavrianos 2000).

Since 1453, the year of the sacking of Constantinople, within a period of 150 years, the entire peninsula of Haemus passed under the rule of the Ottomans. Their empire lasted for approximately 500 years (see Appendix 8) and had a deep socio-political impact on the region. What distinguished, though, the Ottoman imperial

governance was its highly advanced organisation. At the civic level, the population was divided into administrative units, known as millets, based on religion rather than on language or ethnicity. In the empire, after the Muslim community, the *millet-i rum* (Greek millet or Orthodox millet) was the most numerous. The orthodox populations were largely free to practice their religion and benefited financially and politically from the religious orientation of the Ottoman state. It is within this context of a multi-ethnic and multi-religious Ottoman Empire that the ground for the identity building was laid. Indeed religion, as Mazower (2000:51) points out, was the glue that kept this population together, whereas subsequently nationalism proved to be a dividing force.

The first steps towards national self-determination were taken in the 18th century. But it was only in the beginning of 19th century that the wars for independence broke out. Prior to the rise of nationalism and following the termination of the Ottoman expansion, as Tziovas (2003:4) remarks, the Balkans enjoyed a period of stability. This is the time when the new class of *Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchants* (Stoianovich 1960) in their majority Greek speaking, emerged. Indeed it was these intellectuals Greek or Hellenised-Greek-speaking Vlach, Albanian and Serbs of the Diaspora (see Kitromilides 2003b:473; Roudometof 1998:32), that introduced nationalism into the Balkans. The gradual disintegration and disempowerment of the Ottoman Empire, the synchronised intervention of the Great Powers and the “resentment against the prolonged Greek supremacy” (Kitromilides 2003b:475) and more precisely the increasing loathe of the Christian subjects and other subjugated population to the corruption and overarching power of the Patriarchate and Phanariotes (Greek high-ranking officials), further facilitated the processes of “national renaissance” (see also Mazower 2000).

The movements for national uprising did not manifest in the same manner and at the same time in all Balkan countries. They varied depending on specific geographical constraints, discrete economical and political conditions, and on the degree of Ottoman control exercised in each country. Two key parameters are seminal in understanding national manifestations in the area. Firstly, throughout the Ottoman rule, identities in the Balkans were rather fluid. The only badge of distinction was religion and language. Yet these traits did not always operate in a supplementary way. To provide an example, in the course of the 18th century, the Greek had turned into a *lingua franca* (see Kitromilides 2003b:472-473; Tziovas 2003:5) to the extent that Bulgarian and Romanian nationalists expressed their aspirations publishing in Greek.

By the time that the Greek Patriarchate lost its power and new autonomous regional churches were founded, the Bulgarian, Romanian and Serbo-Croat languages substituted Greek in all liturgical books and nationalists' agendas.

The second parameter is related to the different degree of national aspirations between the urban and rural populations. Nationalism in its conception and diffusion is an urban phenomenon closely linked to the intellectuals and upper classes. In the case of the Balkans, intellectuals specifically in the Diasporas generated nationalist ideas based on ideals of ethnic purity and regeneration of past glories (in relation to Albanian Diaspora see also Malcolm 2002; regarding Greek Diaspora see Skopetea 1988). Consequently, these ideas spread from urban centres towards the rural areas. But not only peasants' dreams of independence were by and large attached to rights over land; the majority of rural population did not also have a clear view of their identity and made distinctions largely in terms of religious beliefs and local ancestry. With the spread of nationalism and the birth of new nation-states with definite borders, people had to adopt a strict identity in ethnic terms. The mobility of population, the fluid territorial and ethnical limits and the Ottoman organisation of millet resulted in nation-states that they were not ethnically pure (see Mazower 2000:114-115).

6.2.2 The National Uprisings and the Molding of National Identities

In the Balkan region, the 19th and early 20th centuries are marked by national uprisings and by the foundation of monarchies and republics. The Serbs were the first to revolt against the Ottoman Empire in 1804. The Greek War for Independence officially broke out in 1821 and the Greek state was founded only a few years later, in 1832. However the country acquired its present borders not earlier than in 1947, year of the incorporation of the Dodecanese islands (see Appendix 9). In the case of Albania, even if its first organised movement towards sovereignty dates back to 1878, it was only in 1912 that it gained its independence. As for the Turks, they were the last to establish a republic in 1923 following the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, the rise of the nationalist group of Young Turks and the emergence in the Turkish political scene of the very gifted personality of Atatürk.

These revolutionary movements for autonomy would have not succeeded had it not been for the intervention of the Great Powers (see also Glenny 1999; Stoianovich

2000:xxviii). Their role was not limited only to the provision of artillery, they were destined to set the borders and essentially draw the map of the Balkans through the projection of their own vested interests. It is true that the Great Powers' insatiability mired Serbia's and Greece's irredentist plans against Albania and granted to the later its present borders. Following the Albanian autonomist movement's failure (League of Prizren) to align its goals with Young Turks' aspiration, the Albanian people achieved independence due to the support of the Diaspora and the intervention of the Great Powers (see Vickers 1997). Likewise, the Greek War for Independence benefited considerably from the moral and financial support of western supporters and aficionados of the Greek culture, with a wish to safeguard classical heritage and simultaneously serve their plans for control over the region. In concrete terms, the Great Powers achieved to control to a significant extent, the irredentist aspirations of each Balkan nation, leading to contested borders, ethnic minorities, and extended policies for cultural assimilation.

Mapping Balkan Nationalisms

Crucial event in the formation of national identities in the Balkans and in the delimitation of Balkan borders, and determinant factor for each state's national composition was evidently the Lausanne Treaty. As a result of the 1923 treaty, there existed considerable minorities in the Greek kingdom comprising of Muslim Albanians (Chams), Turkish Muslim communities, as well as populations of Slavic and Vlach origins (see Carabott 1997; Cowan 2000; Karakasidou 1993; 1997; Mackridge and Yannakakis 1997; Winnifrith 1995). The population exchange also excluded the Greek population of Constantinople (modern Istanbul) and a substantial Greek minority in southern Albania (on Greek-Turkish minority see Poutouridou 1995:6; Traiou 1995:2). By all means, by the end of the 1920s none of the Balkan states was ethnically pure. Leaving aside the apparent ethnic incongruity, most of them placed nationalism high in their agendas and identified ethnicity with citizenship. Turkey's case slightly differs. Contrary to the clear-cut ethnic distinctions applied in the Balkans as a means to provide the criteria for citizenship, Kemal put under the aegis of his republic all those wanting to share his vision, on condition that they assimilate and define themselves as Turks. Nevertheless, in his conception of Turkish identity there was no space for other ethnicities such as Armenians, Greeks and Kurds, who have served as Turkey's

internal other over the course of years (see Cagaptay 2004; Canefe 2002; Isyar 2005; Öktem 2004:568). Undeniably, the existence of substantial minorities within the limits of all Balkan states undermined their dreams and hopes for pure ethnic nations and have determined the status of the transnational relations among them until the present.

Even after 1923, when the Lausanne peace treaty was signed, “the successor states appealed to the principle of nationality to claim their neighbour lands: irredentism lived on and few Balkan borders were uncontested” (Mazower 2000: 114,115). It is also in those days that the Balkan nation-states’ vision for the re-acquisition of their lost homelands was crystallised; visions that remain unchanged until nowadays. In the Albanian psyche, Greater Albania expands across the area that is now known as Kossovo, Southern Montenegro, Northern Epirus and Western Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). In a similar fashion, the eternal Greek homelands, in a supranationalistic understanding of the Greek ethnos, lie within the borders of modern Albania and Turkey. The most striking example is by far the case of the Macedonian region, which has prevailed in most nations’ territorial claims sketching the irredentist and conflicting character of Balkan nationalism. In other words, national narratives and agendas regularly surpass national borders, given that Balkan states’ imagination cannot be restrained within their territorial limits.

Beyond irredentism, the newly born Balkan states also shared a common outlook towards the West and had aspirations for a European identity (see Goldsworthy 1998). For Turks, with only three percent of their territory located in the European continent, the loss of the Balkan territories signified their exclusion from the West (Skopetea 2003:152). This did not, though, discourage Kemal’s vision for moulding a Turkish identity through modernisation and Europeanisation (see Çolak 2003; Öktem 2003:4). Aside from lessening religious control, working in favour of the emancipation of women, introducing European legal codes and secular forms of governance, Kemal foresaw the ideological and political potency of the past in establishing the Turkish nation in a European context. Given also the case of Greece, where the Classical lands “were eventually reclaimed by the West as its rightful heritage” (Skopetea 2003:171), the Balkan states expressed great interest in the discovery, projection and fabrication of their past, investing on cultural heritage’s potential as a valuable commodity that could also guarantee their inclusion and acceptance in the West.

The Making of the Balkan Nations and the Uses of the Past

Immediately after being freed from the Ottoman rule, Balkan states “naturally looked back to their respective periods of imperial power and glory” wishing, as Stavrianos (2000:15) claims, to use these traditions to produce locality and provide credibility. Subsequently, theories of ethnogenesis were placed at the core of each new nation-state’s agenda. The past was lifted from obscurity, gathering value in order to attain high symbolic significance and nourish the myths of the new states.

In the biography of the Greek nation-state, the past has been proven early enough a valuable component in enculturation policies, irredentist claims and identity formation mechanisms. Greece, in Silberman’s (1989:8) opinion, is one of the first countries in the Balkans “to experience a direct connection between archaeological discovery and national feeling”. By 1829, the first national archaeological museum was established in Aigina, and by 1834 the first systematic archaeological law was put into force in order to safeguard the most valuable resource of the Greek kingdom (see Kokkou 1977). In the Greek War for Independence (1821-1829), the past also held a fundamental role, because not only it fuelled the war as such (see Skopetea 1988:190-204), but also in many cases it became the central cause for fighting among both the insurgent Greeks and the westerner supporters (see Clogg 1992:27-28; Gourgouris 1996; Morris 1994). Most concretely, the established connection between the War for Independence and Classical Greece, led to the detachment of the Greek movement from the other Balkan national movements (Skopetea 1988:209) and according to Augustinos (2003:97) served “to distinguish the Greeks in their own eyes” from the other Balkan nation-states (see also Veremis 1995a; 2000). Within this frame of fixation to the classical past, in the 19th century the capital of the state was transferred from Nafplio to Athens -a dusty little village-, Acropolis was purified from any construction not reflecting its 5th BC century glory and every tangible or intangible trace of Ottoman heritage was meticulously erased or concealed (see Alexandri 2002; Athanassopoulou 2002; Clogg 1992:2; Politis 1993:76; Yalouri 2001).

Over the course of time, Greek nationalism has though invested in the Hellenic nation’s perennial and eternal character, through a linear conceptualisation of time. Regardless if the Byzantine and Hellenistic heritage, and the Prehistoric past were eventually redeemed and found their rightful place in the national agenda and collective memory, the classical heritage as the Greek Golden Age has been a driving impetus in national imagery (see Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996; 1999; Yalouri 2001) and

an optimal propaganda vehicle in most interstate or supranational conflicts (see Augustinos 2003; Hamilakis 2002a; 2007a; Mouliou 1996; Yalouri 2001:196).

The Turkish Republic was proclaimed following the Greek-Turkish war of 1919-1922. For the new republic, the 1919 to 1922 hostilities symbolised “its own war of Independence” (Clogg 1992:101). Atatürk was the founding father of the Turkish Republic and of Turkish nationalism, known as *Kemalism* (see Clogg 1992:94). Kemalist nationalists aspired to create a secular state liberated from the Ottoman heritage and Islam, and to infuse in its citizens regardless of their origins, a deep sense of Turkishness. Apart from the strategies and policies for modernisation and subsequently Europeanisation, he basically foresaw the authority of the past in making a meaningful present and building a secure future. Recognising its potential and endorsing the idea of a Turkish nation, he founded the Turkish Historical Society, where the Turkish Historical Thesis was conceived and propagated.¹ According to the thesis, the Turks are not related to the Mongols, but being a brachycephalic people from Central Asia, they are the predecessors of all major civilisations. For the substantiation of these theories a quest for the roots of Turkish nation was triggered and archaeology was called forth. Atatürk himself took a personal interest in the developing of archaeology in the 1930s (see Erciyas 2005; Özdogan 1998). Due to his initiatives, Turkish students studied abroad, archaeological projects were launched and national museums were established (see Özdogan 1998:118). It is remarkable, that although the Ottomans had also acknowledged their territorial past's assets, national conceptions of the self surfaced only on the eve of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and were mainly elaborated through Kemal's intensified nationalisation processes. Ottoman Empire's interest in its territorial cultural heritage stemmed principally from the recognition of its significance as a means “of re-inscribing the Ottoman's state power” and (of) “claiming a different kind of presence in the European scene” through the creation of a modern (European) identity (Bartu 1997:61; see also Shaw 2003). At a contextual and ontological level, in the theories of Turkish ethnogenesis comparable to the Greek case, continuity has been a key element in the promulgation of national myths and the inculcation of national consciousness. Although Kemal's historical thesis was weakened after his death, theories on the eternal life of the Turkish nation persisted and have been fuelling archaeological research up to the present day.

Albania was one of the last countries in the Balkan Peninsula to gain its autonomy (1912). A series of components decelerated the processes that would have

led to the Albanian national formation varying from the country's geographical location, the country's division to two distinct tribal groups the Ghegs and Tosks, the Albanians' religious affiliation and their political aspirations (see Kondis 1994; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1991:281, 284; Vickers 1997; Zavalani 1971; Zhelyazkova 2005). Albanian national consciousness was built during these first decades of the 20th century (see Malcolm 2002), albeit national mythology records incidents of Albanian patriotism that date back in the medieval times, reflecting the nation's need to build a linear genealogy. Similar to the Greek and Turkish case, Albanian nationalism is perennial in conception and aspirations. The Illyrians, seen as one of the oldest inhabitants of the peninsula are identified as the glorious ancestors of modern Albanians, whereas the medieval Arbers bridge historically Illyria with modern Albania. Contrary to the Greek or to the more modernist Turkish nationalism, however "Albanian nationalism was prompted less by need for freedom", as Wilkes (1995:27) maintains. It mostly rose as a response to Greek and Slavic irredentism (see also Malcom 2002:80).

Albanian nationalism predominantly flourished from the end of the Second World War onwards, when the country ceased being under Italian and German influence and the Communist Republic was established. Enver Hoxha, the communist leader, ruled for almost 40 years until his death in 1985 and governed all aspects of Albanian life. Accordingly, "Albanian archaeology -one of the newest branches of our historical sciences", as it is stated in an official guide on Albania, "was born, grew and developed parallel with the people's state power" (MCYS 1989:236; see also Kamberi 1993; Veseli 2006). Extensive archaeological work therefore has been carried out in Albania always in accordance with the political line of the state and the national imagery (Hodges 2000a; Hodges et al. 2004:12; see Chapter 7). Nonetheless it accepted that the first to have established Albania's past as a symbolic resource are the Italian and the French archaeological teams, which conducted excavations in Albania up until the Second World War (see Gilkes 2003).

Archaeology and nationalism are closely entwined in the Balkans. Despite the particularities in their agendas, Albania, Greece and Turkey concentrated on inculcating a sense of identity to their new culturally diverse citizens through the territorialisation and singularisation of the past. To this end, each state either saved from oblivion, revived or invented heroic tales and established true or fictitious noble genealogies.

6.3 Conclusions: Balkan Identities

The biography of the region sheds light on the mechanisms and conditions that contributed and still contribute to its complexity. During the period of the Ottoman Empire, identities were rather fluid and no region was ethnically pure; instead populations were organised in small communities arranged on the basis of religion. In the 19th century, with the wars for independence, people in the Balkans were asked to select identity not according to their religious beliefs, but on the basis of ethnicity. With their new identity, in some cases they inherited a new past, new myths or even a new language. State policies for assimilation also instilled national pride, historic consciousness and patriotism into them. Yet national borders did not prove capable enough to confine national imagery. Due to the existence of ethnic minorities, contested borders and aspirations, conceptions of otherness and stories of lost homelands have monopolised national narratives and regulated Balkans' transnational relations.

In terms of the archaeology-nationalism nexus, one can easily distinguish that the Albanian case shares qualities with the Greek and Turkish one. Balkan politics have deeply shaped Albanian, Greek and Turkish nationalism and their state-oriented archaeological theory and practice. Suffice to say that the definition of borders in the Balkans was a result of a continuous struggle between the Balkan states not only on battlefields, but mainly at an ideological level through the careful and systematised nationalisation of the material manifestations of the past. As a result, past qualities were over-emphasised, myths were naturalised and the heritage was enhanced with layers of interpretations. Moreover, deeply nationalistic and perennial in their conception, the concepts of territoriality, continuity and precedence dominated Balkan nation-states' vocabulary.

How can the Balkans be defined then? Mapping the Balkans has developed into a difficult undertaking (see Kitromilides 2003a:28). As Beban very aptly puts it:

"Whichever it is, geopolitically and culturally, the Balkans is almost impossible to define. Less something made than something in the making, the Balkans can at any point in time become what one needs or desire to be." (Beban 2002:5)

In alluding to Balkans' multiple layers of meaning I perceive them not just as a geographical entity, but mainly as a historical and political actuality that moves within space and time. It is a community of people which differs as much as it looks alike; a marker with powerful symbolic significance. Identities, nation-states and archaeology were moulded under the same historical and political circumstances. Therefore, a comparative study is not just suitable, but essential in order to illuminate the reciprocal character of Balkan nationalism, the complex processes in terms of identity building in the region and to highlight the current situation as manifested through WHS. Speaking of Balkan nationalism, however, one should not consider just radical nationalism as a defining characteristic of the area and its cultures, as many imply. There is no doubt that nationalism is prominent in the Balkans' agenda. Yet it has been demonstrated that it is not the nationalist manifestations that make the Balkan case unique, but the dynamic political and historical circumstances that shaped this region for more than five centuries.

¹ In this spirit, Ankara became the capital instead of Istanbul and Kemal introduced The Sun-Language Theory, which largely maintained that all languages derive from one Central Asian primal language.

CHAPTER 7

Marginal Locations, Marginal Sites and Liminal Identities: The Case of the WHS of Butrint

Having already presented the Balkans as the geographical and historical matrix where identities are molded, a diachronic examination of Butrint's identity will trace the shifts in its value and elucidate its WH designation with regard to the politics of identity and the ideological and practical aspects of the site's new status. As stressed earlier, sites and monuments have many lives (see Chapter 3). In dealing here with archaeological sites, it is important to speak also about *afterlives*. The *afterlife* of a site begins with its discovery, study, and publication; and it becomes enhanced through its protection, management, and representation. Several sites achieve *eternal life* by being elevated to national landmarks, markers of symbolic and in this case global reflection by being designated WHS. Hence, all phases in the *life* and *afterlife* of Butrint are presented here briefly, providing the raw material to explore its *eternal life* and the significance behind its WH designation in light of the dynamic interplay between the global, national and local realms.

7.1 Butrint' s Biography



Figure 7.1 View of the WHS of Butrint, the peninsula of Ksamili (on the far right) and the Vrina plain (on the left). On the background the island of Corfu (courtesy of R. Hodges).

Butrint, in the south of Albania, is located 19 kilometres from the port of Saranda, a short distance from the east shore of the straits of Corfu and a couple of kilometres

away from the Albanian-Greek borders. The ancient city of Butrint lies on a small hill, a stretch of land, surrounded by the waters of Vivari channel and lake Butrint (Figure 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3). The rest of the archaeological site extends on the Vrina plain, in close proximity to the modern villages of Xarra, Shen Deli, Vrina to the south, and Ksamili to the north. The surrounding landscape is diverse, with small hills, once islands in lake Butrint, and a mountain chain in the background defining the limits between southern (Greek) and northern (Albanian) Epirus (see 7.7).



Figure 7.2 Map of the Butrint National Park (courtesy of R. Hodges).



Figure 7.3 Aerial view of the main archaeological site of Butrint (courtesy of R. Hodges).

Human occupation in the surrounding area dates back to the middle Palaeolithic and continues through the Neolithic period and Bronze Age. However, the main site of Butrint has been inhabited from the middle Bronze Age onwards. Regarding the origins of the city, not surprisingly, several myths survive up to the present. In the *Aeneid*, Virgil associates the city's foundation with the exiled Trojans, Helenus and Andromache. Aeneas, the founder of Rome, on his way to Italy visited Butrint and recounted that Helenus "called the plains the Chaonian plains and the whole district Chaonia after Chaon of Troy" (West 1990:57). In so far the "New Troy" myth resides however in the realms of mythology and not of archaeology. As Hodges (2006:51), scientific director of Butrint Foundation (BF) explains: "No traces of the Trojan Bronze Age have come to light at Butrint".

Butrint is a unique case of a site whose biography has been continually enriched from its foundation to the 19th century. As a result, its significance has increased and decreased over time. Its status altered and its identity has been constantly negotiated. In this frame of mind and for the purposes of this study, I focus on the phases of the site's biography that reflect these shifts of meaning and status. For instance, between the 8th and the 6th centuries BC, connections with the Corinthian colony of Corfu are evident in the archaeological material. From the 4th century onwards, Butrint prospered as the centre of the cult of Asclepius (Melfi 2007). Following the death of

Alexander the Great, Butrint became an independent city in the Epirote League and later with the gradual decline of the Macedonian kingdom and the rise of the Roman Empire, the city was designated a Roman colony under Caesar in 44 BC and under Augustus in 31 BC. As a Roman colony, Butrint reached its peak and expanded on the Vrina plain covering an area of approximately 0,32 km² (on Roman Butrint see Hansen and Hodges 2007). In the late Roman times, Butrint, in the margins of the eastern Roman Empire, underwent considerable alterations. During this period, a series of constructions and architectural features, such as the baptistery and the trinconch palace signify its transition from a Roman colony to a bishopric and centre of Christianity. By the end of the 5th century, however, with the Goths' attack and other raids the town changed dramatically and its prosperity was brought to an end.¹

The Byzantine control revived Butrint as a stronghold in the western limits of the empire in the 10th century (see Hodges et al. 2004). Two centuries later, Butrint's prominence further increased under the successive occupation of the Angevins and the Venetians. At a strategic location in proximity to Corfu, the sieges demonstrate the struggles over control of the straits. Consequently, from then onwards, the majority of the constructions were clearly of military character. For example, in 1453, the year of the siege of Constantinople, the Venetians built the triangular fortress which from 1572 onwards construed the nucleus of medieval Butrint. In 1797, Ali Pasha of Tepelena, key figure of Albanian history, took over Butrint and in 1814 built the castle on the mouth of the Vivari channel. Most notably, under his control, fascination with the ancient site arose (on Ali Pasha see Brøndsted 1999; Fleming 1999). At the time, according to the Albanian archaeologist Ceka (1999:23):

"Butrint was known as a place where wild boar and other game could be caught ... and was occasionally visited by tourists from Corfu, either for hunting or to see the ruins".

Among its visitors are listed the English philhellene Lord Byron, colonel Leake, the French consul Pouqueville and the artist Louis Dupré. Later, in the mid-19th century, Butrint was further re-visited, sketched, painted and photographed by Henry Cook, the Irish Sir Arthur McMurrough Kavanagh and Edward Lear (see Bejko and Hodges 2006). The sketches of the latter, in fact, together with Leake's account of his visit to Butrint represent significant advance in our knowledge of Butrint's passage to *afterlife*.

Butrint officially entered its *afterlife* with the launch of archaeological research in the 1920s. The first to excavate was an Italian team, led by Luigi Ugolini. The Italians excavated at Butrint from 1928 until 1943, time when Albania ceased being under Italian influence. After the gap of the Second World War, interest flourished again, this time from the Albanian communist government (see Martin 2006). As a result, in 1948 Butrint was designated as “a site of historical importance” (Martin 2001:9) and a guard was appointed on the site. Yet, systematic excavations started only under the direction of Dhimosten Budina from 1956 onwards. In the same period, Professor Blavatski and a Soviet archaeological team ran in Butrint also a collaborative project in light of the Albanian-Russian relations. It is though the May 1959 visit of Nikita Khrushchev, leader of the Soviet Union (between 1958 and 1964), that signalled a change in Butrint’s life history. Up to then, the site was approached by boat from the port of Saranda. Khrushchev’s visit prompted the Albanian government to construct a road, which remains the main access to the Butrint National Park (BNP) up to the present.

Between 1950 and 1990, the Albanian Institute of Archaeology (IoA) periodically undertook excavation campaigns, a museum was established, the number of visitors grew and Butrint was set under the aegis of the first Albanian law (1981) on the protection of sites of environmental importance (Hodges et al. 2004:7). Regardless of these efforts, during this period, the state’s introversion gradually increased, confining itself and Butrint to its national borders. That is to say that Butrint re-emerged in the global scene only after the collapse of the communist regime, when the first collaborative projects with foreign teams were initiated. Between 1989 and 1994, Katerina Hatzi from the Technical University of Athens, and Arafat and Morgan from King’s College London excavated the acropolis. In 1993 following the visit of Lord Rothschild at the site, the BF, an English charity was founded and after only a year, BF in collaboration with the IoA launched the first season of excavations.

Albania, having ratified the WH convention in 1989 proceeded to the nomination of Butrint as a WHS a year later (see Appendix 10). Yet at that point, ICOMOS (1992:1) recommended the deferment of the nomination in order “to await verification of various definitions and plans relating to its protection”. Eventually, in 1992 Butrint -only the intramural area covering 0,16 Km²- was designated WHS meeting criterion iii (see ICOMOS 1992:2). Five years later, according to ICOMOS’ estimation, civil unrest deemed essential further action concerning the protection of the site (see UNESCO 1997). During this period of turmoil, the museum of Butrint was

looted and the integrity of the site was greatly threatened (see Gilkes 2002). Under these circumstances, Butrint was inscribed on the list of WHS in Danger, on which it remained until July 2005 out of concern for the deterioration of its *outstanding universal value*. In 1999, ICOMOS (1999) interfered once again, asking for the extension of the buffer zone for fear of uncontrolled tourism development in a small area on the coast, since there were then plans from foreign investors for the creation of holiday villages. Finally the WH Committee extended the property under the existing criterion iii and in 2000 the Butrint National Park (BNP) was established (see ICOMOS 1999). This new legal status of the site took under its protection an area of 29 Km² (Figure 7.2) and a director was appointed for the management of the park (Martin 2001:11). Overall the legal measures for the protection of the site justify Carman's (1996) assertion that law gives publicly recognised value to archaeological material. In this sense, all these protective legislations must have strengthened the public national and local value of Butrint and simultaneously have established Butrint not only at a governmental and systemic level, but also at an idiosyncratic level, meaning in individuals' and local communities' memory. Among these legal measures, however the WH convention stands out for its ideological, political and practical prospects.

7.2 Borders, Marginality and the Eternal Life of Butrint

Liminality and marginality are crucial concepts (see Chapter 2) for understanding Butrint's *afterlife* and *eternal life*, especially as enhanced and affected by its WH status and its position in the politics of belonging. The site however, has not only many lives, but also multiple identities. Those who excavated, visited, studied, managed it and took authority over the site have contributed to its diverse, often contested meaning and importance. The intention here is to explore the different values ascribed to Butrint by tracing its transition from the *afterlife* to the *eternal life*. As discussed above, Butrint's marginal geographical location (see Figure 7.2) is an important parameter in the exploration of its biography, the reasons behind its inclusion on the WH list and the site's centrality in state agenda following the WH designation. As for its ideological marginality, it is examined here in relation to the site's signification in Albanian history and geography.

Marginality and borderland communities have raised a lot of interest lately,

especially within the discipline of anthropology (see Chapter 2). More specifically, three studies of relevance to this research have come out not long ago. All three focus on the area that lies on both sides of the Greek-Albanian borders (de Rapper 2002; 2004; Green 2005; Winnifrith 2002; of interest is also Papadopoulos' study on Prespa lakes (forthcoming)). Identity politics are at the core of Winnifrith's (2002), de Rapper's (2004) and Green's (2005) essays on the perception and negotiation of identity among marginal communities. Marginality within the context of this research is defined as being similar to De Rapper's and Green's view; is not regarded as a negative attribute, but more of a trait of both ambiguity and ordinariness (Green 2005:10). Both scholars also agree on that marginality has an impact on borderland communities' perceptions of identities. Through the example of Butrint, the objective is to show how both marginality and liminality are determining factors in the negotiation of the site's identity, respectively of the identity of the communities in its hinterland, and appear to be seminal parameters in the projection of its *outstanding universal value*.

The analysis of Butrint's values develops as follows. The starting point is the systematic excavations of the site by the Italian mission between 1924 and 1943. From 1944 onwards, Butrint's role as one of the underpinnings of the nationalistic propaganda of the communist regime illuminates the mechanisms that instigated its passage to the *eternal life*. The turning point is the period between 1989 and 1992, when Albania ratified the WH convention, proceeded to Butrint's nomination, and the first democratic elections took place. The site's designation as a WHS in 1992 marks a long period when Butrint from a site of national and local value, is lifted to a signifier of global heritage. In investigating thoroughly the political and practical implications of the designation, the intention is to shed light on how the site's new status has enhanced and diverged Butrint's biography. Attention is next drawn to local perceptions, as alternative and more idiosyncratic attitudes towards cultural heritage, as opposed to national and global readings of the material manifestations of the past. The aim is to detect the shifts in the site's meaning and scrutinize how its marginal location determined its role in the Albanian national imagination, inter-nation-states (transnational) conflicts and subsequently its designation as a WHS. One should bear in mind, that the WH status is just a phase in Butrint's rich and long biography, a palimpsest of continuities and discontinuities. Each stage in the site's biography is inextricably linked with the previous and next ones notwithstanding. Thereby, the WH listing can only be

understood if seen in connection to the site's past and present and in light of Balkan politics.

7.3 Italian Politics and the Search for Aeneas (1924-1944)

Before being of any national significance for Albania, Butrint served as one of the landmarks of the Fascist myth of Romanita. Aeneas was seen as the founder of the Italian nation, and Butrint was perceived as a momentous step in his journey (see Gilkes 2003; Gilkes and Miraj 2000; Hansen 2007; see Figure 7.4). The ties between Albania and Italy, as a matter of fact, have always been strong. In antiquity, the area attracted the attention of Caesar and Augustus.



Figure 7.4 View of Ugolini's "Scaean Gate". It was named after the Trojan Scaean Gate in the spirit of Romanita.

For Gilkes (2004:40) the inclusion of Butrint in Aeneas' voyages by Virgil "has far more to do with Roman politics of the later Republic ... than any ancient tradition" (see also Bowden et al. 2002). Hansen and Pojani (2003) also suggest that the colony of Butrint could have respectively exploited its mythological association with Troy, the mother city of Rome, in order to obtain imperial benefaction.

From the collapse of the Roman Empire to the rise of Byzantium and Venice's naval dominance, Butrint held a key role in the struggle over control of the straits of Corfu and the sea route of the Adriatic. It is, however, in the 1920s following the Balkan wars, that Butrint's *afterlife* began and the mechanisms that led to *eternal life* were activated. Albania was one of the last Balkan countries to be declared an independent state. Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, Greece, Serbia and Italy viewed Albanian lands as potential territories for expansion and political control. Greece's and Serbia's, plans for territorial expansion, however, were proven futile, and Italian influence and control prevailed. Italian imperialism in Albania had many facets and archaeology was one of them, since "antique imagery and perceived tradition had a fundamental importance for fascist philosophy" (Gilkes 2003:33). In the early 1920s Italian political and financial intervention was immediately followed by the establishment of an archaeological mission. The objective of the Italian mission was twofold. First the intention was to offer through excavations the raw material for the validity of Aeneas' myth and consequently justify the mission's presence in Albania. Next, this project directed its efforts towards providing to the newly born Albanian state the ideological foundation and the means of empowerment in order to protect itself from Greek and Serbian irredentism, through the unearthing of monuments associated with its ancestors the Illyrians (see Paribeni 1903; 1924 as cited in Gilkes 2004:44; Francis 2001; Gilkes 2004; see also Kamberi 1993:5).

The Italian archaeological mission worked in Albania between 1924 and 1943. At first, Phoenice, the ancient capital of the Epirote League, monopolised Italians' interest (see Gilkes and Miraj 2000:113-114). By 1927 the project in Phoenice was ended and Butrint surfaced as the new focal point of the mission. For Gilkes (2003:41), this shift in Italian mission's goals "is connected with the developing momentum of the myth of Romanita in Italy". Moreover, as Gilkes (2003, 2004) reveals from his extensive research on the archives of the Italian mission, in later years the abundant data concerning Butrint's pre-eminence in the fascist mythology even overshadowed the Italian policies in favour of the Albanian emancipation.

Butrint's discovery is closely entwined with the life of the young prehistoric archaeologist Ugolini. From 1928 to 1943, Ugolini and his successors (Luigi Marconi and Domenico Mustilli) unearthed most of the area of the Asclepius temple, bringing to light the theatre, the baptistery and the triconch palace (see Payne 2003:10). This expedition was not only fruitful in terms of the structures uncovered, but also in terms of the production of a vast archive of pictures, drawings and maps (further on the work of the Italian mission see Gilkes 2003). Yet Ugolini's techniques have been put under scrutiny and in several instances he has been blamed for the loss of valuable information. Albanian archaeologists often stress that the Italians overlooked the Illyrian past to the advantage of the study of Roman antiquity (e.g. Anon. 1987:8; Kallfa and Korkuti 1971; Kostallari 1971:5; Strazimir 1973). As for Ugolini, in search for the Aenean landscape he removed upper layers -evidence of recent phases of occupation- in order to unearth glorious structures such as the baptistery and the theatre (Hodges et al. 2004:16; see Figure 7.5, 7.6). According to the local people, his interference was not just limited to haphazard excavations. As a local of Vlach origin from the village of Xarra told me, rumours about Ugolini and the illegal transfer of findings to Italy still survive among the local residents. This same man recounted an anecdotal story about the nature of Ugolini's research. According to the story, some people in Konispoli asked the archaeologist: "You have been working for so many years there what have you found? He replied: Up to this point everything we have found is Greek. We have found nothing about the Illyrians". Even though the findings of the Italian excavations failed to substantiate the Albanian theories of Illyrian presence in the area -specifically since interest predominantly focused on the Roman and Hellenistic phases- the project had a deep influence on Albanian archaeology and national narratives. Already from the earlier stages of the project, Butrint's national importance has been acknowledged and embraced. For example, the discovery of the theatre was received with such an enthusiasm by the Albanian King Zog,² that Ugolini was awarded the Order of Skanderbej; an important national honour (see Gilkes and Miraj 2000:117). Gilkes (2003:46-47) characteristically notes that, "Ugolini's work in the country provided the true scientific basis on which a developed theory of the ethnogenesis could be founded, later to be expounded in books, journals, and conferences". Ugolini, besides, in pursuit of the myth of Aeneas became a myth himself. His myth still nourishes local imagination, whereas references to the Italian archaeologist's work and findings are common among the locals (see section 7.8).

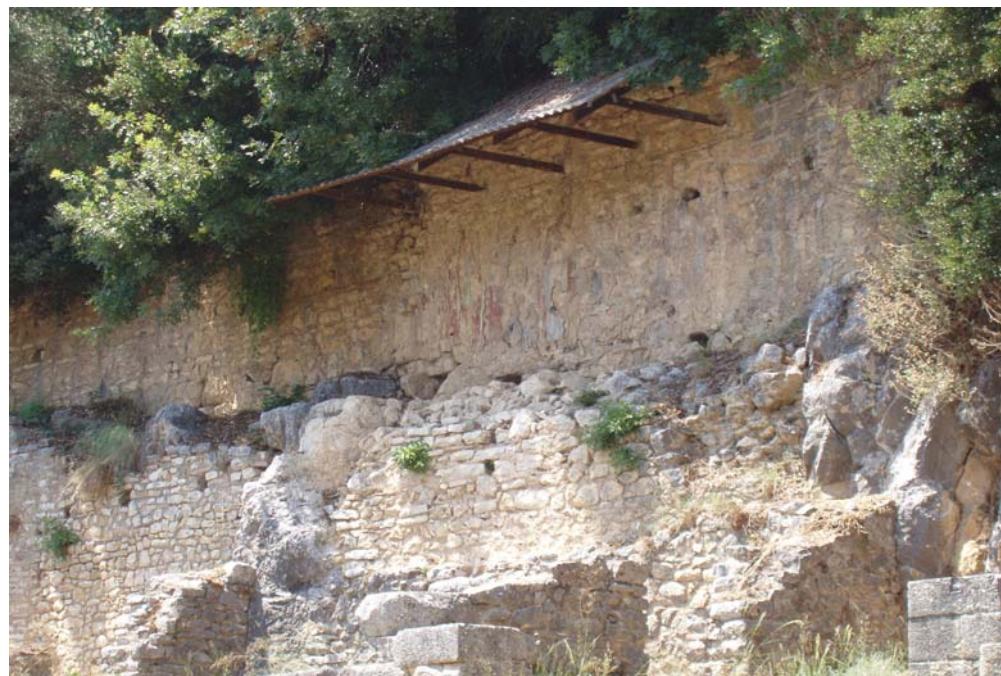


Figure 7.5 Remaining frescoes of a post-Byzantine church destroyed by Ugolini.



Figure 7.6 The red line indicates the actual height of the mound before Ugolini's excavations.

Professor Hodges modern successor of Ugolini, claims that Butrint owes everything to Mussolini (Hodges 2000a), given that his endeavours put Butrint on archaeological maps. Similarly, a young female Albanian conservator working on Butrint said to me that it is the Italians' early presence at the site and the subsequent academic interest that Butrint has stimulated since then, that justify Albanian state's decision to proceed to the WH nomination of Butrint instead of other Albanian sites (further on Butrint's designation see 7.5). The Italian archaeological mission assuredly served as the impetus for the discovering of the Albanian past and the founding of Albanian nationalism. Nevertheless, the withdrawal of the Italian forces and the establishment of Communism under Hoxha opened a new chapter in the history of Albania and in the biography of Butrint respectively.

7.4 The Quest for the Illyrian “Ethnos” (1944-1991)

The institutionalisation of archaeology is inextricably linked to the institutionalisation of the nation. The milestone in the history of Albanian archaeology is 1944, the year when the provisional government of Hoxha took power. Although it was “patterned and influenced by the intellectual achievements of some European schools”, as Bejko (1998:207), an Albanian archaeologist emphasises, “it was however, an Albanian product, determined by the social, political and historical contexts in the country”. Bejko (1998:207-208) discerns five main directions of Albanian archaeology: History, Marxism, Nationalism, Empiricism and Cultural History. Since the 1950s, these driving theoretical forces have been chiefly shaping the archaeological theory and practice in Albania (as well as in many other Balkan countries; see Kaiser 1995:119).

From the early years of the foundation of Albanian archaeology, attention was centred on the Illyrian studies. Hoxha himself, who successfully ruled until his death in 1985, took personal interest in the Albanian past and specifically the Illyrians. His speech at Shkodra, drew the attention of his fellow comrades:

“We are the descendants of the Illyrian tribes. The Greeks, Romans, Normans, Slavs, Anjouins, Byzantines, the Venitians, Ottomans, and many many other invaders have poured into these ancient territories of our ancestors, but they could wipe out neither the Albanian people, nor the ancient Illyrian culture and its Albanian continuation”. (Hoxha 1979, as cited in Anon. 1987:3)

Hoxha recognised the potential role of archaeology and of the past in instilling national pride and bringing unity among its people (see also Hoxha 1984). Apart from drawing parallels between the past and the present, the leader actively engaged in safeguarding and carefully projecting the material manifestations of the past. He quickly realised how sites such as Butrint, could attract esteem for the Albanian state. He often visited Butrint and other sites in Albania, whereas all official visitors, such as Khrushchev and the Chinese counterparts were acquainted with the Albanian cultural capital (see Payne 2003:15). Butrint, together with Apollonia and Durres were the credentials from the past that validated the inter-state agreements and relations.

The Illyrian studies, though, preceded the Albanian national fervour for the authentication of the ethnic and cultural ties of the Illyrians with the medieval Arbers and modern Albanians. In the early 19th century, long before the modern Albanian state came into being, the Illyrian movement emerged among the Slav subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, meaning the Croats, the Serbs and the Slovenes, triggered by “feelings of cultural oppression” (Wilkes 1995:5; see also Stipčević 1997;2006). It is only, however, in the mid-19th century that the first theories on the Albanians being the sole descendants of the Illyrians were formulated. Von Hann was the first scholar to support such claim in 1854.

Albanian interest in the Illyrian studies dates to the early 20th century. In the 1920s, Albanian émigrés in the United States of America were among the first to concern themselves with unfolding the connection between Illyrians and Albanians. Ancientness, priority, purity, ethnic homogeneity, permanent national struggle and indifference to religion were the basic arguments around which these intellectuals orchestrated the Albanian national mythology (Malcolm 2002:73). In his study, Malcolm (2002:76) remarks that the Albanian Diaspora’s argument over seniority and priority was principally based on the Pelasgian theory, which maintained that Albanians are the predecessors of all other ethnic groups inhabiting the area of the Balkans. In the region, rarely one can claim exclusivity over a theory. In this spirit, Greek nationalists also assert for themselves the exclusive descent of their ethnic group from the Pelasgians (see Alexakis 1997; Kourtidou 1932). Therefore, depending on the context, Pelasgians, the assumed early inhabitants of the Balkans, attain different identity and ontology.³ Before proceeding, though, to the sketching of the Illyrian thesis as developed between 1944 and 1991, it is essential to outline dominant theories on the Illyrians. In this manner, the framework for the deciphering of Butrint’s role in identity politics is set.

7.4.1 The Illyrian Thesis

As Smith (2001b:443) advocates: "Equally important to the nationalism is location. The nation is rooted in particular terrain. Not any terrain, only the historic homeland". For the Albanians the "historic homeland" is Illyria. In examining theories on Illyria, the objective here is not to deal with the ontology of the Illyrians as an ethnic group or to test existing theories, but to illustrate the deployment of past conceptions of community in the modern context of ethnicity and nationalism. This perspective will permit further examination of Butrint's position in the national discourse and the Illyrian thesis.

The Illyrians are perhaps the most enigmatic of all the ancient inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula. The mystery lies in the difficulty of defining who the Illyrians were, when they occupied Southeast Adriatic, what language they spoke, which territories they inhabited, especially in the absence of written accounts. Up to the present, the controversy on these issues has been great.

On the basis of ancient literature, non-Albanian scholars propose that the Illyrian entity should be perceived "as a wider whole within smaller tribal groupings were to be discerned" (Harding 1992:14), such as the Bylliones, Taulantii, Parthini, Brygi and Aditantii (see also Wilkes 1979:175). They estimate that the Illyrian tribes inhabited the western part of the Balkan peninsula before the Classical times and Bronze Age (see Renfrew 1987; Sherratt and Sherratt 1988). As for the Illyrian language, the dominant theory supports its placement as a separate branch of the Indo-European languages, similar to the positioning of Greek.

Taking into account that location and borders are seminal in the national imagination, albeit boundaries did not exist in the past in the same ways we conceive them nowadays, the theories articulated concerning the lands that the Illyrians occupied are of particular value here. Wilkes (1995:92) and Hammond (1989a:294-295) concur on that Illyria expanded across the area that is today known as northern and central Albania (see also Hammond 1992:30; Harding 1992:14). Albanian scholars clearly hold a different opinion on the matter. The quintessence of the Albanian thesis is expressed in the following extract from the *History of Albania* by Pollo and Puto (1981). According to them:

"The Illyrians, as indigenous people and the one of the numerous people of ancient Europe, occupied the western part of the Balkan Peninsula. The territories which they inhabited were bounded on the north by the Sava and the Danube; on the south by the Gulf of Ambracia and the northern

areas of Greece; on the east by Morava and the Vardar which separated them from Thrace; on the west by the Adriatic and the Ionian Sea". (ibid.:4)

As for the Illyrian tribes, in Albanian historiography, the Epirote tribes of Molossi, Chaones and Thesproti that resided in the lands north of modern Preveza (Greece) are also listed among them (see Marmullaku 1975:5). Finally, in relation to their origins, the Albanian archaeologists Anamali and Korkuti (1971:15) claim that the Illyrians are a branch of the Balkan-Anatolian group that arrived before the Bronze Age from the south east.

Territoriality, purity, ancientness and continuity are the fundamental traits of the Illyrian thesis (For nationalism's traits see Smith 2001b). The key arguments can be summed up to the following assertions:

- There is common lineage between Illyrians, Medieval Arbërs and modern Albanians.
- Modern Albania occupies pure Illyrian lands.
- Illyrian culture is not inferior to Greek culture. It developed independently.
- Illyrians are autochthonous. They preceded the Greeks.
- Albanian *ethnogenesis* took place already in the Bronze Age.

Albanian nationalism in the manner of other national movements adopted primordial views of the nation, seeking to instil national pride and a sense of citizenship into people, for whom religion was far more important than culture. Under the communists, as de Rapper (2002) observes, culture entirely replaced religion in the processes of identity and nationhood formation in Albania (see also de Rapper 2004).

In Hoxha's time, Albanian scholars, intellectuals and politicians acknowledged the existing vacuum in the Illyrian studies and encouraged scientific expeditions and academic research, as well as programs of public outreach. Before the Second World War, as Korkuti et al. (1971:6) note, only 25 archaeological sites were known, among which 8 to 9 were identified as Illyrian. It is only after the liberation that the number of - identified as Illyrians- sites, increased to 170 (according to Korkuti et al. 1971; Kostallari 1971:I; see map Figure 7.7). During the same period, Albanian academia took a momentous step towards exiting its intellectual confinement. In 1972, the conference on the Illyrians and the birth of the Albanians celebrated the 25th anniversary of the country's liberation and the victory of the People. Renowned foreign scholars such as Hammond and the French professor of ancient Greek history Cabanes, were invited

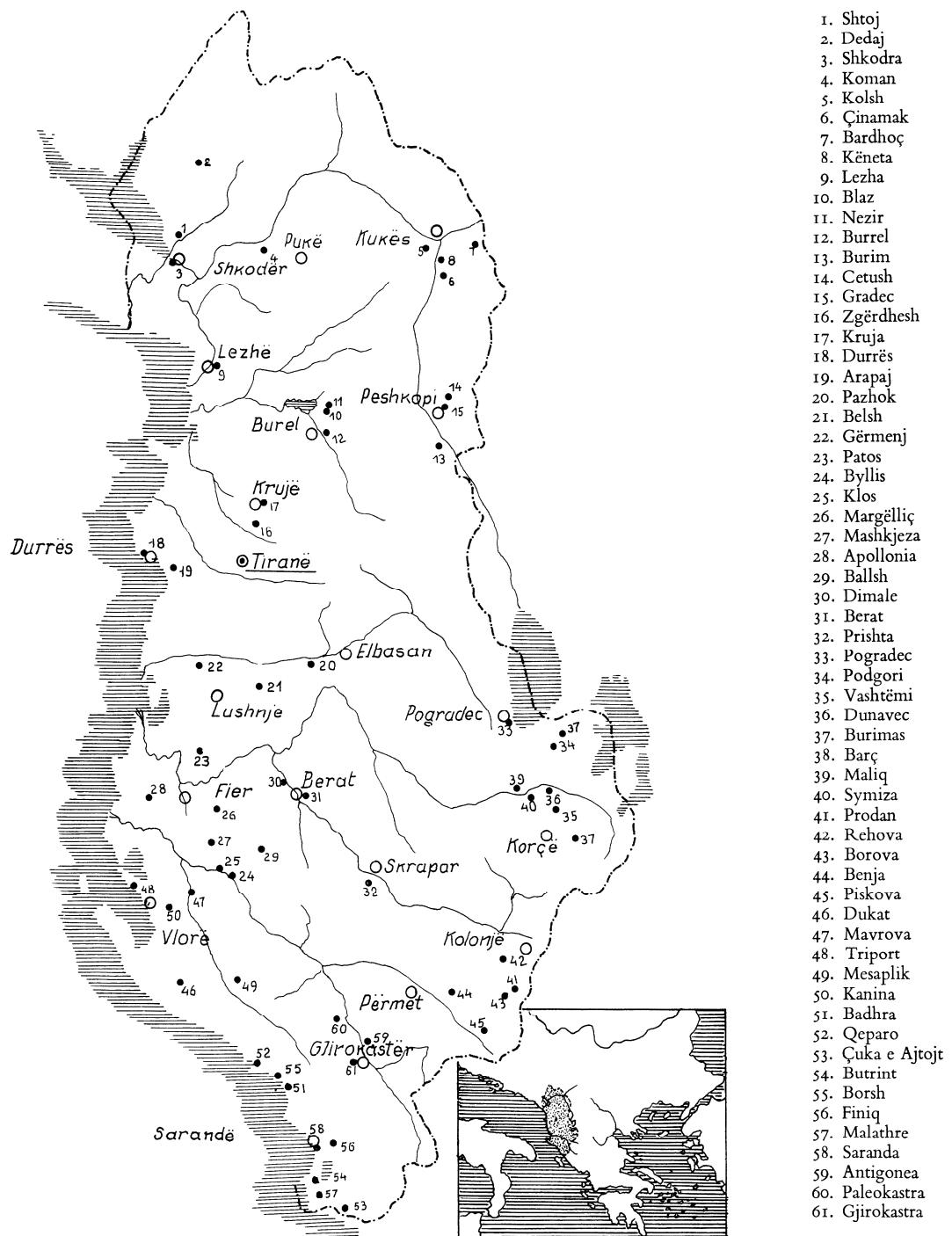


Figure 7.7 Archaeological map of Albania, showing numerous sites identified as Illyrian such as Shtoj, Dedaj, Cinamak, Bardhoc, Burrel, Maliq, Tren, Byllis to name but a few (source Kamberi 1993).

to contribute and to grant esteem to this event which consequently marked the emerging field of Illyrian studies. From then onwards, the journal *Iliria* and other numerous editions on the Illyrians have been published, and several "Illyrian" sites

have come to light. All these events together and each one separately stress the acclaimed role of the past and notably of the Illyrians in Hoxha's and communist Albania's conception of Albanian-ness.

7.4.2 Butrint's Illyrian Identity

Butrint retains a special and concurrently marginal place in the Albanian national imagery and the Illyrian thesis between the 1940s and 1980s. On the one hand, Butrint figures prominently in state rhetoric and national poetics. Its national value can be deduced not only by its role in attracting kudos for the Albanian state, but also by its centrality in the government's cultural agenda. The founding of a regional office in Saranda, of the Butrint museum and finally the designation of Butrint as a site of *historical importance* already by 1948, are examples of such policies. On the other hand, Butrint's interpretive value and archaeological significance appear marginal and ambiguous in academic discourse. The references to Butrint are generally concise and limited, not to say absent. At those years, the "Illyrian" sites such as Maliq, Tren, Byllis Foinike, Antigonea, Amantia and Lissus riveted the scholars. As for the Corinthian colonies of Durres and Apollonia, they dominated the Albanian archaeological thinking and practice of this period, in view of the wealth of archaeological material and their "established" ties with Illyrian culture. Not surprisingly, though efforts to integrate Butrint in the Illyrian thesis and archaeological theorising can be also traced.

By and large in academia two approaches can be discerned: a *direct* and an *indirect* claim to Butrint's Illyrian identity. By *direct* claims, I mean any reference, assertion, comment on Butrint as an Illyrian site, and by *indirect*, I refer to all this information that imply its Illyrian identity either by linking the town with Illyrian sites while asserting its Hellenic character or by embracing an abstract and neutral identity with no clear reference to neither the Illyrian nor Greek aspect of the site's biography. All these efforts to incorporate Butrint in national narratives are examined, considering the evidence on the site's proven connection with Greek antiquity through Ugolini's excavations and non-Albanian scholars' views, such as Hammond's.

From the 1970s onwards numerous publications on Illyrians have come out in the fields of history, archaeology and also tourist literature, demonstrating archaeological readings of the values of Butrint. Yet whenever references to Butrint's Illyrian identity occurred, they were very concise. For instance, Pollo and Puto (1981:20),

in the *History of Albania*, while referring to the Roman attitudes towards the Illyrian towns briefly mention Butrint along with the “acclaimed Illyrian site” of Byllis. Similarly, in a guidebook about Albania published by the Albanian government there are extensive mentions to Maliq’s importance in the sustaining of the Illyrian theory, whereas the reference to Butrint is limited to the following phrase: “Not far away lies the Illyrian settlement of Butrint, where important archaeological discoveries have been made” (MCYS 1989:236; see also Dawson and Dawson 1989; Ward 1982). It is also remarkable that in the proceedings of the Illyrian conference of 1969, in a detailed account of the archaeological research pertaining to the Illyrians and the birth of the Albanian nation by Anamali and Korkuti (1971:32), Butrint is cited only a couple of times. Furthermore, where and when it gets mentioned on this account, which generally equates Albanian archaeology with the study of Illyrians, it is portrayed as an urban centre of Southern Illyria together with the sites of Byllis, Lissus and Shkodra.

The non-direct claims to Butrint’s Illyrian identity are also enlightening. Among them, two main perspectives can be distinguished. First, Butrint frequently appears as a “centre of Hellenic culture” within Illyrian territory (e.g. Kallfa and Korkuti 1971:VII; Prendi 1976:89; Strazimir 1973:XXII). On the volume *Shqipeřia arkeologjike* [Albanian Archaeology], for example, Butrint is presented as a Greek colony, whereas in the same document, sites -in close proximity to Butrint- such as Kalivo and Cuka e Ajtoit, are recounted as Illyrian (and archaeologically linked to the site) (Kallfa and Korkuti 1971). As stated above, the argument about the identification of the Illyrian lands with the modern Albanian territory has been central in the national mythology. Hoxha’s quote from a sign in the museum of Butrint is revealing to this end. It says: “In this area not only the Hellenic and Roman culture developed, but also another ancient culture, the Illyrian one” (see Figure 7.8). Nonetheless scholars such as Hammond (1967) and Wilkes (1995:97) have challenged these theories and have set the geographical limits of the Illyris to river Vjose, north of Saranda and Fieri, excluding this way Butrint from the Illyrian world. Albanian academia and Hoxha were aware of the thesis on the non-Illyrian identity of Butrint. The need however to tangibly merge the past with the present, and the Albanian nation with its territory on the basis of ancientness and continuity, urged them to find ways to incorporate Butrint in the national rhetoric. Within this framework, a second attitude of indirect claims can be discerned.



Figure 7.8 Sign from the Museum of Butrint with a quote from Enver Hoxha.

In some cases the term Illyrian is replaced with the vague concept of “local people”. To offer an example, in the official guidebook of Butrint *Buthrot* it is emphasised:

“Although the number of colonists was appreciable, nevertheless, the population remained predominantly of the local people. Of the 26 names known from the 2nd –3rd centuries, only 6 could be considered Latin names, and that with some uncertainty.” (Anon. 1987:7)

The extent of the Albanian academia’s infatuation with the glorious Illyrian past and the function of Butrint in the “imagining of the ancestors” is illustrated in the following quotation. Hammond (1992:37) in his endeavour to respond to Albanian theories on the dominance of the Illyrian element all across Albania, boldly remarks:

“The interpretation which I have put before you would not win the approval of my Albanian colleagues, who hold that the development of cities began in the north and spread southwards, and that cities such as Lissus, Amantia, Antigoneia, and Phoenice were Illyrian cities. The archaeological evidence seems to be against them [speaking of the Greek identity of the sites]”.

Concerning the identity of Butrint based on Hecateus, he suggests that by the 6th century BC it was a Greek city (Hammond 1967).

Albanian archaeology's obsession with the exploration of the Illyrian past in the communist times to the degree of conscious generalisations and distortions has not gone unnoticed by the new generation of Albanian archaeologists. Following a discussion on the prominence of Illyrian studies in Albanian archaeology, Eduard Sehi's perspective, a young Albanian archaeologist and doctoral student at an Albanian University, is revealing on the issue. He said to me:

After 1945, with [the] communist regime, it was a politic [policy that] we should find our predecessors... And yes I agree totally with all this hard work [that] it was done to find where the Illyrians live, what were their characteristics, what they have done, and so on. ... And this was made before 90 [1990]. Being [considered] everything Illyrian, or everything Arber. I agree that yes they [are] right about these things [about the prominence of Illyrians] but when you make everything [Illyrian] then you lose points even when you are right, especially [with regard to] the Serbs not so much the Greeks.

As Sehi underlines, during Hoxha's regime Albanian archaeology directed its energy exclusively on Illyrians, showing this way the state's need to territorialise and nationalise the past. Unquestionably, the events of the early 1990s turned a new page in the history of Albanian archaeology and most definitely in the biography of Butrint.

7.5 The Eternal Life of Butrint (1991 to the Present)

The death of Hoxha in 1985 signifies the beginning of a new era for Albania and Butrint. The late 1980s and the early 1990s signify the passage of Butrint from the *afterlife* to the *eternal life*, from the national and local realm to the global realm. The key event for the transition of Butrint is its designation as WHS.

On the eve of the turbulent years of 1990 and 1991, Albania proceeded with the nomination of Butrint to be included in the WH list (further on this period see Vickers and Pettifer 1997). As emphasised in the official correspondence of Mr Prot from the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports (MCYS) with UNESCO in light of Butrint's designation: "This is the first time after a long period of isolation that it will become possible to see our national values to be enlisted among the values of the world". Moreover, the implications of the designation were valued high because not only the global projection of the Albanian past could function as a platform for economical

development and socio-political changes, but also it could pull Albania out of its long political alienation. It is noteworthy that Butrint was not the only property to be proposed for inclusion at the time.⁴ The historic town of Berat (occupied from the Bronze Age, Illyrian and Roman period to the present), the historic town of Gjirokastra, the Corinthian colony and Roman port of Durres and the tombs of Selca (administrative Illyrian centre according to the Albanian WH tentative list) were also recommended. Only the *museum cities*⁵ of Gjirokastra (2005) and Berat (2008) however entered the WH several years later, as a single nomination. Thus until 2005, year of Gjirokastra's nomination, Butrint was the only Albanian site figuring at the list.⁶ Yet, these two designations contradict the prevalent attitudes about which sites have been and are considered to be of archaeological importance by the Albanian archaeological community. As clearly illustrated in the pages of the journal *Iliria* instead of Butrint and Gjirokastra, the fortified sites of the region of Tren, the Neolithic settlement of Maliq, the medieval sites in Koman, Byllis the largest city in Southern Illyria, Phoenice a town in the territory of Chaonia, the Hellenistic site of Antigonea, Amantia the capital of the Illyrian tribe of Amantes, the Corinthian colonies of Apollonia and Durres figure at the core of the Albanian archaeological theory, practice and cultural heritage. Unfortunately, there is not clear (documented) evidence explaining why the nomination of Butrint overshadowed the other proposals for WH inscription. In Hodges' eyes (2006:xii): "The choice [of Butrint] was probably a compromise made during the extreme turmoil of 1991-92 [In reference to Berat, Durres and Gjirokaster]". Further, he reckons that, "as much as anything it reflected a foreigner's choice because Butrint was a gateway to the country with attractively disposed ruins and a palpable Mediterranean appearance" (*ibid.*).

Albania's justification for Butrint's inscription is provided in the site's nomination dossier. Still under the influence of the communist phraseology, the site was deemed to be of *outstanding universal value* since "with its "multisecular" history it illustrates and serves as an example of a small town which has been occupied uninterruptedly from the prehistory to the middle ages. Around the VII-VI century *before our era* (Figure 7.9) there was a construction on the top of the hill of Butrint" (MCYS 1990:2-3). The provided information is fragmented, whereas this report concentrates mainly on prehistory and Medieval times. Quite surprisingly there is no reference to the Illyrians. On the contrary, the visit of "theoroi" (messengers of the Olympic Games) from Delphi "around the year 200" receives a special mention. Such a

piece of information is of great value here, given that only Greek cities, according to the tradition, were allowed to participate in the Olympic Games. This report probably mirrors the transition of Albanian academia from 50 years of theoretical absolutism and isolation to the age of pluralism and academic tolerance.



Figure 7.9 Scaean Gate's marble sign reminiscent of the communist times (it writes: 4th century Before our Era).

In such context, one could also suggest that this association with the classical antiquity, given its value in the western world, could have operated as a mean to secure the designation. Such a hypothesis might be valid to some degree with respect to the State Party's intentions. Yet it is difficult to say because it is just a line in a document where little details are given on periods and chronology. Additionally, no documented information is available regarding the impetus behind the nomination. Without doubt, the nomination was state-initiated and not an outcome of local decision-making.

In 1992, UNESCO disregarding the State Party's justification for inscription, designated Butrint as a WHS because:

"Inhabited since prehistoric times, Butrint has been the site of a Greek colony, a Roman city and a bishopric. Following a period of prosperity under Byzantine administration, then a brief occupation by the Venetians, the city was abandoned in the late Middle Ages after marches formed in the area. The present archaeological site is a repository of ruins representing

each period in the city's development." (source <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/570> [Accessed 23/06/2009])

Similar discrepancies at the interpretive level are not rare in the case of Butrint (see also UNESCO 2004b). In 1999, Albania submitted an application to the WHC to enlarge the limits of the WHS of Butrint. In a detailed section about the history and development of the site, indirect references to Illyrians are made. In the document, the period between 800 BC and 44 BC is defined as "Chaonian period and period of Romanisation" (1999:5). Regardless of whether UNESCO is associating the site with the Greek world, the emphasis in the text is placed upon the Chaonians, an Illyrian tribe as indicated by Albanian scholars (an Epirote tribe according to foreign specialists on Illyrian and Epirote studies see section 7.7). Yet on the final text for the extension of the nomination submitted by ICOMOS and UNESCO, the interpretation of the site differs and the Greek character of Butrint is stressed instead (see MCYS 1999b; see also MCYS 1999a).

This inconsistency between ICOMOS' and UNESCO's valuations and the national readings of Butrint's past, possibly illuminate the strivings of the former to prevent the undermining of the global values of a property by national values placed upon heritage. Yet ICOMOS' and UNESCO's interpretation of the past's remains do not largely echo global readings but perceptions held by western scholars (embraced also by non-westerners), particularly archaeologists with respect to cultural heritage (see also Joyce 2003; Chapter 5). In the case of Butrint, the majority of the ICOMOS and UNESCO technical missions were composed by experts being mostly Northern and Western Europeans or western-educated (see UNESCO 1997; 1999b; 2003b; 2004b; 2005b). Hence, Romans, Greeks, Byzantines and Venetians provided for UNESCO and ICOMOS the reasons for Butrint's inclusion. Nonetheless, there are limited examples where popular views about Illyrian presence at the site have been also espoused, such as in the report of UNESCO's *Assessment Mission of 20-24 October 1997*, where an account of an Illyrian wall is given and a different chronology for the first occupation is proposed (UNESCO 1997:6).

7.5.1 The Impact of the World Heritage Designation

The effects of the WH designation are immense not only for Butrint itself, but for Albania as a country. At a legal and managerial level, Butrint's new legislative status has evidently protected the property against undermining its integrity and authenticity,

and also its fragile role in the sustainable economic and tourism development of the region. In 1997, in light of the civil unrest due to the collapse of pyramid saving schemes, a UNESCO assessment mission urged the MCYS to improve Butrint's management plan and take immediate action by properly fencing the site. In 1999, following ICOMOS' recommendation, the extension of the buffer zone was advised on the condition that Albania withdrew plans for tourism development in a small area on the coast. Most notably, from this moment onwards, all Albanian Prime Ministers realised the impetus "to treat Butrint as a cultural asset, and not just as a place for cheap tourism" (Hodges 2000a; Stone 1998; see next section on BF's role in the protection of the WHS). On this matter, a young Albanian female conservator told me that she believes that by being designated WHS "Butrint is better managed" in comparison with other Albanian sites. This assertion is rather valid, given that Butrint due to its WH status was also the first archaeological site in Albania to be declared a National Park, setting a paradigm for all Albanian archaeological sites.

Meanwhile, Butrint due to its WH status has also captivated the attention of international and private organisations, such as the World Bank (WB) and the BF, ascertaining this way the validity of UNESCO's pronouncement on the benefits of the WH convention's ratification (see Chapter 5). BF's contribution has been seminal both in terms of the site's protection, management, representation and interpretation, since it pursued series of activities of academic and public character (see 7.5.2). On account of Wolfensohn's (then WB director) personal interest, WB also initiated a project in collaboration with CISP (International Committee for the Development of Peoples) a NGO, with a vision to incorporate the planning for Butrint in local and regional planning schemes (see Hodges 2000a). In practice, CISP aimed at familiarising local communities with the assets of the site and its hinterlands by promoting the potential rewards of ecotourism and sustainable development. In a wider context, the international assistance the nomination brought to Butrint, mirrors the dynamic interplay between the globalised realms of power and control, and national entities.

From the aspect of site representation and symbolism, since the site's inscription, the UNESCO logo and the WH emblem appear on every brochure, tourist leaflet and signage linked to BNP (e.g. Figure 7.10 and 7.11). References to the status of Butrint are also recurrent in the press and the Internet, such as in the two most popular online Albanian daily newspapers of *Koha Jone* (<http://www.kohajone.com/>) and *Shekulli* (<http://www.shekulli.com.al/>), where all events regarding Butrint from the festivals,

official visits to the archaeological work on the site, are reported (e.g. Diele 2006; Hene 2006; Metani 2006).



Figure 7.10 One of the old panels of the BNP showing UNESCO's logo and the WH emblem.



Figure 7.11 One of the new panels of the BNP showing UNESCO's logo and the WH emblem.

UNESCO and Butrint seem to inextricably intermingle in public's mind (see subchapter on locals 7.8). To start with, the tourists visiting Albania from Corfu are informed that the highlight of their day "will be the excursion to Butrint designated by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site in 1997" and standing for "one of the best remains of a working town in the Mediterranean" (source http://www.ionicancruises.com/cruise_albania.htm [Accessed 12/05/2009]). Additionally in every guided tour around Butrint, the WH status of the site is greatly stressed, whereas individual tourists are also informed on the designation through the site brochure provided to them.

This is also the case for the Albanian students participating in the field school organised by BF in collaboration with Albanian and Kossovin Universities and the IoA. During the fieldwork season of 2005, in order to record Albanian field students' attitudes towards the values of Butrint both as a WHS and a national asset, I provided questionnaires to them. The majority of the Albanian students (42 in total- two groups; see Appendix 1 and 2) who participated in the survey claimed that they were aware of Butrint's WH status and that "Butrint is World Heritage" (see Table 7.1).

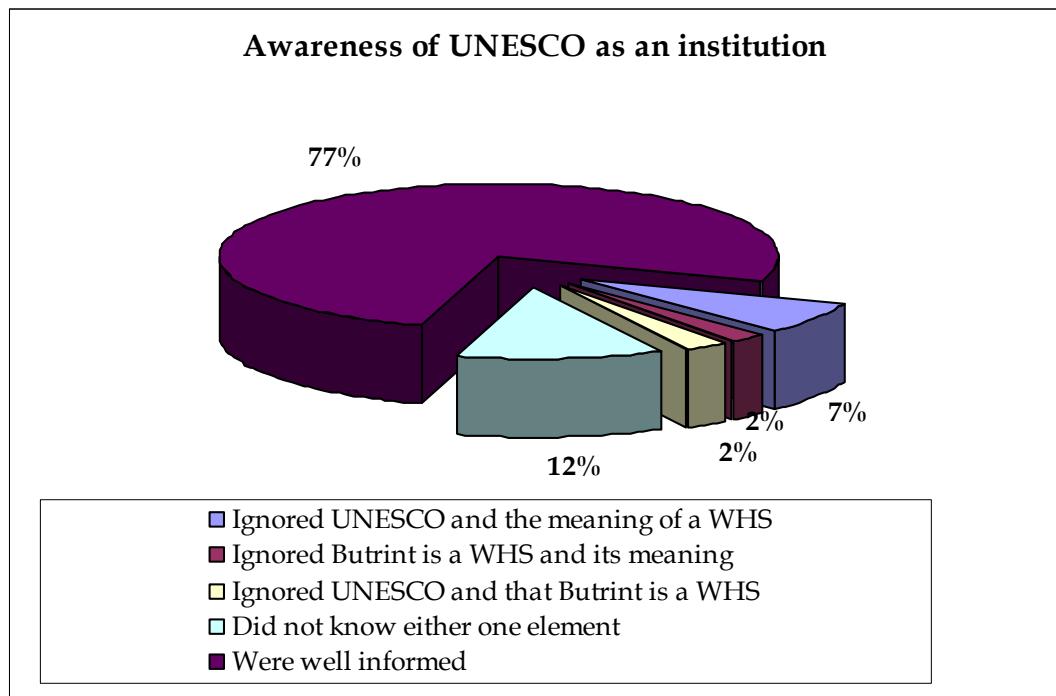


Table 7.1 Table that shows students' awareness of UNESCO and the convention.

This is symptomatic of the function of the WH listing as a process of signification. World Heritage has turned into something Butrint is, rather than a value that Butrint has. Yet several students are not that much acquainted with other WHS (Table 7.2; 7.3).

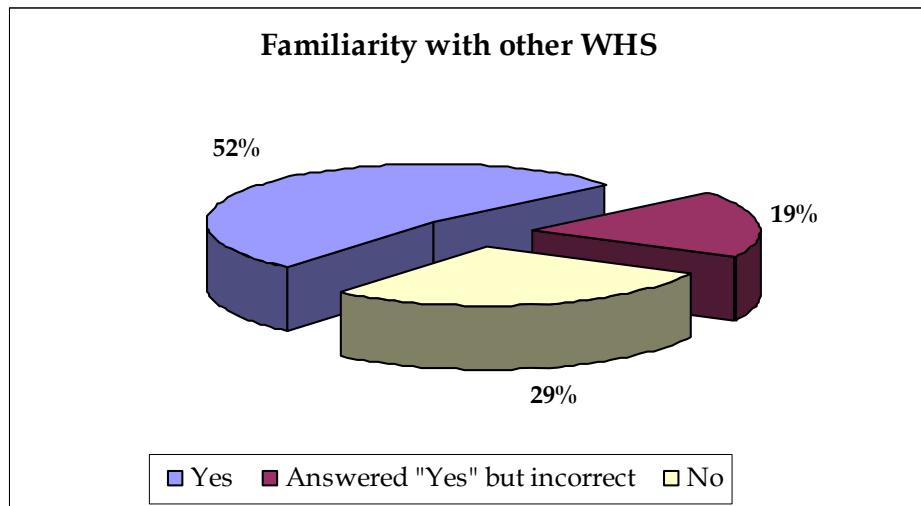


Table 7.2 Table that shows students' familiarity with other WHS (19% positively responded that they are aware of other WHS, but provided incorrect examples).

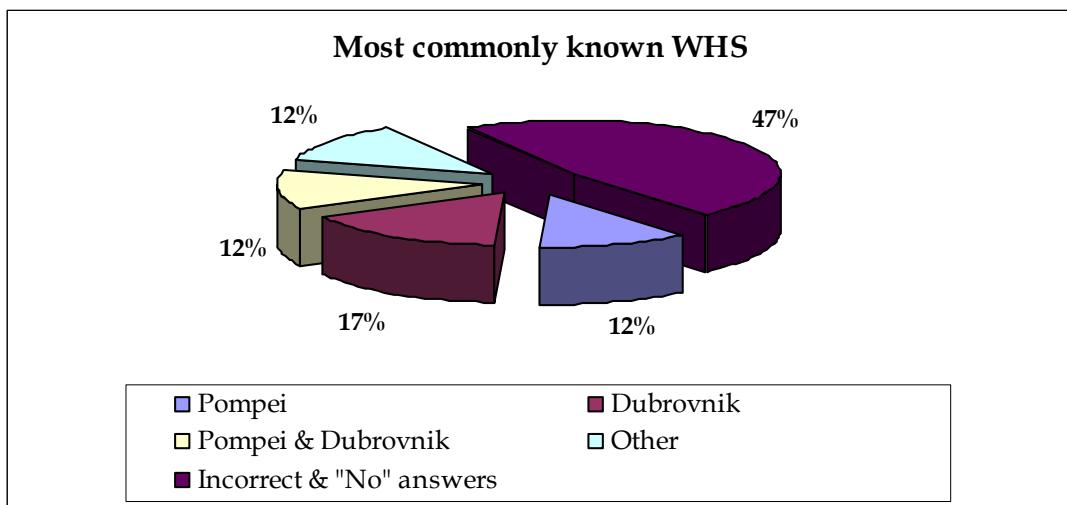


Table 7.3 Table that indicates which are the most commonly known WHS. The most popular answers are Pompeii and Dubrovnik. Gjirokastra also figures, provided that the second group's participation in the field school coincided with the nomination of the site.

This can be explained on the basis that their familiarisation with the concept of WH appears to be an outcome of their direct involvement with the WHS of Butrint through the field school. In fact, for some of the students, their first visit to Butrint was due to their participation in the summer project initiated by BF (Table 7.4; For several of those

students who answered “From 2 to 5 times”, the number of their visits are also linked with their yearly participation to the field school).

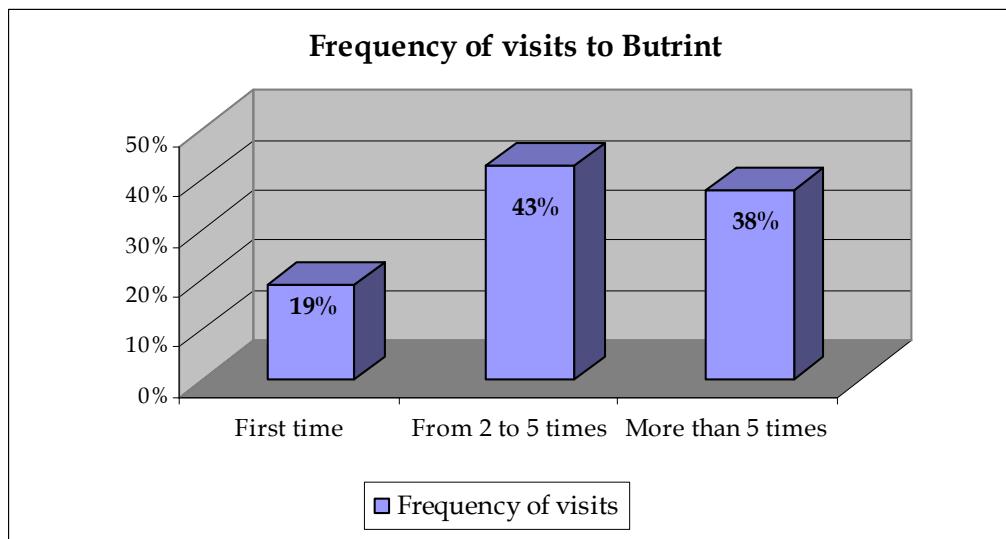


Table 7.4 Table that indicates the frequency of visits to Butrint.

Along with the WH status, a new meaning has been ascribed to Butrint in consideration of its multi-cultural and complex biography, that of “a microcosm of Mediterranean history” (see ICOMOS 1999). This attribute of Butrint was first mentioned officially in ICOMOS’ evaluation (1999) for the proposed extension of Butrint’s nomination. Since then it dominates all documents related to the site. Besides its wide use from UNESCO and ICOMOS, this value’s conception should be credited entirely to the project team of BF, which has successfully managed to re-invent and re-interpret Butrint’s past since 1993. At an interpretive level, the WH status and Butrint’s new attribute as a “microcosm of Mediterranean history” have become added values to the identity of the site and its historical trajectory. People nowadays refer to UNESCO and the WH status in the same way as they refer to the Venetians and Ali Pasha. Certainly, the site’s new values have been adopted by the media and have inundated the tourist documents, guides, travel literature and the holiday brochures as demonstrated earlier. In the case of Butrint, UNESCO’s role as a site of meaning making and the function of the WH nomination as a process of signification and value ascription at both a national and global level are confirmed. Yet the political implications of such processes are deemed of even greater importance here (see 7.7).

In the public realm, as shown above, the designation of Butrint as WH has been widely welcomed and promoted (see below and for Albanian press see online

newspapers *Koha Jone* and *Shekulli*). Yet criticisms are not scarce, especially from those individuals directly involved with Butrint. The sentiments vary from acceptance to disapproval and disbelief regarding UNESCO's efficiency and deeds. A senior Albanian archaeologist told me that he feels positive about the designation since the global recognition that the site has received, has familiarised Albanian archaeologists with new technologies and theories. From a managerial aspect, Elenita Roshi, the cultural development officer of BF, explained to me that for her, UNESCO's name is "like a quality tag" that serves for "marketing purposes". "But that's about it", she noted given that she has anticipated a more active role for UNESCO. Accordingly, Çondi, director of the Butrint museum and the Saranda office, expressed with bitterness his disappointment with the organisation. For him, UNESCO is responsible for his exclusion from the decision making and management of Butrint. Both Roshi's and Çondi's views reflect the active role that many Albanians have envisioned for UNESCO in the country's striving to follow the pace of Europe and of the western world. Such attitudes also demonstrate people's lack of knowledge concerning UNESCO's and WHC's post-designation role and a State Party's responsibilities. In more realistic terms, the young Albanian archaeologist Sehi opposes such views. He visualises a more energetic role for the local authorities and the Albanian archaeologists, and not the other way around. He said to me: "If you do nothing for yourself, what can do UNESCO for you? If you leave your own monuments to degrade it every day, what can do UNESCO for you? UNESCO is not a bank giving you money. UNESCO is an organisation telling you how to work but it should be you working". Nonetheless, UNESCO has not been the only non-Albanian actor involved in the management and interpretation of Butrint. The site's designation as WHS was followed by the foundation of the BF, whose "principal objective is to restore and preserve the Butrint site in southern Albania for the benefit of the general public" (source www.butrintfoundation.co.uk [Accessed 24/06/2009]).

7.5.2 A Microcosm of Mediterranean History and Albanian Politics

In 1992, shortly after the inscription and following an official invitation by the Meksi Government⁷, Lord Rothschild visited Albania and the WHS of Butrint for the first time. Professor Hodges (Director of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania), Scientific Director of the BF emphasises that actually "the

present project owes its beginnings" to this visit in 1992, "when the then Director of the Institute of Archaeology, Neritan Ceka, proposed that there should be a British Archaeological Mission to the site" (Hodges et al. 2004:8-9). Lord Rothschild and Lord Sainsbury founded BF a year later and the first field season was launched in 1994 (see Ecoclub 2003). In this invitation by the Albanian Government, Hodges identifies other motives than merely the increasing need for the influx of funding, and the acquaintance with new technologies. Accounting for Butrint's role as a tourist destination in the communist era, he claims that "no wonder, then, that when the BF project began, there was genuine hope amongst Albania's archaeologists that with western resources and technology Enver Hoxha's myths might be proved" (Hodges 2006:212; see also Hodges 2000b; 2004; Forthcoming). Being created in response to Albanian Government's invitation, it is not surprising then, as Pluciennik, former collaborator of BF (senior Lecturer in Leicester University) underscores, that "the Butrint Project was thus always highly political in terms of funding, permissions, logistics, implications and aims" (2001:26).

BF has been actively embroiled in local politics, on several occasions. Following the 1997 civil unrest, the foundation with the support of the Albanian Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports, Edi Rama, opposed the government's plans for tourism development that encroached onto the limits of the archaeological site (see Stone 1998). BF's initiatives not only have hindered threats against the site's integrity and authenticity, but also have instigated UNESCO's and WHC's awareness with respect to the WH status of the property. According to Hodges (2006:211), UNESCO proceeded to the extension of Butrint's nomination and funded educational and local communities' programs following the foundation's proposals and dynamic intercession. Another salient example of BF's negotiating role in national and local politics is the successful WH designation of Gjirokastra "mostly due to lobbying and the management plan prepared by BF team" (Hodges personal communication 2007). Such endeavours may raise a lot of questions on issues of custodianship and authority over the past. Similar to UNESCO, BF's initiatives and presence have not been certainly received without reservations. In an article on the English newspaper *Guardian*, Milne (21/08/2000) depicts the fears of local agents in relation to BF's presence and interference. According to Milne, the former BNP director along with Angjeli, a local economist, were concerned that BF will compromise local plans for tourism advancement based on the Corfu-Saranda route "in favour of bringing upmarket eco-

tourists to Butrint by road from mainland Greece." As in the case of Ugolini, foreign intervention, that of UNESCO or BF, is perceived occasionally as a violation of Albanian's rights over their past and national affairs, since cultural heritage within the realms of nation-states is perceived exclusively as a national asset and property. In this respect, Sehi the young Albanian archaeologist explained to me in detail the relation between foreign specialists and Albanian archaeologists. For him, the foreign teams regard Albanian archaeologists as "a middle class, between the workers and the specialists". He said:

"But it is impossible to accept people [to work in Albania], archaeologists even more, which come with this deal. That you are nothing, I will do everything. Wait. What are you doing? First of all, I am the owner of this house, and you are my guest. You cannot make rules in my house. If I am good or I am bad, first of all. Second if I am bad ... teach me but not use me".

For Hall (1999) Albanian xenophobia is to a degree justified. He underlines that "the country's historic vulnerability to predatory neighbours nurtured a political leadership which encouraged a xenophobic fear of external aggression as a mean of forging internal cohesion" (1999:162). In the case of Butrint, Albanian archaeologists' and local authorities' cautious stance strongly portray Albania's need to "exclusively" manage its own heritage and nationally "exploit" the antiquities contained within Albanian territory.

At the interpretive level, to the Albanian scholars' and the government's discontent, the British-Albanian project has unearthed a great wealth of information that up to the point has undermined the Illyrian argument and has definitely redefined the meaning of Butrint. In the wider scheme of things, these discoveries have encouraged the enhancement of Butrint's value at global, national and local scales (on the dynamics of BF project see Hodges 2000a; 2004; also see Hodges 2006). In all UNESCO and BF reports and articles, Butrint is described as a "Microcosm of Mediterranean history", with its Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Angevin, Venetian, Ottoman monuments attesting to "its long and complex history" (Martin 2001:8). In relation to the ongoing debate about whether the site before the Roman occupation was a town of the Chaones tribe or a colony of Corfu (see 7.7), Hodges (2000a) in 2000 espoused a middle ground approach underlining that "in either case it was a notable port on the Adriatic seaway". As the project has progressed and new finds have come to light, new questions have emerged,

new theories have been formulated, and the Illyrian argument appears to fade away. Recent archaeological findings suggest that Butrint was initially part of the territory of Corfu, made into a 3rd century sanctuary, which after 167 BC developed to a small Republican sanctuary town of the Chaones (Hodges 2006:213). The theory on Butrint's close connection with Corfu was already underpinned by Hammond in 1967. Nevertheless, his argument was based solely on ancient written sources and not archaeological data. In spite of the current interpretations on Butrint's biography, one cannot overlook the precarious nature of archaeological practice and theory, and that a site's value is not fixed, allowing the possibility of future findings and theories that could further alter and raise the value of Butrint.

The BF together with UNESCO has also lifted Butrint from the local and national realm to the global. Sykes (8/12/1996), a British journalist in an article on the *Sunday Telegraph Magazine* praises BF's initiative. For him: "The dig now underway at Butrint is the most ambitious and significant archaeological undertaking since Lord Carnarvon's discovery of the tomb of the Tutankhamun" (see also Hirst 2009). Hodges envisages a different role for the Anglo-Albanian project. In an interview to the *Washington Post* (18/7/2005) he said: "We are not just digging for loot. We are digging with an idea of creating assets for the place -intellectual, on library shelves, tourists, identity and so on" (Chantry 2005). Since 1993, BF has published numerous editions on the archaeological findings of Butrint, eco-tourist projects have been developed, the museum was reopened, programs for public outreach have been initiated (see Appendix 11), a local school has been refurbished, tourists' visit to Butrint has been improved with the introduction of interpretive panels, and guidebooks and development studies and management plans have been produced, this way laying the first stone for the foundation of Albanian heritage management practices and principles. But above all BF's presence has contributed to the development of Butrint's identity. Its presence added many layers of meaning to the site and shed light on its complex biography. However, it is noteworthy that Butrint's association with the Mediterranean world and especially with the Corinthian colony of Corfu has not lessened its national importance, as it could have been expected. Instead, the site's national value seems to have grown along with the increase of its *outstanding universal value* stimulated by the UNESCO listing and BF's presence.

7.5.3 National Perceptions and the WH status of Butrint

One could speculate that the undermining of the Albanian argument on the Illyrian identity of Butrint would have weakened its national momentousness in considering the centrality of the Illyrian thesis in the national narratives. By stark contrast, from 1992 onwards, Butrint has been steadily rising to national eminence alongside the enhancement of its *outstanding universal value*. Since 1992, Butrint has been in the media and public attention and at the core of the government's cultural agenda. Each single event related to the site, from the inauguration of the new museum by Prime Minister Berisha in October 2005 (see Renton 2006) to local events such as the "open day" (Appendix 11), has received great coverage by the Albanian press (see Diele 2006; Hene 2006; Metani 2006). By all means, the designation seems to have changed the national orientation towards Butrint. The Albanian government foresaw that the WH status and the English presence would attract public attention and bring financial prosperity to the area (see 7.5.2). Under the pretext of culture, Butrint has been proven a valuable commodity (see Figure 7.12 and 7.13).

Butrint is the pride of the MCYS. For MCYS (2000:59): "Few countries in the Mediterranean have such beauties as to illustrate so faithfully the history of the Mediterranean civilisation. Butrint is held from foreigners as an extraordinary place". It is also considered that with its inclusion in the WH list Butrint "has been assessed as a world property of the first class, a place which must be seen and by importance it is listed near such temples as Hollywood, Pompeii, the piramides of Egypt" (ibid.). Butrint was actually the sole archaeological site on the official website of the MCYS to receive separate mention until Gjirokastra's designation in 2005. Its national importance is valued high since Butrint can "function as a testimony of the national dignity of Albanians as a nation who had the luck and wisdom to preserve the magic pearl of Butrint and put it to the service of the cultural, educational and economic prosperity of its early inhabitants" (ibid.). The recent years -following the site's designation- have witnessed the metamorphosis of Butrint from a site of archaeological significance to a centre of the production of Albanian cultural capital. From the Butrint theatre festival, the ballet performances, the classical concerts, the international events to the beauty pageants (see Figure 7.12 and 7.13), the district of Saranda has experienced economic and social revival, while Albania, as a country has received global attention.

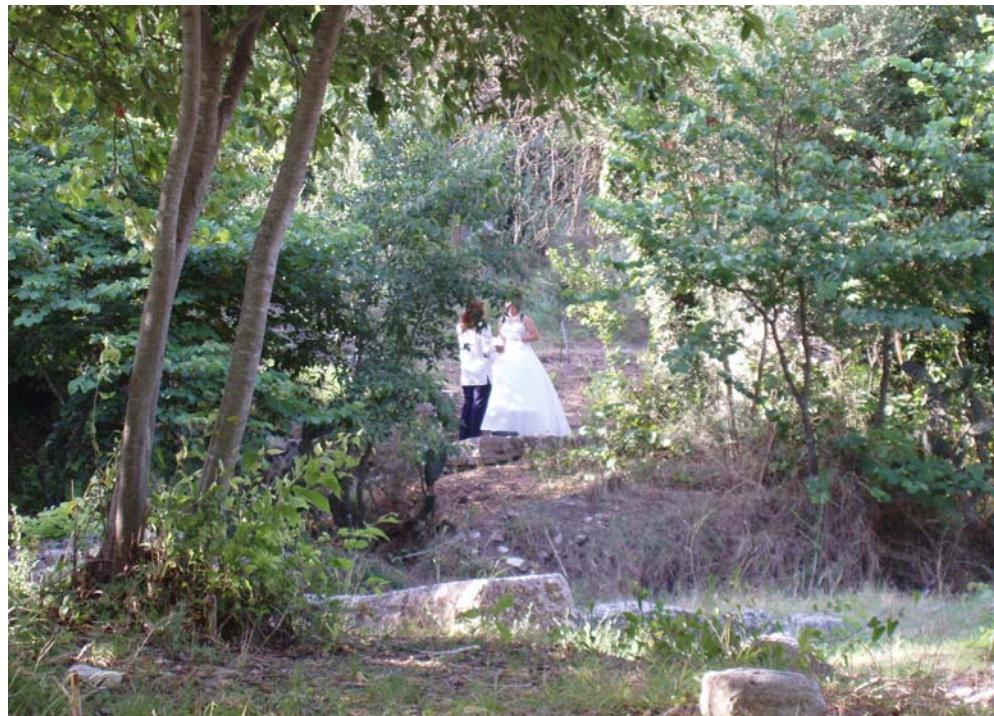


Figure 7.12 Bridal fashion show at the BNP.



Figure 7.13 The Butrint Theatre during the Butrint Theatre Festival in 2005.

7.5.4 Academic Readings of Butrint's Value

It would have been expected that the Albanian academia would conform to the new theoretical developments and archaeological tendencies following the new discoveries concerning the non-Illyrian identity of Butrint. A great number of Albanian archaeologists, instead of acquiescing with the new theories on Butrint's close link with the Corinthian colony of Corfu, have regressed towards using theoretical formulas of the communist times. A renewed Illyrianism has developed, and the openness of the early 1990s has been replaced with a sentiment of introversion and a need to defend the idea of nationhood, demonstrating that exposure often results in inward looking nation-states, in fear of loss of their national individuality. Thus, it seems that Butrint's global recognition following its inscription along with the alternative and often opposing readings of the site's past underline the need to sustain the national identity of the site.

The concept of cultural continuity and theories of ethnogenesis are currently revived. Korkuti, (2003:95) a renowned Albanian archaeologist, restates the theory that the Illyrians inhabited the western part of the Balkans, from the branches of Danube and Drava, as far as the bay of Ambrakia (Modern Greece). In a perennial conception of Albanian identity, he points out that the Illyrian ethnos, precursor of the Albanian one, was born as early as the Middle Bronze Age (ibid.:98). Drawing on archaeological evidence, Korkuti also insists on the idea of cultural continuity and clearly acknowledges the connection between Illyrians, Medieval Arbers and modern Albanians (ibid.:113). In connection to Butrint, the professor notes that it is among the Illyrian cities and fortresses that were inhabited without interruption (ibid.:102). Of interest here is that such statements are included in a publication financially supported by the Drue Heinz Trust, an American institute. This reveals how resources available to the Albanian state from western institutions, due to Butrint's WH designation, BF's presence and in view of the realities of open global societies, can be deployed in the national rhetoric.

Korkuti is not the exception. Budina (1994) also lists Butrint as an Illyrian town of the Hellenistic period. More recently in the 1998 volume of *Iliria* celebrating the "50 years of the Albanian archaeology", several Albanian scholars make direct claims about Butrint's Illyrian identity. To the persisting argument that Butrint should be seen as a Greek city, Mano (1998:136) urges in this volume for further research on sites such as Butrint, "which are not being considered as proper Hellenic colonies" (see also Muçaj 1998:185). Within the same context, the prominent professor Ceka (1998:128) on his

theory *On the genesis relationship between Hellenic colonies and the proto-urban Illyrian centres* asserts that sufficient archaeological evidence exist to substantiate the priority of the Illyrian urban centres over the Greek colonies. As for Butrint, he lists it among one of the most representative “urban constellations” of the Illyrian state of *Kaons* (Chaones) (ibid.; see also official website of the Albanian Institute of Monuments (IoM) <http://www.imk.gov.al/>). The belief in Butrint’s Illyrian identity is also shared among younger archaeologists. As Eduard Sehi puts it:

“If you do not study your archaeology [Albanian] ... you are nothing. [This is] The meaning of an Albanian archaeologist, and now has it [the Albanian archaeologist] forgotten everything [now], has it [he, the archaeologist] forgotten [the reason] why was made excavations in Butrint. Because Buthrotous was a koinon in the centre of Praeseben, illyrian tribes, not Greeks, not Hellenistic culture, yes it was great the Hellenistic culture or the classic, but they are not Greeks, there were called Barbarians by Thucydides in the 6th, 7th century, how can be this city a Hellenistic city. When they were called by Hellenistic writers barbarians. We could not forget this”.

In Sehi’s eyes, Albania’s past should be the sole focus of every Albanian archaeologist. Hence, the excavations in Butrint are a national project, as he points out, since the site was inhabited from Illyrian tribes and not Greek colonists. Yet the notion that Butrint is an Illyrian site is not just embraced by Albanian scholars. The acclaimed professor Cabanes (1998), on his essay on the progress of the Albanian archaeology, places Butrint among the Illyrian urban centres of the “historic period”, perhaps in an attempt to please his hosts.

Official views certainly exert deep influence on the public opinion. This shift in the significance of Butrint has also cast its shadow on the media and tourist domain. In the opinion of Linda White and Andrea and Peter Dawson (1995:73), contemporary travel writers, the “Illyrian” Chaones are credited as the founders of Butrint. Indeed, the foundation of Butrint “upon an old Illyrian site” is also a persistent theme in websites such as wikipedia [Accessed 13/11/2006], the Albanian tourist website www.albanian-tourism.com [Accessed 15/05/2009], and even Greek popular magazines such as the weekly women’s Greek magazine *Egw* (2005).

Butrint’s designation by UNESCO, as well as the Anglo-Albanian project have had a deep impact on the site’s biography and altered its value and meaning at a national and global level. At the same time, Albania’s exit from its long isolation has

introduced pluralism as a notion of archaeological theorising and practicing. Space was resultantly left for new interpretations to enter the arena of the Albanian national consciousness. However, the new interpretations have had unpredictable effects on the Albanian archaeological thought. The subtle claims to Butrint's Illyrian identity of the communist period gave way to open affirmations. The site's national significance seems to have increased along with its *outstanding universal value*, and Albanian archaeology looks as if it has recurred to old-fashioned theories of Illyrianism in an effort to reaffirm the site's Albanian identity, exhibiting Albania's increased national sentiment following the exit's new openness. Nevertheless, it is important to mention that not all Albanian scholars share such views (see 7.6.1).

Sharing similarities with the case of Rethymno, explored by Herzfeld (1991), in the case of Butrint generic readings of a past that is constituted of categories and stereotypes do not coincide naturally with those understandings that are shaped through every day experience. Therefore systemic and official interpretations (see Chapter 3) both at a national and global level, expressed by international organisations, the state and other institutions (state authorities, private foundations, universities, media), do not inevitably correspond to idiosyncratic and embodied views of the past held by locals and individuals such as scholars, archaeologists, students or heritage managers; people directly involved with the site. However, this does not mean that these two distinct experiences of the past cannot overlap and transcend each other. In fact, generic perceptions held by scholars, archaeologists, and other agents involved actively in the management and interpretation of Butrint, when blended with everyday experience, can often evolve to more personal and embodied attitudes towards cultural heritage. Being in place, living and working in Butrint offers a more sensory experience of the past. "We exist in and attend to the world through our senses, our bodily encounters with the world", Hamilakis (2002b:122) argues. More precisely, as Casey (1996:9) notes: "Place is the most fundamental form of embodied experience". In this regard, contemplating on space and place, Herzfeld (2006:128-129) also very wisely affirms that "the very idea of belonging is usually couched in spatial terms", whereas local knowledge is rooted in lived experience. However, in the framework of this research I do not speak just about locals and localities but mainly about idiosyncratic and embodied experiences of the past. Place is not monolithic. In an anthropological understanding of place, Rodman (1992:641) maintains that "place has multiple meanings that are constructed spatially". All social and political players in Butrint,

thus, imbue the past with different meanings. Their daily experience and practices undoubtedly enrich the meaning of the place. As a result, Butrint's positioning in the Albanian imagination is ambiguous. Although theories on Illyrians and Butrint thrive, and the site features as a "jewel in Albania's crown" (Milne 2000), simultaneously it seems to be marginal in the national imagery and Albanian archaeology. Butrint represents a remarkable phenomenon of a site that at the same time can be significant and "insignificant".

7.6 Significance Over "Insignificance"

Education and the Idiosyncratic Value(s) of Butrint

Can significance and insignificance coexist under a common roof? By using the example of Butrint, I argue here that a site could simultaneously be of significance and of *marginal significance* (see Chapter 3). I use the term *marginal significance* to replace the non-appropriate term insignificance. This decision is based on the axiom that all sites and monuments are of significance or have potentials for being important. Besides, significance is not a fixed attribute but it is socially, politically and economically regulated. Up to this point, the national significance of Butrint has been analysed and explored as reflected on state policies, the media, and the discipline of archaeology. This study could not be complete, though, without a brief portrayal of Butrint's deployment in the context of the Albanian memory and school curriculum. Gellner (1983) proposes that education is one of the apparatuses of national homogenisation. In the case of Albania, according to de Rapper (2004:168), education has been "the target of Albanian 'nationalisation' or 'national enculturation'". Concerning the bottom-up approach, perspectives expressed by actors such as archaeologists, heritage managers and students directly or indirectly involved with the site are of particular value here. By contrast, local communities' perceptions construe a different realm of inquiry. Therefore, they are going to be analysed separately in a subsequent subchapter. Lastly, Butrint's ambiguity, following its WH designation, is going to be stressed further here in a sub-section that touches upon current academic and media trends on the interpretation and representation of the site.

7.6.1 Butrint's Marginal Significance and Idiosyncratic Value

“Albanian education should be considered as one of the most important factors for the great democratic, economic, cultural, and psychological transformation of the country and for its accelerated integration into the European and world community” stated the Albanian Minister of Education in the mid-1990s (as cited in Kaltsounis 1995:143). For Albania, national education and schooling link the present with the future, but most importantly link the future with the past. With the establishment of a democratic government, the Albanian Ministry of Education proceeded immediately to the revision of the content of the schoolbooks. According to Myteberi (1999) of the Department of Pedagogic Research in Tirana, between 1990 and 1996, the ministry devoted itself to revise the history curriculum with a wish “to instil patriotic values as well as a feeling of European identity”. Kaltsounis (1995:143), a Greek scholar, although acknowledged the vision of modern Albania of building a democratic educational system, he predicted that Albanian nationalism will become a stimulus in Albanian education and a possible potential hindrance for the realisation of the ministry’s vision. In a similar fashion, Ismyriadou (1995) detected salient nationalistic sentiments and ends in the Albanian history textbooks of that time. It is true that the Albanian national curriculum has remarkably nationalistic qualities. But this is a commonplace for most national curricula, given that education is an optimal vehicle for forging a sense of belonging, propagating stereotypes and contextualising national agendas.

What has Butrint’s position been in Albanian education, since its designation as a WHS and the first national park in Albania? Butrint appears to occupy a marginal place in the Albanian curriculum. Even though the official dogma that equates the nation-state with the Illyrian lands persists, and Butrint plays a part as an Illyrian site among other landmarks of the Albanian identity, no detailed account on its contribution to Albanian identity building and its place in collective memory is cited, for instance in the history textbook *Historia 4-Profili Shoqëror* (Korkuti et als. 2004) (taught in the 12th grade –last year of high school and first issued in 2002). This omission comes as a surprise, especially since a picture of the theatre of Butrint features on the cover of this history schoolbook, among other signifiers of the Albanian past, such as the main edifice of the National University of Tirana and a statue of Skanderbeg (Figure 7.14). In this regard, all Albanian students who have answered my questionnaires, confirmed that Butrint is briefly cited in schoolbooks. But as another young female Albanian archaeologist states: “That’s about it”. On the contrary, Roshi told me that no mention to

Butrint was made in schoolbooks. The Mayor of the community of Ksamili, with great certainty also claimed that "children do not learn about Butrint at school". The director of Ksamili school held contradictory opinion on the matter. Duro Arafi, not only said that there are references about Butrint in history books, but he also stressed that local kids know about Butrint from personal experience, since they gather there every first of May, for the Spring festivities.

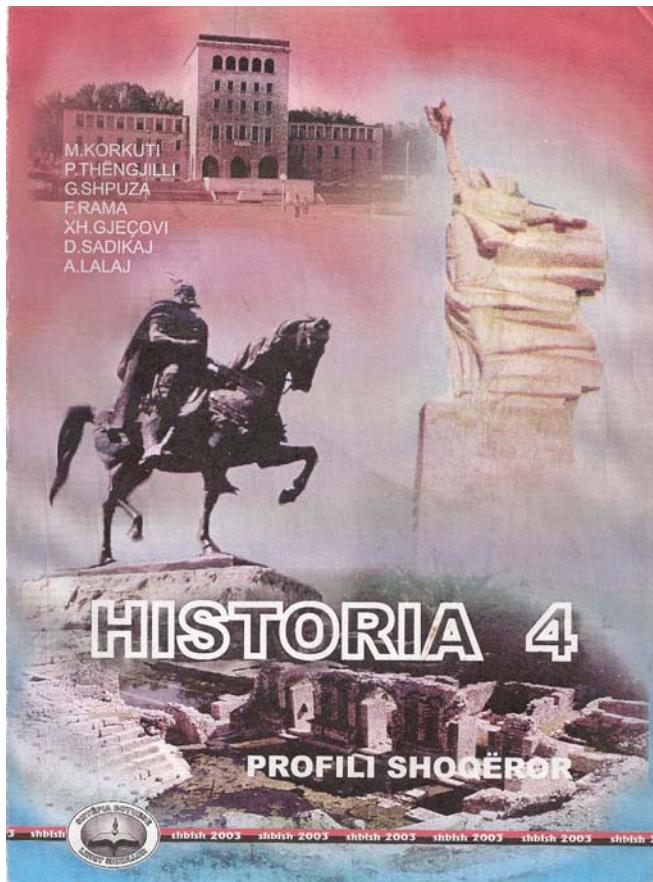


Figure 7.14 The cover of *Historia 4-Profili Shoqëror*.

A former teacher, now member of the regional office of Saranda and highly involved in the re-opening of the Butrint museum, offered another perspective on the issue. He indicated that it depends on the teacher as to whether or not the schoolchildren will learn about Butrint. Perhaps, the Albanian's nebulous vision of Butrint's role in the national curriculum is sign of Butrint's liminality in the national ideology. As explained earlier, Butrint also holds an ambiguous position in the Albanian archaeology and academia. In an incident in a local Tirana radio program narrated by Roshi, Butrint's marginal and ambiguous locus in the collective memory of Albanian schoolchildren and Albanians is concretely illustrated:

"One of the students in Tirana told me that Butrint is like... He said this, I am quoting him, Butrint "is so familiar, to us as a name but we know literally almost nothing about it". The Brand name, [Roshi says] Butrint's name is overused for different things, Butrint theatre, festival, Butrint concert, Butrint this and that. Butrint whatever... The Miss Albania contest. But there is no knowledge about Butrint".

Roshi's knowledge of Butrint derived from her first visit to the site with her mother and sister. Nevertheless, the survey results show that for the majority of the students their visit to Butrint is primarily linked to either the university or school activities, and then to their family milieu and friends (on the importance of *habitus* in heritage visiting see Merriman 1991; Table 7.5). It is important to restate that for many students their first visit to Butrint is related to their participation in the field school. Nonetheless, according to the students references to Butrint are not at all extensive during their undergraduate studies. Despite Butrint's marginality in Albanian higher education, all Albanian students, that participated in the survey concurred on the archaeological and national significance of Butrint (see Figure 7.15).

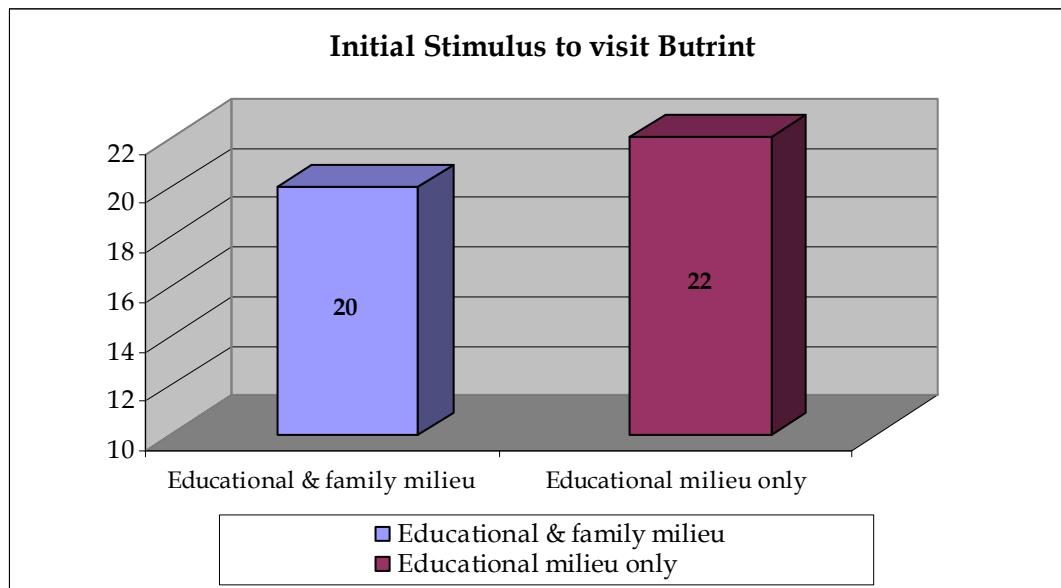


Table 7.5 Table that indicates on which occasions students have visited Butrint. In the chart *Family milieu* stands for both family and friends and *Educational milieu* for both school and university.

Albanian students' appreciation of Butrint seems to be a corollary of their direct involvement with the site. In this sense, it is obvious that as the degree of interaction of

people with the site of Butrint increases, so does increase the idiosyncratic value of Butrint. Albanian students' embodied experience of Butrint has helped to incorporate the site in their memory.



Figure 7.15 Albanian students during the survey.

The more, people become involved with the site, the more they become captivated by Butrint's values. Roshi's personal experience offers again a valuable insight into people's understanding of Butrint. She said:

“My interest about Butrint was more from a tourist point of view. It was in my power point presentations for my country [as a postgraduate student in the States]... I show [it] to people as an interesting site to visit but nothing more than this. ... I think I knew it [Butrint] was a value of my country, but I didn't ever thought that it was part of my identity, of my Albanian identity. My feeling about the Albanian history doesn't relate to Butrint.”

She repeatedly underlined that her collaboration with Butrint has been a determining factor in her evolving attitude towards the site. As she stressed:

“I did not relate to Butrint up to before I work for the BF, but that is another thing. How I see now it is much differently from what I did before, I think I did not see before [referring to Butrint's importance]”.

Direct engagement with the site appears to be a decisive parameter that regulates people's knowledge of Butrint's identity and history. This is also the case for Butrint's *outstanding universal value*. Through the interviews with the locals and Albanian archaeologists, and the informal discussions with the Albanian students, it appears that people did not know at all or much about UNESCO and the concept of World Heritage before becoming directly involved with the site. The more people interact with the material past that Butrint's embodies, the more they associate with it, embrace its values and link it with their identity.

As demonstrated up to now through a general account of Butrint's place in national education and several personal reflections on the site, the site's national value, as reflected on state rhetoric is not necessarily a national attribute. In this respect, Albanian archaeologists' views appear also extremely informative. In a conversation on the values of Butrint, Çondi (director of the Butrint museum and of the regional office in Saranda) credited foreign archaeologists with drawing attention to Butrint. For him, it is due to them that Butrint converted into a celebrated site rather than due to its archaeological and national importance for the Albanians. Çondi views Apollonia and Durres to be far more significant nationally and archaeologically than Butrint and evidently more suitable to be nominated as WHS. In the same spirit, when Sehi was questioned on the importance of Butrint, he responded:

P. P.: "What is the importance of Butrint to you as an archaeologist"?

E. S.: "Why Butrint is important? The sea, the mountains, the trees and in the middle of them archaeology. Nothing else".

P. P.: "Why does the Albanian government give so much importance to Butrint then"?

E. S.: "I told you. If you come in Durres, you will see. You can cross Durres in one hour, the museum the theatre, Byzantine wall, private baths, Byzantine forum and nothing else. One hour is enough. Nothing more. Here you can have one day swimming, one day in the mountains, one day a tour in Butrint".

Thus, for Sehi it is the site's aesthetic value and not its archaeological importance that justifies its popularity and the magnetism that has exerted. Although Butrint seems not to be greatly rooted in the national memory of the people I spoke to, it appears that many of them highly appreciate its aesthetic quality. "It's wonderful. It is one of our

most beautiful sites. It is just beautiful" a young female Albanian archaeologist said. She also pointed out to me:

"It's got history as well. It has always been appreciated for what it is. Yeah the good thing of it, that most of it is still there, standing. It is got wonderful monuments very well conserved. Some of them are very well conserved which makes it attractive for the tourists."

Aesthetics, integrity, authenticity and natural beauty are recurrent concepts in many people's visualisation of Butrint and for many Albanian archaeologists seem to offer the reasoning behind the site's inscription in the WH list. Following a bottom-up approach, most Albanian people I spoke to seem by and large unaware of the national value of Butrint, or more precisely of the site's systemic significance (see also locals' perspective below 7.8). They appear conscious of Butrint's momentousness, but they are unaware as to the reasons why, such as the incident with the pupils demonstrates and particularly Roshi's illuminative comments. In general, the site gives the impression of having a marginal role in the national identity formation and people's imagination, despite Albanian government's agenda and policies.

7.6.2 Butrint's Ambiguous Significance

In recent times, the process of national identification with Butrint has also been hindered by the site's complex and obscure historical and archaeological identity. As theories on the Illyrians or Corfiots thrive, confusion seems to prevail regarding the cultural ties of the site. While Albanian and foreigner archaeologists tend to clearly endorse one or the other theoretical framework surrounding Butrint's cultural history, two other additional approaches exist and are popularised in different realms of the Albanian media and academia, travel literature and cyberspace. The first approach embraces simultaneously both the Illyrian and Corfiot ("Greek") character of Butrint. This perspective is noticeably promoted in travel literature and by the foreign press, this way reflecting the confusion that exists pertaining to Butrint's identity and most probably the impact of UNESCO's and BF's interpretations. In their guide of Albania, English travel writers Linda Write and Peter and Andrea Dawson refer to how the "huge Illyrian walls stand cheek by jowl with a Greek theatre and Roman dwellings" (1995:73; see also Gloyers 2004). Within the same context, Milne (21/08/2000) reporting

for the English newspaper *Guardian* describes to his readers that Butrint "combines around one castle-topped hill the spectacular remains of nearly 3000 years of successive civilisation: towering Illyrian walls, ancient Greek amphitheatres and temples, roman bath houses, Byzantine basilicas and baptisteries, Venetian towers and French and ottoman fortifications."⁸ Aside from figuring on foreign travel literature and the media, Butrint's dual identity is also a frequent phenomenon on popular non-official Albanian websites, such as on the tourist Albanian website <http://www.albanian-tourism.com> and <http://butrint.biography.ms/> [Accessed 20/06/2009].

Together with the above presented "middle ground" approach, a more neutral attitude has surfaced and has been espoused especially by Albanians scholars and the Albanian public. In this second approach, a deliberate or unconscious "masking" of Butrint's identity, reminiscent of communist propaganda, is noticeable on many websites. If Butrint is not an Illyrian site, why is it of national significance? If it is a "Greek" site, as UNESCO and BF state, how can Albanians feel related to it? The "Illyrian walls" and "Greek theatre" thus gave place to "antic fortifications" and to "VI before our era theatre", in the spirit of the communist philosophy of filtered and abstract information. For the IoM, Butrint's "history starts from the VII and VI century BC and continues till the beginning of the XIX century. There you can find: prehistoric, antic, Byzantine, Venetian fortifications and those of Turkish period, also a theatre, villas, bathrooms, nymphets, adduct etc." (source www.imk.gov.al/ [Accessed 20/05/2009]). It is like the use of terms Classical or Hellenistic would validate the Greek authority over these remains. Such references are thereby clearly omitted. This attitude is particularly apparent in most of the guidebooks available at the site. In Ceka's (1999) and Çondi's (2003) books and in the guidebook *Butrint in Centuries* (2002), highly charged terms such as Greeks and Illyrians were replaced with less symbolically charged terms such as Corfiots and Chaones, meaningless for those not involved in the debate (see section 7.7).⁹ Overall, both approaches mirror Butrint's ideological liminality, its "drifting" between its "Illyrian" and its "Greek" identity, between its national and its global, transnational or supranational value.

7.6.3 Butrint's Liminal Significance

Apparently, the Albanian people I spoke to, seem largely unable or unwilling to perceive their identity in connection with Butrint. They are unable to embrace it as a signifier of the Albanian nation, partly because of the site's marginality in national education and ambiguous place in the media narratives and public life. In the context of this research, Butrint's relocation in national narratives appears to derive from a very individual process which involves direct engagement. Materiality and embodied experience of the place and the past prove to be determining parameters in national imagination. Without doubt, the WH designation along with the systematic endeavours of the Albanian government have gradually reintroduced Butrint in collective memory and imagery. The young Albanian girl working on the conservation team of the site, earlier quoted referring to the role of Ugolini's legacy on the site's inclusion said that Butrint has risen to national eminence for one reason: "If you put all your attention, all your budget. If you invest everything you have at one site, then it will be yours". Butrint's burgeoning importance is also indicated by the numbers of visitors to the site. As Hodges (2000a) observes, the numbers of visitors have been growing every year. First, this is due to the numerous foreign tourists crossing from bustling Corfu. Second, Roshi told me that Butrint is inundated with schoolchildren during May's field trips and Albanian tourists in the summer months, since the region of Saranda has turned into a lucrative holiday destination. In 1994 the site was visited by 6.000 people (4.000 foreign and 2.000 national visitors; see Martin 2002b). Ten years later, according to BNP's annual report for 2004, 26.287 Albanians and 21.728 foreign tourists visited the site. From the 26.827 Albanians visitors, 14.140 were pupils and students (for tourist numbers see also BF 2006:4; Martin 2002a; Koutsouris et al. 2003: 94). Yet these figures are not considered totally accurate. There have been rumours that up until 2004 the ticket revenue was misappropriated for personal profit by the former manager of BNP, showing the commoditising power and allure that cultural heritage possesses on certain occasions. Regardless of the statistical data, it is obvious that the Albanian people, as all people, relate to tangible sites and places, which are invested with memories and personal stories. When Roshi was asked to discuss other sites apart from Butrint to which she relates, she replied:

P. P.: "Any other site you feel close to you?"

E. R.: "Vouno [coastal village where her family comes from and grandparents live] is part of me, I belong there".

By concealing and re-interpreting Butrint's identity, the Albanian state's and academia's hope is that Butrint will be redeemed from the past and emerge anew as a landmark of Albanian identity, vested with new values more compatible to the current imagining of Albanian-ness. In fact, "relocating" Butrint in Albanian national conceptions emerges as a subtle requirement, reflecting Albanian nationalism's evolving agenda. "They [referring to the Albanian government] want to promote the country" Roshi pointed out to me concerning current state policies. In relation to Butrint she said: "it used to be important in terms of history. ... As you have seen in the museum the Enver Hoxha thing [sign] that in this area not only developed the Hellenic and Roman culture, but another ancient culture, the Illyrian one". But Roshi explained:

"[now] We know that Illyrians were far northern than here. In terms of history [referring to the significance of Butrint and the Greek and Roman presence] it shows [however] that this country, at least this that it is called Albania, now, it had for long time, regionally at least, it has been an important place. This is the minimum of historical value [of Butrint]. ... Although I have to say that I would have like to ... some times I am eager to know whether there were [that they existed in the area of Butrint] Illyrians or whatever. Actually I would like to have a connection as an Albanian [with Butrint]. I would like actually to hear that the Albanians were there before, to put it straight."

Yet questions linger. Although up to recently, Butrint on the basis of archaeological evidence, does not conform to the idea of cultural continuity, to the triptych of Illyrian-Arbers-Albanians that translates to one nation, common roots, one land, and to the essence of Albanianhood, the site is deemed to be one of national momentousness. The site's national importance, in fact, has been constantly increasing since its inclusion in the WH list. State interest and policies with regard to the site can be understood to a certain degree in consideration of the growing need to attract funding, to promote financial and social regeneration through financial development, and finally to establish Albania as a player in global politics and tourism; goals greatly facilitated by the WH status. How can one though explain and understand the academic shift regarding the interpretation of Butrint, its centrality in state rhetoric and poetics and also its designation for a long period as the only Albanian site worthy to be

considered of *outstanding universal value*? Butrint is a contested site on a contested (politically and symbolically) territory. Politics have always determined its biography, from the time of Augustus to the governance of Berisha. Nowadays Butrint's augmenting national value as in the case of Virgil and Augustus (see Bowden 2003; Gilkes 2004), has more to do with modern politics and in particular Balkan reality, rather than with ancient traditions. Materiality surpasses myths and ideals, and proves to be a driving force. Thus, all policies for the nationalisation of Butrint and its reinforcement in collective memory, that followed the site's designation, are understood and justified greatly in light of the site's marginal geographical location and ideological liminality and by taking into consideration the WH convention's legitimising power in the politicisation of the past.

7.7 Epirus-Chameria and the Case of Liminal Butrint

Butrint holds a marginal and liminal locus both in Albanian national sentiment and Albanian geography. It seems though to have always been in an "in between" position, between East and West, the Roman Empire and Byzantium, Greek lands and Illyria, and Greece and Albania. At the same time, Butrint has always been at the heart of an area known from antiquity as Epirus. Accounting for appellations', borders' and space's primary significance for the national imagination, the recognition of Butrint's global and national prominence lies considerably in its geographical location and strategic position. In other words, Butrint's biography and value shifts can be understood greatly in the context of borderland nationalism and the evolving Balkan politics.

The ancient kingdom of Epirus expanded as far north as Vlora Bay and as far south as the Ambracian Gulf (see Figure 7.16), whereas the Pindos range and the Prespa lakes created borders to the east. According to some ancient sources, three tribes inhabited these lands: the Molossians, the Thesprotians and the Chaones. The most prominent figure in the Epirote history, is King Pyrrhus of the Molossians since during his reign, the Epirote heritage achieved a posthumous fate (see Lévêque 1997). Yet in ancient historiography, the ancient Epirotes seem to hold an ambiguous status. Although their association with the Greek world is widely accepted, ancient writers such as Thucydides often refer to the Epirote tribes as "barbarians" (e.g. Hammond

1967; Winnifrith 2002). Even though modern historians such as Hammond (1967) and Winnifrith (2002) underline the difficulty to define what ancient writers meant by barbarian, this historical information strongly regulates Epirote's assigned role in modern borderland politics. Independent of the population movements and the succession of Roman, Byzantine, Serb, Venetian and Ottoman rulers, it is true that the region never lost its Epirote identity. Since antiquity Epirus was more or less perceived as a geographical, historical and political entity. By the early 20th century, however, following the rise of Balkan nationalism, Epirus experienced secession and was partitioned between Albania and Greece.



Figure 7.16 Map that delineates the limits of ancient Epirus with regard to the current national borders of Greece and Albania.

Between 1881 and 1908, the newly born Greek state envisaged the creation of a dual Greek-Albanian state in the standards of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Kondis 1981:301; further on Greek claims see Veremis 1995b). Its aspirations were proven vain

and its vision was limited then to the annexation of the geographical area that was later known as Northern Epirus (Figure 7.17), given that two thirds of its population were estimated to be Greek (according to the 1913 census see Kallivretakis 1995) and cities such as Gjirokastra, Himarra, Koritsa and Moschopolis were thriving as centres of Greek culture and commerce since the 19th century (on the unsuccessful *Autonomous Northern Epirus Movement* see Kondis 1994; Triadafilopoulos 2000:152).



Figure 7.17 Map that delineates the limits of Northern Epirus and Chameria. The area of Northern Epirus is marked with orange and of Chameria with yellow (and yellow dots).

From an Albanian perspective, the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire concurred with the burgeoning Albanian national fervour for autonomy. The road to self-determination was long, since substantial Albanian speaking Muslim populations were residing in the region of Macedonia, Southern Montenegro, Kosovo, and of

course Epirus. In the Albanian ideology, Southern Epirus -the area that expands between the Ambracian Gulf and the region of Paramythia- also known as Chameria (Çamëria), was the homeland of Muslim Albanian-speakers, the Chams. For this reason, the newly founded Albanian state's dream of a Greater Albania involved the acquisition of all these territories. Once again, however, foreign interests overruled nationalist aspirations, and Epirus's destiny as in the case of Macedonia was decided by the Great Powers. The region was then divided into Northern Epirus (Albania) and Southern Epirus (Greece) (Kallivretakis 1995:25; Winnifrith 2002). Contrary to the example of the 1923 population exchange between Greece and Turkey, the fate of Epirotes was destined to be different. No exchange was deemed necessary. Both states eventually embarked on their first steps towards self-determination and sovereignty with substantive minorities in their lands.

The two World Wars altered the demographic balance between the two minorities. By 1951, only 487 Albanian-speaking Muslims lived in Greek territory, since the Chams were expelled as enemies of the nation after having collaborated with the Italian and German occupation forces (see Margaritis 2005:138-140; Winnifrith 2002). This was not the case for the Greek-speaking population in southern Albania, which even if they had helped the Greek army as liberators in the winter of 1940, they enjoyed favourable treatment by the Hoxha regime (Winnifrith 2002). Following the fall of Communism, demographic correlations shifted once again, straining relations between the two countries. Once borders opened, Greece became the most popular destination for Albanian immigrants (see Vidali 1999). In contradiction to the Albanian immigrants, whose presence has been often associated by Greeks with the rise of crime and has fermented xenophobic sentiments, the "Northern Epirotes" were warmly welcomed to the "homeland" as "long lost relatives". Nowadays, the Greek minority accounts for about 3% of the total population of Albania, while approximately 500.000 Albanian nationals live and work currently in Greece (Triandafyllidou 2008 and CIA website <https://www.cia.gov/> [Accessed 28/03/2009]).

7.7.1 Contested Epirus

Epirus has been an object of dispute between Albania and Greece since the turn of the 20th century. Today, however, the Cham and the Northern Epirus Issue do not monopolise the interest of both countries to the extent that the Kosovo issue for

Albania and the Macedonian Conflict for Greece respectively do. Nevertheless, all these disputes share the same common denominator: the symbolic and political value of the past. Due to the Northern Epirus and Cham Issue, archaeological sites and monuments have dual significance and are tied culturally to two distinct ethnic groups and national pasts (see Figure 7.18; 7.19). This is also the case for Butrint, whose role in the politics of Epirus is delineated and analysed below (see 7.7.2).



Figure 7.18 The airport of the city of Ioannina, Greece named after King Pyrrhus.



Figure 7.19 Logo of the Patriotic-Political association "Çameria" depicting King Pyrrhus (source www.aacl.com [Accessed 12/05/2009]).

In the course of the 20th century both Albania and Greece, with the help of archaeological theories and the material manifestations of the past, have built up their

own thesis to support their rights over land, people and history. In this ideological struggle, both sides have acknowledged not only the potency of archaeology for providing historical resonance to their claims, but also of media and in particular of Internet for their immediacy and public allure, and of school curricula for their conspicuous role in forging the foundations of national consciousness.

The Albanian Thesis on Epirus and Chameria

Inspired by theories of cultural continuity deeply embedded in the Albanian national psyche, Albanian scholars have searched for archaeological and historical evidence to substantiate the firm foundation of the Albanian thesis on Epirus and Chameria. The Albanian argument revolves around one main theme: the undisputed Illyrian-ness of the Epirote tribes, and respectively of the Chams, since the limits of the Chameria coincide with those of ancient Epirus (and of south Illyria). Drawing from ancient sources, the archaeologist Islami (1998:19) argues that "both Herodotus and Skylaks as well as two other great Greek historians Thucydides and Efori set the ethnic border of the Greek world from Ambrakia bay [borders also of Chameria] and Peneos River". "Therefore," he adds, "beyond that to the north, the populations described as barbarians and not Hellenophone belong to none other than the Illyrian trunk" (ibid.:20; see also Prendi 1998:97; Thëngjilli 2004). Less conspicuously, Marmullaku (1975) and Pollo and Puto (1981), instead of declaring the Illyrian-ness of Epirus, speak of the Illyrian tribes of Chaones, Thesprotes and Molossi (see also Vickers and Pettifer 2006; Vickers 2002). In a perennial understanding of ethnicity the direct linkage between the Chams and the Illyrians is also drawn (see Vickers and Pettifer 2006; Vickers 2002; see the website of the Patriotic Political Association Chameria <http://www.aacl.com>). For example, on an Albanian nationalistic website, whose purpose is "to uncover the secret plans of unfriendly neighbours, who persistently try to destroy our nation" [Referring to the Greeks and Serbs], it is stated:

The population of Chameria has always been ethnically Albanian: - A lot of voyagers and foreign historians wrote that Chameria had been populated by Albanians. Even the Greek historian Herodotus underscored this fact in his book Historias and called Albanians of the Chameria barbarians, a term used by the ancient Greeks to distinguish non-greek people. (source <http://www.illyrians.org/genonc.html> [Accessed 10/03/2009])

In all these examples, the remote past ideally operates as the raw material for sustaining the argument on the Illyrian identity of Epirus (see Hammond 1989b:11). It is not surprising then that these views also emerge in history textbooks. Textbooks, as Hamilakis (2003a:41) emphasises, are “an important source for the investigation of the production and consumption of dominant stereotypes”. Albanian stereotypes on the Illyrian identity of both Epirus and Chameria are recurrent for example, in the Albanian history textbook *Historia 4-Profili Shoqëror* destined for high school students (see Korkuti et al. 2004). There Epirus is depicted as a key region of Illyria all through the centuries and Chameria as “the Albanian territory in the south” (Lalaj 2004:238). Finally, a vivid account is given to the students of the events of 1944 (year of Chams’ expulsion from Greece), where Chams’ patriotism and their courageous fight “against bands of Greek army that occupied Chameria” is excessively underlined (ibid.). Obviously, the official Albanian discourse on the identity of Epirus and Chameria develops in conjunction with the Greek-Albanian nexus and undoubtedly in opposition to Greek claims over the identity of the region.

The Greek Thesis on Epirus

The Greek counter-discourse is orchestrated along similar lines. From a Greek perspective, Epirus is a lost homeland comparable to Macedonia, Thrace and Asia Minor. In concrete terms, the Greek thesis on Epirus evolves around the idea that Epirus is the cradle of Greek civilisation. According to Sakellariou (1997:10), the editor of the volume *Epirus 4000 years of Greek history and Civilisation*:

“Greek-speaking groups of proto-Greeks came to Epirus, as to West Macedonia, between 2500 and 2100 BC. About 1900BC certain tribes began to migrate from these regions, quickly reaching the Peloponnese. Some of these later formed the states conventionally known to modern scholarship as ‘Mycenaean’”.

Precedence and purity are also consistent ideas in the national mythology. To adduce proof of Greece’s legitimate claims, the prominent historian on Epirote issues Kondis (1994; see also 1981) turns to historical evidence. He argues, thus, that “history shows that Greeks have dwelt in the Northern Epirus area as far as back as early antiquity”. Superiority is another consistent motive in Greek narratives (1994:9). Kondis’ (1981) view on the subject is again illuminative of such approaches. He asserts that it is due to

Illyrians' contact with the Greeks that they "reached the highest level of cultural development" (1981:301; see also Kondis 1995a; 1995b; 1996; 1997a; 1997b). On all these accounts, the undisputed Greekness of Epirus is evident and develops in opposition to Albanian efforts to historically appropriate the past and the heritage of the region. Similar perceptions are also not absent from the Greek curriculum. The history textbook *Issues of history*, introduced to the Greek education in 1999-2000 (destined for high school students) regurgitates official viewpoints on the Northern Epirus Issue. The argumentation is not merely limited to the assertion that all Epirotes are Greeks. Ailianos, one of the contributors of this edition (1999:73) goes as far as to claim that the Albanians are not descendants of the Illyrians and that the Chams and the Tosks (South Albanians) had clear Greek national consciousness (ibid.:83). Such opinions are expressed at the same time when many Greek scholars engage (e.g. Vouri and Kapsalis 2003) with a critical study of the Albanian educational system as an apparatus of vigorous Albanian nationalism (see 7.6.1), instead of reflexively assessing the nationalistic qualities of the Greek curriculum and of their approach (see Ismyriiadou 1995; Kaltsounis 1995; Vouri and Kapsalis 2003; on the nationalistic character of Greek history textbooks see Fragoudaki and Dragona 1997; Hamilakis 2003a).

In the Greek rhetoric, the material manifestations of Hellenism are deemed of even greater importance. Since the very beginning, archaeology has played a conspicuous role on the issue, given that the Greek state openly associated the use of Greek language with having Greek consciousness and strove to establish a tangible link with the lost homeland (see Davis 2000:89). In this respect, as early as 1912 and 1913 the first Greek archaeological missions to Epirus were launched (see Davis 2000:79,81). With the definition of borders and the rise of communism, Greek archaeologists were though confined to the area of Epirus expanding south of Butrint. Shortly after the collapse of Hoxha's regime, Greek archaeologists immediately ceased the opportunity and participated in collaborative projects with the IoA. Hatzia was the first Greek archaeologist to work in Albania. Yet her project on the Butrint acropolis was short-lived and it took almost 15 years until another collaborative project was initiated. This time (2005) a Greek team under the direction of Zahos (director of the 12th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities) surveyed and carried out excavation in the "Greek Epirote city" of Antigonea (an Illyrian city according to the Albanian Academy of Sciences <http://www.academyofsciences.net/institutes/archeology/classical.htm> [Accessed 15/02/2009]; on the Greek Antigonea project see daily newspaper *Ta Nea*

(19/10/2005)). For almost a century, thus the Greek side has actively endeavoured to “figuratively repatriate” this heritage through the creation and dissemination of stories of continuity backed up by archaeological evidence.

In the wider scheme of things, both Greek and Albanian nationalism endorse traditional notions of culture as a bounded entity, whilst the past is seen as a monolithic bloc. However, the Northern Epirus issue is not just an ideological and political dispute, but also it largely involves the public. Added to this, the discourse often moves beyond state boundaries and has recently developed as a heated debate in cyberspace. Internet constitutes an interesting *site* of mapping contestation and discourse on the issue. In fact, it operates as a forum of ideas, a *site* where often fringe, but also mainstream ideas find outlets. As Anderson (as cited in Khazaleh 2005) affirms, nationalism evolves along with other developments in society. Hence, it is possible to speak nowadays of long-distance, email/Internet nationalism. With reference to the Epirus Issue the examples are numerous. Several websites within and beyond the Greek and Albanian borders engage actively in expressing their perspectives, such as the website *home of Albanian online* (http://www.albanian.com/community/vbl/show_thread.php?t=7366 [Accessed 13/05/2009]), (<http://www.illyrians.org/cameria.html> [Accessed 13/05/2009]), or the website of the *American Albanian association*, a Diaspora cultural organisation (<http://www.chameriaassociation.org/> [Accessed 13/05/2009]), also the nationalistic Greek website (<http://enotitanpride.tripod.com/ellada/id4.html> [Accessed 13/05/2009]), and finally the website of a Greek student association called *The Students' Coordination Committee for the Northern Epirus' Rights* (<http://www.sfeva.gr/active.aspx> [Accessed 13/05/2009]). The dynamics of this debate on the internet are efficiently illustrated in the following conversation between Greek and Albanian internet users on the nationalistic and racialist international website *stormfront*, apparatus of what is called Stomfront white nationalist community.

Northern Epirus is home to 250,000 Hellenes whose human rights have been abused by the Albanian government for over 80 years. The Albanian government has refused to acknowledge its obligations under the Corfu Protocol of 1914 which grants Albania's Greek minority of Northern Epirus AUTONOMY. This situation has to be corrected immediately and all articles of that protocol be implemented until such time as a referendum for the union of Northern Epirus with Greece can be held

The Albanians, if they want to take reference of the old time, they must go back to Azerbaijan and the steppes of Turkestan.

I am not sure if my history is correct. Correct me if i am wrong. But isn't Epirus the land of the Dorians?

The Dorians originated from North Macedonia and Epirus before they spread to South Greece.

If epirus was Greek why all the greek poets and authors called them barbarians. A word used for non greek populations. Only 25000 greeks live there and they came in the begining of the twentieth century. The others are Albanian Orthodoxs, Just try to call them greeks in their face and see what happens

Epirots become Albanians too now . What is your 3rd world propaganda is going to claim next? The Ainu?

No, No wee think to clame as albanians your pseudo greek fugures.

I am a personally childhud friend of ""your Pirro Dhima"

Bubulina

Boçari

Ali Tepelena more about the "pseudo helleniks of now" ?????

Wau, what is going on in this forum!!?

I see planty of venom between the neighbors.

The greeks that claming the north Epirus !!!!

Well here in London University no body mentioned that the north epirus is a greek or even hellenic originally.

Is just a new theory that greek parts areusing in this decades pretending to "have back" the actual south tettitorial parts of Albania.

Really it seams strange becouse in the same time inside the greek actual territory, live a huge community of pure albanians.

I read in some story documents that the albanian community in north of Greece, have recive a repetitive genocide by the authorities.

Table 7.6 Extract from online discussion on website stomfront (source <http://www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php?t=231695> [Accessed 13/05/2009]).

Anecdotal stories, to conclude, can further illuminate the issue. Winnifirth (2002) in *Badlands-Borderlands* cites evidence from his own experience. "Arriving early to wait for a friend at the Albanian port of Sarande" he says:

"I was beckoned by a policeman. Apprehensively thinking of the treatment handed out to Albanian immigrants at Dover, I was surprised to be given a drink and asked whether King Phyrrus was Greek or Albanian. It was as if English immigration officers were keen to question visiting Albanians about the racial origins of Queen Boadicea." (2002:22)

While I was conducting my survey in Butrint, on the ground that a Greek person was carrying out research on Albanian identity and nationalism, I was asked on several occasions by students of Cham origins to express my opinion on Chameria and specifically the Greek policies over the property issue and Chams' right to return. Perhaps few years ago I would have found it difficult to reply due to my limited knowledge, not to say ignorance of the Cham Issue. Suffice it to say that in Greece it is only in 1999, that even brief references to these matters have emerged in school curriculum. Nevertheless, the only answer I could give was that they were right. But being myself granddaughter of people expelled from Asia Minor and Constantinople, with a certain fatalism I advocated that these things happen to everyone. In the Balkans, stories of displacement, Diaspora and lost homelands are a commonplace. However, in all cases, every person claims exclusivity in stories of misery and dislocation.

7.7.2 Liminal Butrint in Liminal Epirus

Butrint is at the heart of Epirus and close to the Albanian-Greek border. Its geographical marginality did not act as a decelerating factor in its biography. Its archaeological importance seems to have grown alongside its political potency. It can be suggested that Butrint's political significance preceded its archaeological one. Most likely the former (political) significance encouraged the latter (archaeological), rather than the other way around.

Already from the first half of the 19th century, Butrint long before being excavated by Ugolini, figures in diplomacy. In 1835, Butrint belonged to the consulate of Epirus according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the newly founded Greek state (Kallivretakis 1995:28). Butrint, precisely, served to demarcate where the limits of the consulate of Epirus ended and from where the jurisdiction of the consulate of Lower Albania began. Later in 1923, Butrint operated as a marker, a point of demarcation for the drawing of borders. In August of that year, General Tellini, the Italian president of the Allied Commission, unaware of the anti-Italian feelings in the area, was murdered, while delimiting the Greek-Albanian border (see Yearwood 1986). In retaliation, Mussolini immediately proceeded to the bombardment and occupation of Corfu. Although the incident was resolved a few months later with the mediation of the League of the Nations and the Conference of Ambassadors, however, "when the

commission reported [regarding the borders] shortly thereafter it ruled in favour of the Italian view" (Goldstein 1989:355). The Corfu incident, as it is called, notably controlled the destiny of this area and left Butrint outside Greek territory (see *ibid.*). Nonetheless, in the beginning of the Second World War, once more Butrint reappears in Greek-Albanian political affairs, since this area was the first Albanian land to fall in Greek hands. Yet, by the end of the war Butrint came again under Albanian jurisdiction, holding a new military status. From the establishment of Communism in Albania and up until the site's WH designation, because of Butrint's pivotal location, public access to the site was only allowed with authorised permission (with the exception of official visits of foreign and Albanian dignitaries; see Figure 7.20). In view of the site's key military position, according to Hoxha, Khrushchev had even visualised turning Butrint into a submarine base by "digging up" and "throwing into the sea" the "old things" (from source <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/hoxha/works/1976/khruschevites/12.htm> [Accessed 24/04/2009]). Nevertheless, his idea came upon Hoxha's strong determination to safeguard Albanian heritage for posterity.

Military constructions, such as bunkers are scattered within the limits of the archaeological park. In this way, the residents of Ksamili peninsula still remain mindful of the military status of Butrint in the communist era, as a stronghold of the Albanian nation (see Figure 7.21). By and large, Butrint's military and diplomatic history exemplifies that it has always operated as a landmark of marginality, as a borderland. It is where an area of control began and where another ended. Similarly, in academia Butrint is used as a limit between different realms. For instance, Vickers utilises Butrint to define Chameria geographically. She notes: "The region, which is centred around the Tsamis river, extends from Butrint and the mouth of Acheron river to Lake Prespa in the north, eastward to the Pindus mountains and south as far as Preveza and the Gulf of Arta" (2002:1). Similarly Winnifirth (2002:24) in his study of Epirus, refers to Butrint as a borderland where pockets of Greek speakers exist. Butrint over the course of years has been transformed in people's perception into a signifier, an imagined and geographical border between different entities, both in the past and present.

Even if Butrint is located in non-Greek lands, this did not prevent the Greek state, scholars, and the media from visualising a place for it in the national ideology, demonstrating how nationalism often moves beyond national borders. In the 1990s, the improvement of the bilateral relations between the two countries opened a new chapter in Butrint's history.



Figure 7.20 Trees planted by Khrushchev during his visit at Butrint. This event is mentioned often in guided tours of the site.



Figure 7.21 Bunkers and military buildings within the limits of BNP.

Following the first years after the collapse of Hoxha's regime, numerous publications on Epirus came out in light of the escalating interest in Butrint and Epirus. The most prominent is entitled *EPIRUS-4000 years of Greek history and civilisation*, mentioned earlier in relation to the Epirus Issue (see Figure 7.22).

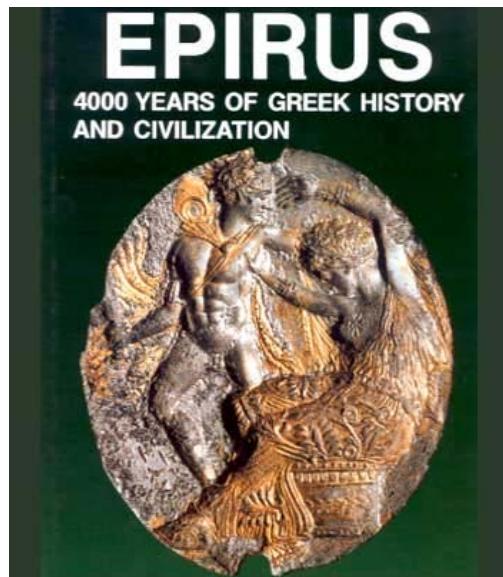


Figure 7.22 Cover page of the volume *Epirus: 4000 Years of Greek History and Civilisation*.

Many renowned scholars such as Hammond, Cabanes, Kondis, Vokotopoulos and others have contributed to this edited volume, conferring esteem. The aim of this volume in agreement with the Greek thesis on Epirus is expressed in its introduction:

“The Greek character of Epirus is now also confirmed by the study of until recently inaccessible cities and monuments in present-day Albania, such as Bouthrotos [Butrint], Antigonea, and Phoenike”. (Christopoulos 1997:9)

Several coffee-table editions followed, such as the book *Monuments of Orthodoxy in Albania* (Giakoumis 1994), and the volume *Land of Phryrus* (Giohalas 1993). In the last one, Butrint's material culture is presented as certificate of the Greekness of the site. As for the origins of the city, its foundation is attributed to the Corfiots, the Corinthians and others, probably Epirotes.

The Greek media similarly have taken a great interest in the case of the “ancient Greek” Butrint, from the official visits of the Orthodox Patriarch Bartholomeos, to the theatre festival and the incidents of looting of the Butrint museum during 1991 and the upheaval in 1997 (see *Kathimerini* “Repatriation of Antiquities to Butrint” (08/07/03),

also *Kathimerini* on Butrint (26/08/01)). Pertaining to the 1997 looting, a journalist stresses on the daily newspaper *Ta Nea* (27/05/1997) how this incident threatened the integrity of the “ancient Greek Butrint”. On numerous occasions the Greek Ministry of Culture (MoC) expressed publicly its intention to safeguard the Greek monuments in Albania (see also *Ta Nea* 29/10/1997). On another article in the newspaper *Ta Nea* (30/06/2000), it is stated that the Minister of Culture decided even to propose a protocol between Greece and Albania, aspiring that a Greek team will continue and complete the excavations in Butrint. Similarly, in the newspaper *Ta Nea* (31/08/2002) it is mentioned that the MoC offered 100.000 dollars to UNESCO with the hope that sites such as the “ancient Greek colony” of Butrint will be aided financially and protected properly. The Greek government apparently trusts UNESCO with the safeguarding of a national asset that lies beyond its national borders. Unquestionably, the Greek claims over the undisputed Greekness of Butrint have been further backed up by UNESCO’s evaluation and identification of the site as “a Greek colony”. In the same spirit, Hatzi, who excavated Butrint between 1989 and 1994, has repeatedly commented on the Hellenic identity of Butrint, by invoking the historical and archaeological momentousness of this city of the Chaonia in the understanding of ancient Greek art and of Epirus (see Hatzi and Gaggadi-Roben 1997; Hatzi 1998; Kyriakidou 1997). In Hodges’ opinion (personal communication 2007), who has collaborated with Hatzi, the Greek archaeologist “was digging to prove Greekness, ignoring [however] the archaeological sequence”. By utter contrast, during the same period with Hatzi’s excavations and perhaps as a response to her claims, Budina (1994:218-219) a prominent Albanian archaeologist unfolded the local and Illyrian traits of the Epirote town of Butrint instead, based on the study of architectural terracotta. These contradictory analyses are clearly characteristic of the counter discourse that Greece and Albania have embarked upon with regard to Butrint and Epirus.

On the Internet, numerous websites also regurgitate the Greek perspective on the identity of Butrint. For example, on Greek nationalistic websites on the issue of Northern Epirus such as, http://www.paramythia-online.gr/n_epirus.html [Accessed 20/02/2009], on <http://www.geocities.com/xeimarra/bhistory.htm?20053> [Accessed 20/02/2009], <http://www.northepirus.com/> [Accessed 20/02/2009], and on the website of the Research Foundation on Northern Epirus (<http://www.epirus.com/ibe/enpage1.html> [Accessed 20/02/2009]) images of Butrint

as a marker of Hellenism come to tangibly validate the Greek claims over the past and the lands of Epirus.

Butrint greatly operates as a signifier of the Hellenic character of Epirus, both in Greek media and academic discourse. At the same time, the site's association with Greek heritage has been also confirmed through western scholars' narratives and ICOMOS' reports, UNESCO's justification for inscription. For the Albanian side, such attitudes could be translated as a threat against Albania's authority over the site. Hence, the impetus to establish Butrint as a landmark of Albanian identity must be and must have been imperative on account of borderland nationalism. In this sense, the WH designation, since it construes a process of national signification, has provided to the Albanian state the opportunity to present Butrint as a national asset. Additionally, the inscription occurred immediately following Albania's exit from its isolation, in a period of political instability. Thus, as no other apparatus, Butrint's listing as a WHS has legitimised authority over both the geographic territory and cultural heritage irrespective of UNESCO's and ICOMOS' interpretation. The site's new status has also secured and has defined in a symbolic way the southern limits of the Albanian state. But most importantly, the designation succeeded to familiarise Albanians with Butrint and authenticate it as a landmark of Albanian identity.

It ultimately makes little difference what are considered to be Butrint's cultural ties. First, the manner in which we conceive identities today is different from that in the past. Second, Butrint was a cosmopolitan city, a "microcosm of Mediterranean history" where "symbiosis" was a key concept. Bowden (2003:32) very astutely observes that "the modern political boundary has produced a situation where Epirus has often been studied in a bipartisan manner which emphasises the ethnicity of the area's occupants- whether they were 'Greek' or 'Illyrian'- a factor which seems likely to have been of little relevance during antiquity". In the next section, I shall demonstrate how this factor has also been of little relevance for the modern occupants of Butrint's hinterlands.

7.8 A Microcosm of Balkan History: Butrint and the Locals

Defining ethnic identity in the area under discussion is a difficult task. Several scholars have sought to produce accurate ethnological maps (see Hammond 1967; Veremis et al. 1995; Weigand 1888) but none, as Winnifrith (1995) underscores, could avoid either to “paint as Greek or Vlach or Albanian large areas of uninhabited mountain or swamp” or to fail to give an “idea of a linguistic frontier”, and omit as Hammond, did, to provide “an account of mixed villages”. Shortly after the collapse of Hoxha’s regime, Greek ethnologists conducted the first survey in many decades. In contrast to the 1913 census, which categorised all Christian population as Greek and all Muslim as Albanian, in the 1992 survey, local “taxonomy” was adopted instead (Kallivretakis 1995). In a similar fashion, in 1995 Winnifrith in his *Survey of a Disputed Ethnological Boundary* strove to overcome the limitations posed by previous categorisations made on the basis of religion. His criterion “for determining which villages belong to which ethnic group”, was “the regular use of a language in the home” (ibid.). The ultimate intention, though, here is not to analyse the identity of the locals in the environs of Butrint, but to outline the meaning the locals attribute to Butrint as reflected on their understanding of the past and their attitudes towards Butrint’s *outstanding universal value*.

Nowadays, globalisation and the new conditions of imaging, in large part, have made possible for marginalised and local voices to be heard and re-establish their role in the global scene. Academics openly acknowledge the increasing power of local voices in attempts to broaden their theoretical and methodological horizons. The introduction of community archaeology (see Faulkner 2000; 2002; Glazier 2004; Moser 2003; Moser et al. 2002), as a separate field of archaeological research and the embracing of the bottom-up approach by historians and sociologists greatly mirror this shift. Nonetheless, a great vacuum still exists in the study of nationalism and national identities. The manifestations of state ideology typically draw most scholars’ attention in top-down investigations of the phenomenon. Whereas at the same time individual perceptions of “ourselves” and the “others” and of the past by embracing the qualities of a bottom-up approach are overlooked.

7.8.1 Mapping the Environs of Butrint

Butrint is at the margins of Albania, but at the core of five communities: Ksamili, Mursia, Shen Deli, Vrina and Xarra (see Figure 7.23 and 7.24; see CISP 2005). Ksamili, the largest village, lies approximately 4 km north of Butrint at the narrowest point of the Ksamili peninsula (see Figure 7.25) and thrives during the summer season as a tourist destination for the Albanian elite of Tirana. Its population numbers about 8000 inhabitants, of which the majority are Muslim and Christian, and among them a small group of supporters of Bektashism also exists. As the mayor of Ksamili pointed out to me, only 1500 people lived there prior to 1990. In view of the new cultural and ethnic governmental agenda in the 1990s, repopulation policies were applied that have deeply affected the ethnological and cultural composition of this region. Most notably, Albanian's state enculturation policies coincided with the inclusion of Butrint in the WH list. Both actions could be seen as combined efforts to nationally strengthen this borderland. The mayor himself is from Tepelena and moved to Ksamili just 14 years ago in search for better opportunities. The majority of the population works in tourism and in the construction industries as the young locals Tani and Aldi, officers of the collaborative CISP and WB Project, explained to me. In fact, the exit of the Albanian state, from the financial and political isolation marked evidently the beginning of a new era for this marginal area.



Figure 7.23 View of the Vrina plain, where the communities at the southern limit of BNP are located (courtesy of R. Hodges).

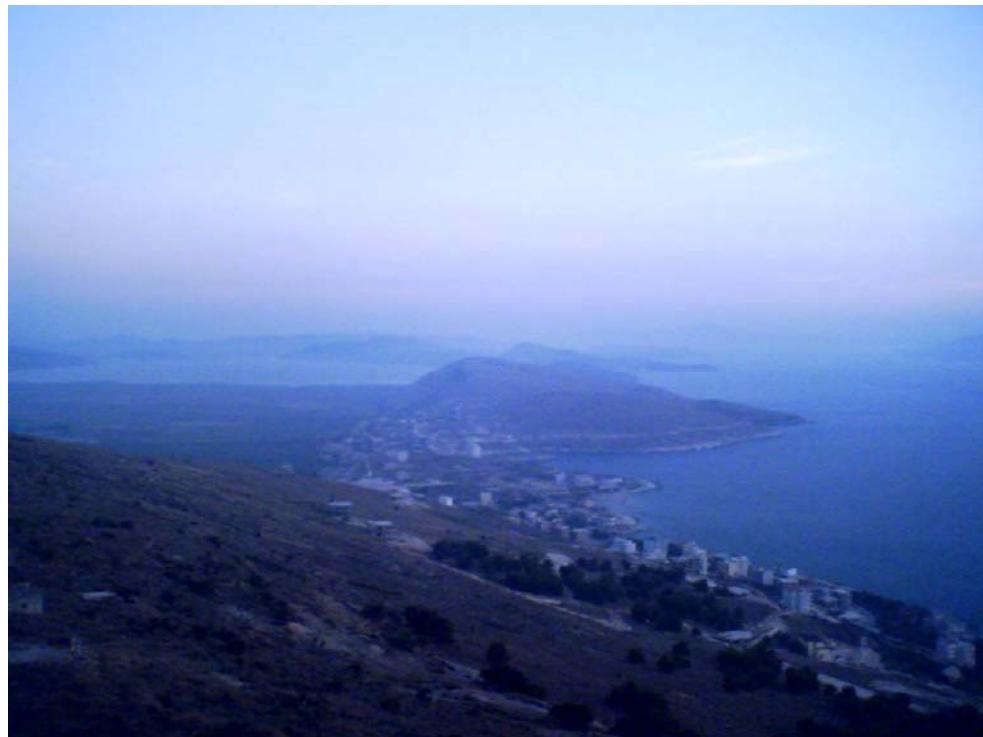


Figure 7.24 View of the Ksamil peninsula and of lake Butrint (on the left).



Figure 7.25 View of Ksamil from mountain Sotera. Picture taken from within the BNP

Added to this, within the last two years Ksamil has experienced religious re-orientation under the impetus of cultural regeneration. A mosque and an orthodox church were built meters away from each other, embodying the transition of the atheist

Albania towards a period of religious tolerance (see Figure 7.26). “Since 1991, Turkey and a number of Gulf States have provided development assistance” (Hall 1999:163) to Albania, which was followed by policies of religious proselytism. Along the same lines, the Greek Orthodox and the Catholic churches also adopted similar plans of action, aiming at providing financial support and religious guidance to these communities.



Figure 7.26 View of the Orthodox church and the Ottoman mosque in Ksamili.

The other four communities are located at the fertile Vrina plain that extends south from Butrint and is in proximity to the Albanian-Greek borders (see Figure 7.27, 7.28). Contrary to Ksamili’s blooming economy, the villages of Xarra, Mursia, Shen Deli and Vrina rely strictly on local natural resources and their inhabitants engage mainly in activities such as agriculture, mussel cultivation, stock breeding and fishing. These communities, being the most affected by the restrictions applied due to the new status of Butrint as a WHS and a National Park, are placed high in the agenda of the CISP and WB project. Moreover, close to the Greek-Albanian borders, they suffer from a great loss of human resources, as a result of the growing number of immigrants to Greece and Italy, in view of the current grinding poverty. Mursia, the oldest and the most remote from the BNP is a Christian Orthodox village (Figure 7.29). The majority of its inhabitants have fled to Greece in pursuit of a better future. Eduart, the owner of a

coffee shop in Mursia's main square, recounted that he has spent 8 to 9 years in Greece, whereas members of his family still work and live there. The village of Xarra, built on the top of a hill, once island in lake Butrint, now figures as the most vibrant community of all (see Figure 7.30). Its inhabitants are both Muslim and Christian Orthodox and many of them are actively involved in the Eco-tourism, bed-n-breakfast program and handicraft project initiated by CISP, with an aim to generate activities and build capacity (see <http://www.sviluppodeipopoli.org/Italiano/Home/Frameset.html> [Accessed 23/02 /2009]). Finally, Shen Deli and Vrina on the limits of the BNP are the poorest communities. Especially Shen Deli populated mostly by settlers from the northern Albania during the 1990s, is the least affluent hamlet of all. With respect to the religious orientation of these two villages, they number small communities of both Muslim and Catholics believers.

Without doubt, the portrayal of the ethnic composition of the region's Albanian population sounds very simplistic. The reality is rather more complex than implied by categories or groups into either Christian Orthodox or Muslim. However, as emphasised earlier, nowadays "religion or more accurately religious affiliation, is too important in the construction of collective identity in Albania" (de Rapper 2004:165). Balkan history has shaped this borderland's biography. Successive settlers and population movements throughout the 20th century have profoundly influenced the ethnic composition of the area. Despite the continuing state efforts for enculturation, homogeneity appears not to be a feasible objective. Cham exiles, ethnic Greeks, north Albanian settlers and Vlach shepherds certainly define the identity of the region. Thereby Albanian identity should not be identified as a bounded and monolithic entity, as presented by the state ideology through school textbooks, archaeological projects and publications or as conceived by institutions such as UNESCO. It is crucial to comprehend that different perceptions of Albanian-ness can coexist. Similarly, Butrint's current identity at a local level is far more complex and fluid than state rhetoric and Albanian academia want to imply.



Figure 7.27 View of the Vrina plain. From right to left: Shen Deli, Mursia, Xarra.



Figure 7.28 View of the village of Vrina with Corfu on the background.



Figure 7.29 The central square of the village of Mursia.



Figure 7.30 The village of Xarra.

7.8.2 The Real Butrint: Local Reflections

Familiarisation and personal involvement are determining factors in Albanians' understanding and imagining of Butrint, as revealed through the attitudes of Albanian archaeologists, cultural experts and students. I agree with Casey (1996:18) that, "to live is to live locally, and to know is first of all to know the places one is in". Thus, to experience Butrint and to know Butrint means also to "live" locally. Accordingly, locals' knowledge of Butrint is deeply experiential and offers a genuine insight into the site's value both concerning the national imagery and the WH designation.

Before Butrint's *afterlife* was launched and tourism was introduced, the site served as pasture for the flocks of Vlachs shepherds (on heritage tourism and its national and local implications see Silverman 2002; Urry 1995). For decades locals made their living through cultivating the land, fishing and herding. From the 1920s onwards, through the excavations led by Ugolini, Butrint and its heritage emerged in national and local memory and the locals got actively involved in the unearthing of the past. Among the locals, stories about the Italian excavations survive and a couple of Ugolini's workers are still alive. For instance, Vasileios, a man of Vlach origins from Xarra (our conversation was in Greek) referred to Ugolini's alleged illegal transfer of antiquities to Italy (see Figure 7.31). He told me that people during the communist era were out of sympathy with the Italian archaeologist. This is a period when Butrint held a very ambiguous place in national and local memory (see section 7.4.2). On the one hand, the strategic and military status of this borderland prevented the Albanian people from interacting and associating mentally and visually with Butrint, since no one was allowed to access the site without authorised permission. On the other hand, the local communities were acquainted with Butrint's historic past through the creation of "invented traditions" (Ranger and Hobsbawm 1983), such as the official visits of dignitaries and the spring celebrations within the archaeological site. On the first of May every year, locals from the villages of Xarra, Mursia and Ksamili gathered to commemorate the coming of the spring and the renaissance of the Albanian state. Hoxha managed to attach the locals to Butrint by ascribing a primarily modern meaning to the past and creating new functions for the archaeological site. Nonetheless, Butrint's passage from the *afterlife* to the *eternal life* provoked a shift in locals' physical and mental communication with the site.



Figure 7.31 Vasileios at the main coffee shop at Xarra.

In the past, Butrint was a place of commemoration for the locals. The events however, that took place there did not celebrate the past, but the achievements of communist Albania. Since 1991, year of the WH designation, according to several locals' narrations, they were no longer allowed to "use" Butrint as a place for traditional and folklore celebrations (in the way they did in the past). Yet new "invented" and regulated national traditions such as the Theatre and Folklore festivals, beauty contests, or musical and dance events have reintroduced Butrint to local communities. In addition the measures for its protection following its designation first as a WHS and then as a National Park have deeply influenced the manner locals' interact with the past. At a first level, locals have no longer unlimited access to Butrint. Second, land cultivation, fishing and herding have become controlled activities. In some instances, as already mentioned, the WH status has even hindered local plans for uncontrolled tourism development. The delimitation of the protection zone of the BNP has to a great degree bore upon locals' interaction with the landscape of Butrint. The locals have found new ways to associate with the site notwithstanding.

The Albanian government has strongly invested in projecting Butrint as a "testimony of national dignity" and in incorporating it as a landmark of Albanian identity in the national psyche. Efforts have primarily concentrated on highlighting the

national importance of the site together with its *outstanding universal value*. This is done in a period when theories on the Illyrian identity of Butrint are revived. How do locals though think of and see Butrint? What is the idiosyncratic value of Butrint? What is the local significance of Butrint? Have the national policies and UNESCO's designation had an impact on the local attitudes and perceptions towards the site?

The mayor of Ksamili believes that the locals are ignorant of the significance of Butrint. As he puts it: "if you ask the communities surrounding here, what Butrint represents to you they would not been able to tell you. They would not been able to tell apart the acropol[is] from the theatre. All they know it as is just the scene of the theatre basically". In this regard, he thinks that "it is useless, to promote Butrint firstly via Internet, when you actually have the local community not knowing about it". Contrary to wide beliefs, the locals in the surroundings of Butrint have opened their own dialogue with the past.

Many locals cherish Butrint and they have established a very personal and special connection with the site. For Tani one of the two WB and CISP's program officers, who is from the village of Xarra, Butrint is part of his childhood memories. As a child, Tani was visiting the site "in order to gaze at visitors". With his friends, they often talked to them and they received gifts from them. Eduart, from the village of Mursia visits Butrint weekly. He recounted that as a child, he went there for folklore celebrations and athletic activities. He remembered that his first visit was with his school class. But Butrint has a very special significance for him rather than just being a topos of his childhood. He explained: "The place fulfils you. Even just a walk there. You think that these were made many years ago, the way they placed the mosaics and all the stones together".

Several locals have a fairly abstract notion as to what Butrint symbolises and they focus on the aesthetic value of the site. Lete, (of Greek origins, she spoke only Albanian, and our communication thus was possible thanks to an interpreter), the owner of a restaurant-bar at the central square of Xarra, said of Butrint: "It is an important, beautiful place uncovered by the English. It is important for the nature and it is an attraction for the tourists". She told me that she visited Butrint two years ago and that she "liked it and that" she "saw the stones". For Periklis from Xarra, according to whom his family was the first "tribe" to create the village 500 years ago (they came from Corfu), "Buthrot is a beautiful place, with forest... the church". For many locals as

for Barjam, a Cham exile (he has been living in the area since he was 6 years old) and retired rural worker, "Butrint is something special and very rare" (see Figure 7.32).



Figure 7.32 Barjam from the village of Xarra.

Thus, limited knowledge of Butrint's archaeological interpretation certainly does not prevent the local people from feeling proud of it. This is also the case with the couple of Guleka and Anusa, villagers from Xarra and directly involved with the collaborative projects of CISPA and WB. In Anusa's opinion, the wife of Guleka "Butrint is good and is protected".

Others hold a more sophisticated and highly elaborated view about Butrint's interpretive value. Again Vasileios, of Vlach Origin but born in Ksamili, stated that he is very keen on knowing, referring to Butrint's past "how people lived in past times". For Anton, a local from Mursia: "Without history people have no place. The history of Butrint is important." He emphasised: "Butrint is history". But do locals on the whole associate with Butrint? To the question if Butrint is part of the local's identity, Tani, a young man from Ksamili, owner of a coffee shop replied: "Most locals come from different regions. They know the site is there. I think that is not so important. It is so far back in time, it is not related to the present. It could have been related to other cultures than the one attached to now". His response evidently brings to mind Albanian

students and archaeologists' nebulous vision of the tangible or intangible values of the site. It is true that people more easily associate with the recent and tangible heritage, rather than with the distant and remote past.

At the same time, several locals apparently have a more distinct opinion on the identity of the site. Many of them spoke of the Illyrian ties of Butrint. Vasileios (of Vlach origin, but born in Ksamili) particularly referred to Budina's work, the Albanian archaeologist, for whom he worked as accountant in 1972. He noted that the archaeologist was trying to prove the connection between the "Pelasgous and the Illyrians". For others, Butrint is unquestionably an Illyrian site. Vagel a retired fisherman of local origins has been living in the area of Xarra for the past 50 years. His father was one of the workers of Ugolini. Butrint, for him, "reminds him and makes him think how life was with Illyrians and Pelasgians. Just the sight of it raises the curiosity to see what it is there". On the other hand, some other local residents, such as Periklis of Greek origins (his family came from Corfu), a retired man from Xarra, and Eduart from Mursia spoke about the site's association with Greek culture. Perhaps it could be argued here that people's origins and identity determine to a certain extent the ways in which they perceive Butrint and the significance with which they invest it.

BF's efforts and the WH status have not left local narratives unaffected. Butrint's mythology has been enriched and its symbolic value extremely grew since the site has been designated a WHS and the BF has been founded. Along with the myths about Helenus, the Trojan exiles, Roman gladiators and nymphs, stories about Lord Rothschild, Lord Sainsbury, the former director of the BNP and definitely UNESCO emerge. In few cases, locals believed UNESCO to be a rich English man and others thought that the former-director of BNP was adopted by Lord Rothschild and Lord Sainsbury. Vasileios from Xarra said that he is aware that lately the "Lord (Referring to Lord Rothchild and Lord Sainsbury) took the site and put it in UNESCO". As Tani and Aldi (see Figure 7.33) pointed out to me, some locals held the idea that Butrint was bought by the English and many villagers were actually feeling quite angry about it. The two development officers of the WB and CISP project considered that people from Ksamili are more aware that the BNP is different from the BF, due to the presence of archaeologists.¹⁰ As far as the villages at the Vrina plain are concerned, they regarded CISP's influence as seminal in acquainting locals with the site.



Figure 7.33 The WB and CISP project officers.

Therefore, the CISP and UN/WB community project together with BF's endeavors for public outreach -both outcomes of the WH designation of the site- have introduced Butrint into the local reality and have familiarised people with UNESCO, the concept of WH and the values of Butrint. The majority of locals, especially residing in the four communities across the southern limits of the site, appear largely aware of the WHS status. The majority of them have actually vested their hopes for protection measures and economic revival in the hands of UNESCO. For example, Kote, the owner of a coffee shop in Mursia, is aware of the "UNESCO status" and considers it important given that UNESCO can protect the site since the locals do not have the means to do so. He claimed that "from 1992 with UNESCO, things have been under control" and he added that "more excavations have taken place". Being involved in CISP's program, Guleka from Xarra told me with regard to the WH status of Butrint: "It is important because economically we are not so strong to provide money to Butrint and UNESCO helps a lot". For others, such as Vagel from Xarra, son of a former worker of Ugolini, UNESCO is synonymous with global recognition, whereas for some people, such as the mayor of Ksamil and Vaso Barka, a tour operator from Saranda, the organisation's name helps to attract tourists. In particular, for Barka, who has been working as a tourist guide in the site since 1981 and has greatly benefited from

Butrint's transformation into a lucrative tourist attraction, the WHS status has hugely enhanced the value of the site.

At the same time, there are those locals who envisage UNESCO's role to be strictly financial. More precisely, they entrust their future aspirations for economical regeneration and tourism development to UNESCO's presence. Vasileios from Xarra expressed his hopes that "UNESCO will take everything and make it a park". He also referred to a German businessman who said that UNESCO will turn the area to a resort and "there will be a park, with golf courses and helicopad". By casting a positive eye on such initiatives, the man concluded: "It might become like Las Vegas here".

For the locals, the fight for survival is far more important than just contemplating the aesthetic value of Butrint and feeling nostalgic for the past. Similar to the case of the Myconians' attitudes towards the sacred island of Delos (see Pantzou 2002; 2008), the locals in the hinterlands of Butrint, could not feel nostalgic about a past they never felt or experienced. Material factors anchor them strongly to the present. An old Vlach lady shepherd, Sofia, married to an Albanian man, resides within the limits of the BNP. Following on the steps of her ancestors, she makes her living through herding (see Figure 7.34, 7.35). The past for her is more tangible. It is a commodity and a means to support her lifeways. In the past, she has sold two Byzantine coin hoards to the Butrint Museum and the BF. In a similar fashion, Lete from Xarra, the owner of a bar-restaurant in Xarra enquired of me when she was informed about the purpose of my visit to her restaurant: "If you can help me get a visa, I'll help you study Butrint". As Eduart attests, for the locals "first comes life and then everything follows such as archaeology". Tani's views (the owner of a coffee shop from Ksamili), are also enlightening to this end. He said:

"Butrint is there. It is a place to visit. It does not affect locals' lives. Tourists come from Corfu to Saranda and then they leave. Locals in Ksamili do not profit. If they start get profits they will be interested. They know it is there, but they do not know a lot. They come from different areas. People know it is a UNESCO site; that United Nations project work there".

On the issue, Aldi, the CISP officer assumes that the locals "are not much involved to be interested". His associate, Tani recommended that locals' interest "will be increased if they had more relations with the park. Get benefits from the park". Apart from survival, temporal distance is another factor that justifies locals' detachment from this monumental past. The more distant the past elements are, "the less they anchor us to

contemporary reality" (Lowenthal 1985:40). But in the case of Butrint, apart from the temporal distance, cultural distance is a determining element. As it was stressed above, the local communities surrounding Butrint represent a microcosm of the Balkan identity and not of "modern Albanian" identity. Cham exiles, people of Greek ethnic origin, Vlachs, Geghs and Tosks coexist in this borderland area. Cultural affiliation is not the only point of distinction between the inhabitants of the communities in the environs of Butrint. Up to the present day Muslims, Bektashis, Christian Orthodox and Catholics have also interacted in a unique fashion with Butrint's tangible and intangible values.

Despite the belief that economic prosperity equals integration, I believe that financial advantages could not necessarily serve to incorporate Butrint into the local imagination and to establish it as a landmark of local identity. In the case of Ksamili, although the community has largely profited from the economic revival and tourism advancement efforts (see Figure 7.36), in light of Butrint's WH designation, yet its residents appear less attached to the site. They seem more occupied with the economic benefits their community can gain from living close to the site. By contrast, the local communities on the southern limit of the park, even though they are more affected and restricted by the status of the site, exhibit a more active interest in the history of Butrint, regardless of the meaning they ascribe to the site, as theirs responses on Butrint's value demonstrate. As a matter of fact, these communities, with the CISP projects gathering slowly pace, they show the most genuine interest in the past that Butrint represents. It is through building sustainable development and instilling respect with regard to Butrint and its cultural and natural assets, that local communities will develop a more deep sense of place.

The people I spoke to greatly stand as examples of the fluidity of identities in the region and definitely of a different perception of Albanian-ness, non-compatible to the ideal Albanian identity as expressed and projected by the nation-state. Notably the majority of the local people I talked with during my fieldwork in the surroundings of Butrint seem to overcome nationalistic feelings, and endorse more cosmopolitan views on the importance of the site. In a way, some of them share UNESCO's vision that "heritage belongs to all" and they embrace the attention and interest that the WH designation has brought to the site. Vagel, the retired fisherman from Xarra, feels very happy that "Butrint is globally known because it is an important part of his life". Sherifi from Xarra, a Cham exile, knows that "many people have contributed to

Butrint: Italians, Greeks, Albanians". He said that "it should be open for all, and the foreigners". The man concluded: "Butrint must be a place that everybody enjoys, and not ruled by no one. It is important that Butrint is accessible to all". As for the future of Butrint, he wished: "Something linked to the future. A global view of how Butrint can be perceived or be shared among many people".

Like the Myconians and Sutton's (1998) Kalymnians, some people in the environs of Butrint foresee a more active role for the past, whereas others wish to cast it "in stone". Butrint is undoubtedly part of locals' identity. Even though they come from different places and have fluid identities, this does not prevent them from finding ways to associate with Butrint. They clearly have their own understanding of the past, sometimes far from national attitudes and global reflections. However, the new status of Butrint, which has risen global and national attention in conjunction with the economic and social revival, has attributed a new value and meaning to Butrint and has gradually strengthened the site's position in the local imagination. As Vasileios from the village of Xarra, once an accountant for the archaeologist Budina, describes: "In the beginning people knew few things about it, especially before 1990. When they saw buses with foreigners, they were wondering why they came and what they wanted to see". Perhaps, even for newcomers (northern settlers), as for the Albanians, Butrint could be gradually lifted to a landmark of their identity. I argue that the WH status of Butrint and the effects of the listing contribute to the formation of identities in a complex, contested and marginal area of ambiguous and fluid limits and national ties. This region could be further strengthened if the recent economical regeneration leads to a drop in immigration numbers by revealing to locals the prospects lying ahead. Finally, Butrint and its environs, in a time when the Balkans embody conflicts and violence, stand out as a microcosm of the Balkans of the Ottoman period, a period when the idea of the fixed borders and identities had not already prevailed and violence was not considered a Balkan attribute.



Figure 7.34 A Vlach shepherd's 'summer' hut in the limits of BNP.



Figure 7.35 Sofia a Vlach lady shepherd at her loom.



Figure 7.36 View of Ksamil.

7.9 Conclusions

Butrint is many things. It can be at the same time an Illyrian town and a Greek colony, a microcosm of Mediterranean history and a centre of European civilisation, a magical and an unknown place, one of the most important sites in the Balkans and Albania's greatest historical site, a WHS, a national asset and a tourist attraction. Butrint's modern identity and current value vary, depending on the identity, aspirations and views of those who live close to it, work on it, write about it, and think of it. These different perspectives illustrate how everybody has a unique interpretation of the same historical past (see Herzfeld 1991:41; Lowenthal 1985:xxiv). Butrint embodies different pasts for different actors in the present and is imbued with different values, these be interpretive, use, aesthetic or symbolic ones. It is apparent that, the more widely renowned the site becomes, the more complex and contested are the interpretations attached to it. In other words, these multiple layers of meaning and the plurality of voices reflect the new conditions of imagining and negotiating of the past. Modern technologies' immediacy and the continuous economic and political exposure of modern nation-states have provided fertile ground for multivocal expressions. Under

these circumstances, *the* official interpretation has been replaced by *many* official interpretations and in the spirit of Herzfeld's social time, social interpretations are contested, diverse and perplexed. The locals, on their part, have domesticated substantial areas of the official -and once alien- historical past and have incorporated Butrint into their own memory.

It is crucial to understand that it is impossible to "attempt to monumentalise these histories in a single past" as Herzfeld (1991:259) remarks on the case of Rethymnon, especially on account of global actualities. Moreover, Butrint's biography demonstrates that a site's significance is constantly negotiated, its value increases and decreases, its identity evolves in the course of all stages of its *life*, *after-life* and *eternal life*. Butrint from a Corfiot colony, became the capital of the Chaonian tribe, from a republican sanctuary town, to a Byzantine fortress and a Medieval town, from Ali Pasha's stronghold to a site of historical importance, to a WHS and finally to the first Albanian National Park. All these value shifts indicate how complex and socially and politically regulated the biography of a site is. Most importantly, it allows stressing that archaeologists are not the only ones who ascribe value to sites. First, meanings and values of the past are carried to the present and become added values to the modern status of a site. Secondly, every person that works on, lives by, visits, thinks and speaks about, or exploits financially and politically a site unquestionably contributes to its biography.

A determinant factor in Butrint's significance has been its marginal location and ideological liminality with regard to the Epirus Issue. Against all odds, instead of undermining its importance, Butrint's marginality has enhanced its national and global value. Suffice it to say that if Butrint had not been situated in the margins of Albania and also if it had not attracted such global interest, its national significance most likely would not have been the same. Such an idea is not an overstatement, especially in considering Albania's current tentative list, where two sites, landmarks of Albanian identity appear, such the "Illyrian" tombs of Selca and the Roman amphitheatre of the Corinthian colony of Durres, whose Illyrian connection is also established, and in examining Albanian students' suggestions, for whom particularly Apollonia, Antigonea, Byllis, Foinike as well as Durres were worth being nominated as WHS. Once again, Butrint demonstrates how state nationalism springs from the periphery to the centre, in the sense that national ideology develops along with and in opposition to supranational conflicts and neighbouring national mythologies. Butrint has been of

national significance because it is first and foremost a site of political and strategic importance. Thereby, its designation as a WHS has to be seen in light of the site's liminal position in Albanian national and cultural identity, and its centrality in Greek-Albanian politics, taking also into consideration Butrint's scenic beauty, integrity and tourist potential, as decisive factors in its justification for inscription. The WH proposal for Butrint in the 1990s, when other sites were deemed of greater national and archaeological significance (such as Maliq, Berat, and even Durres and Apollonia) should be viewed as an action of deep political character. Exiting the political isolation of Hoxha's regime, the state of Albania at that time activated subtle mechanisms to protect and strengthen its borderland both ethnically and financially. To this end, Butrint and the WH convention have become optimal vehicles for this agenda, since the past and legal frameworks operate as alternative institutions of power. Most concretely, from its WH designation onwards the site's position in national rhetoric and poetics has been drastically reinforced, its global and national popularity has grown attracting wide attention to the Albanian state and its tourist potential has been optimised. The exit's new openness and the subsequent attention the designation brought about raised also sentiments of xenophobia and introversion. Despite the archaeological evidence to the detriment of the Illyrian identity of the site, books, brochures, articles, websites and theories have thrived pertaining to Butrint's association with the Illyrian heritage illustrating nationalism's adaptability and resourcefulness. As in Hoxha's time, modern Albania invests openly in the glorious past in order to achieve national coherence.

Despite the efforts of the national government, the Albanian people I spoke to, these be locals, archaeologists, heritage managers or students appear not to associate by and large their national identity with Butrint. Undeniably, the site's *outstanding universal value* and world recognition, instigated interest and justified Butrint's significance for the Albanian nation. Nevertheless, Butrint's identity still remains ambiguous and its aesthetic value often more powerful and dominant, demonstrating the incompatibility between national perceptions, global reflections and local attitudes. Not only Albanians do not yet envisage Butrint as a national landmark, but also its hinterlands do not fit to the national imagination. This region's cultural and ethnic diversity, as well as locals' attitudes towards the past seem to contradict the idea of pure nation-state and the official national narratives of one people, one land, and common roots. It was shown here that by and large national infatuation with Butrint

and appreciation of the site's importance results from personal involvement and an embodied familiarisation with the values of the site. Yet, given the site's popularity, its increasing prestige in light of its WH designation, and the Albanian cultural policies, it is likely not long until Butrint will be redeemed in national memory and will operate as a signifier of Albanian-ness both at a national and local level.

¹ Archaeological evidence from the 2006 excavations sheds some light on this little known phase of Butrint.

² King Zog I of the Albanians ruled from 1928 to 1939.

³ See also Kemal's Turkish Historical Thesis for associations between Turks and Pelasgians.

⁴ On the basis of correspondence between UNESCO and the Albanian National Commission.

⁵ This is a term used by MCYS, as well as from IoM and IoA to refer to historic cities such as Berat and Gjirokastra.

⁶ Three years after inscribing Gjirokastra (2005), the Committee decided to extend the designation and include also the city of Berat.

⁷ It is no surprising that prime minister Aleksandër Meksi (from 1992 to 1997) expressed interest in the site, since he was an archaeologists himself and had worked at Butrint.

⁸ See also the website <http://www.siteatlas.com/Europe/Albania/Butrint.html> [Accessed 10/02/2009].

⁹ See also Dr Zija's views on <http://www.albanian.com> [Accessed 23/05/2009].

¹⁰ The community of Ksamili caters for the archaeologists, specialists and students during the field seasons.

CHAPTER 8

WHS in a Balkan Context: Vergina and Troy

Balkan nation-states' fate is closely entwined. The region's complex and long political history has greatly determined the reciprocal character of the different nationalisms of the Balkans and provided the platform upon which the dichotomy "us" and the "others" is formed and articulated. In this sense, it is essential that Butrint's example is seen in a regional context, since insightful analogies can be drawn concerning not only the role of WHS but also the current ontology of nationalism in light of global realities. To this end, the WHS of Vergina and Troy serve to sketch the cultural aspect of Balkan politics and their new modes of representation. Like Butrint these two sites are liminal in their ideological and geographical contexts, but nonetheless seminal in their symbolic significance. Unlike Troy, Vergina is not in a borderland location, but the site is intimately associated with the geography and the history of ancient Macedonia and more importantly with a borderland dispute, known as the Macedonian Question. Vergina's role in the Macedonian conflict is undoubtedly prominent, while Troy's political and symbolic significance is more subtle and ambiguous. Hence, in considering these dynamics, I examine how the geographical location both in the past and the present, and the position of these sites in national narratives determined their nomination and subsequent designation as WHS. For the purposes of this research, the biography of these two sites is delineated succinctly from their foundation and especially up to and after their designation as WHS. Additionally, the interpretive, use, and political values attached to the WH status of these properties are explored. Through this multi-sited analysis the hope is to demonstrate how the notion of World Heritage, as an ideological concept of power, is an apparatus of difference and imagination.

8.1 Vergina's Biography

Vergina is located in northern Greece, just little more than 100 kilometres away from the borders with Bulgaria and FYROM, and belongs to the district of Central Macedonia (see Figure 8.1). The site, on the foothills of the Pierian range, is

“identified”, although only recently and following heated debates, as Aigai, the capital of the kingdom of Lower Macedonia (on the site’s identification see section 8.1.1). Nevertheless, it is publicly known as Vergina, the name of the nearby village, which was founded shortly after 1923 and populated with refugees from Asia Minor and locals from the adjacent villages of Koutles and Barbes.



Figure 8.1 Map of Greece. Location of Vergina.

According to the archaeological evidence, the area has been inhabited since the early Bronze Age. The city of Aigai (Vergina), however, prospered mainly from the Archaic period onwards and reached its zenith as an important urban centre during the Classical times (Kottaridi 2003:143; see also Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2001). Aigai was founded by King Perdikas in the 7th century BC and served as the capital of the Macedonian kingdom until the 4th century BC, time when Archelaos (412-359 BC) transferred the administrative centre of the kingdom to Pella. Even then Aigai retained its significance for the Macedonians. It remained their sacred city and “maintained its

status of the royal necropolis" (Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2001:14). Following the region's annexation to the Roman Empire, the area begun to lose its significance. By the 5th century AD all of its inhabitants had relocated to the plain. From then onwards and until the 19th century Vergina was "lost in oblivion", except probably serving as herding place and goat pasture for the local communities. It is the Frenchman Heuzey, who discovered it in 1855, that triggered Vergina's *afterlife*. At the time, however, the site was identified with Valla, a relatively unknown site, which merited no mention apart from a line in an ancient dictionary (see Andronikos 1984:233). Since then, Vergina has been extensively excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service and the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (AUTH). The site is under the administration and protection of the Ministry of Culture (MoC) and the 17th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, and since 1996 figures in the WH list.

The most prominent features of the archaeological site are considered to be the palace and the Great Tumulus (see Figure 8.2). The palace is located on a plateau directly below the acropolis. The Great Tumulus in the heart of the modern village of Vergina, is an artificial mound 110m in diameter and 13m high, where three royal tombs and a cist-grave were discovered by Professor Andronikos and his team from 1977 onwards (see Andronikos 1999; see Figure 8.3 for a representative example of a Macedonian tomb). Two of these structures were un-plundered and were identified with the tomb of Philip II, and with that of the son of Alexander the Great, prominent figures of Greek national historical narratives. The original Great Tumulus as an earth structure does no longer exist due to extensive excavation (ICOMOS 1996). Nevertheless it has been reconstructed and today houses the museum and the Royal Tombs (see Kottaridi 2003).

With Andronikos' ground-breaking discovery Vergina's *eternal life* was launched and the site was established as a landmark of Hellenism and of Macedonian heritage (see Andronikos 1980; 1984; 1999; Christopoulos 1988; Fredriksmeyer 1981). Up until then the Hellenistic site of Pella, the birthplace of Alexander the Great, was regarded as the focal point of the Macedonian history instead. The site's exploration began as early as 1914 (while Vergina's in 1938) and since the very beginning it received public funding, indicating Pella's national significance (see Davis 2000:77; Petsas 1978:11; Vokotopoulou 1986). Despite both sites' momentousness as markers of Macedonian heritage, their *outstanding universal value* has been rather ambiguous. Pella still does not figure in the Greek list of WHS, whereas up until 1996 Vergina's global

value was not considered equal by Greece to the *outstanding universal value* of sites such as Acropolis (1987), Delphi (1987) or Delos (1990), eternal symbols of Hellenic identity (see Appendix 12).

As it has been already explained, Vergina's *outstanding universal value* is analysed here with regard to its position in Balkan politics. In particular, Vergina's nomination is closely examined with respect to a chain of events that occurred from the early 1990s onwards in the region. These conditions altogether have contributed to the increase of its political significance and to the alteration of its interpretive value, establishing it as a symbolic resource for two disputes.



Figure 8.2 Aerial view of the village of Vergina and of the archaeological site. With red the area of the palace and the theater is marked, and with orange the Great Tumulus (source <http://earth.google.com/>).



Figure 8.3 View of the Rhomaios' Macedonian tomb in Vergina.

8.1.1 Vergina: A Landmark of “Macedonian” Identity

In September 1991, after the fragmentation of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, its southern region, which since 1944 was known as the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, declared itself an independent country with the name Republic of Macedonia. Shortly after its proclamation, the newly founded Macedonian state designed a flag with a 16-ray sun. This new symbol of “Macedonian” identity was though similar to the Vergina Star, an ancient decorative motif, which thanks to Andronikos’ excavations has been largely linked to Phillip II and the ancient Macedonian heritage (see Figure 8.4 and 8.5).



Figure 8.4 On the left, the flag of the Republic of Macedonia in 1991. On the right, FYROM’s current flag.



Figure 8.5 The golden larnax with the Vergina Star, that contained the remains of Philip II
 (source www.ethesis.net/vergina [Accessed 12/04/2009]).

The Greek government immediately objected to the flag, the name (which is also used to refer to Greece's northern territory), the currency and the constitution as certain articles implied that Slavic Macedonians had territorial rights to the area of the Greek Macedonia and Thessaloniki (see Danforth 1995:37,46; on Greek claims see Kofos 1999b). After Greece's embargo and UN's intervention, the republic was eventually recognised by the UN as FYROM (Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia), and redesigned its flag (see Figure 8.4) and currency. Yet a resolution regarding the name is still pending and to Greece's discontent, both FYROM's state authorities and citizens refer to the country as Republic of Macedonia instead.

In Danforth's opinion (1995:6), "the conflict between Greeks and Macedonians over which group has the right to identify itself as Macedonian is a dispute over names, flags, history, and territory. Ultimately, however, the conflict is a dispute over meaning". Since neither side acknowledges the legitimacy of the other's claims to Macedonian identity, from 1991 onwards, propaganda campaigns have been launched by both countries (see Danforth 1995). Consequently, symbols of Macedonian heritage and historical figures from the past have attained dual meaning and Vergina has been placed at the centre of the dispute. The debate is not limited, though to the political arena, but it has also extended to the public domain, academia, cyberspace, the national curricula and of course the sector of culture (e.g. Brown 1998; Carabott 1997; Cowan 2000; Danforth 1993; 1995; Karakasidou 1997; Karatziou 2005; Mackridge and Yannakakis 1997; Vereni 2000a; Vouri 1997). The Macedonian Dispute's dynamics illustrate in a unique fashion how political struggles and ideological contestations

nowadays surpass the limits of specific localities, are thirsty for global attention and resourceful in the manner they substantiate their “legitimate” claims.

Even if the term Macedonia has been recently associated with the modern republic and the Macedonian Conflict, during the 19th and 20th centuries it mostly referred to the geographical area that extends between the plains of Thessaloniki and Serres, and the basins of the rivers Strimona, Aliakmon and Axios. The region of Macedonia, whose fate has been deeply determined by Balkan politics, is the Balkans in miniature. That is because, in contrast to the contested region of Epirus, Macedonia has been the apple of discord between most Balkan states. What qualifies though this region as a microcosm of the Balkans is mainly its ethnic diversity. Albanians, Greeks, Serbs, Vlachs, Jews, Romas, Bulgarians and Slavic Macedonians have coexisted in this area for centuries. In the aftermath of the Balkan Wars, the 1923 exchange population, and the drawing of borders, this vast region was partitioned between the nation-states of Greece (Aegean Macedonia), Serbia (Vardar Macedonia) and Bulgaria (Pirin Macedonia) (see map Figure 8.6; further on Macedonia's division see Danforth 1993:4; Kofos 1964).



Figure 8.6 Map of the geographical region of Macedonia and its three sub-regions of Aegean (Greece), Vardar (FYROM) and Pirin (Bulgaria) Macedonia.

From a historical perspective, neither the Macedonia of the 19th and 20th centuries nor the modern Republic coincide geographically or culturally with ancient Macedonia. It is believed that the ancient kingdom only encompassed the current province of Greek Macedonia, while its inhabitants and especially its royal family (Alexander and Phillip II) supposedly identified “ethnic affiliation” with their neighbours the Greeks (see Hammond 1972; cf. Borza 1982; 1990).

Similar to the Balkans, the connotation of the term Macedonia has evolved over the course of years. From a confined region of specific ethnic composition, it has become an area synonymous to ethnic complexity and conflicts. Moreover, since the early 20th century this area has attracted scholarly interest in a unique manner (e.g. Brown 1998; Cowan 2000; Karakasidou 1997; Mazower 2005). It can be argued that today Macedonia, in the same way as the Balkans, has developed into an independent field of inquiry.

Vergina's Symbolic Value in the Macedonian Conflict

The Macedonian Conflict, as no other interstate conflict, openly linked the present with the past. The tangible and intangible heritage of the region has been a relentless resource and archaeology the platform, upon which theories are validated (e.g. Sakellariou 1983; Sfetas 2001:11). Vergina plays a conspicuous role in the dialectics of this transnational contestation, since authority over the Macedonian heritage has been equated with rights over land and its resources. The Vergina Star particularly has been lifted to a signifier of the dispute. It is a star with 8, 12 or 16 rays, which has attained symbolic significance for both Greeks and Slavic-Macedonians. For Greece, the Vergina Star became an emblem of national struggle and of Hellenism (e.g. Kofos 1999a:65; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1999:12,14,15). Evidently, since 1991 it has dominated all aspects of Greek life and it has been highly commoditised. It can be found, on the 100 drachmas coins of 1990-2001, on the official website of the MoC (see Figure 8.7), on radio-taxis companies and lately on every page of the newly issued Greek passports, evoking its highly semiotic import. Suffice it to say that this symbol was introduced in the repertoire of current symbols of Hellenism mainly through Andronikos' excavations at Vergina (see Danforth 2004). It is also only from the 1990s onwards that was exclusively and quite mistakenly, as Faklaris comments, linked to the Macedonian past. Professor Faklaris in an article on the Greek newspaper *to Vima* (30/08/1998),

explains that the so-called Vergina Star is a timeless and common decorative motif in all ancient Greek world. Due to its constant visual promotion and subtle incorporation into every day life and culture, this relatively insignificant and common motif has turned into a marker of the national struggle against an assumed attack on the Greek nation, since in the national imagination it was directly associated with Phillip II (see Triandafyllidou et al. 1997). Thus Greece strongly perceived its appropriation by the newly founded Republic of Macedonia as an act of sacrilege.



Figure 8.7 Image from the official website of the MoC, used until 2007. The Vergina Star figures at the background along with other markers of “Hellenic civilsation” (source www.culture.gr

[Accessed 12/10/2006]).

Contrary to the Greek views on the expropriation of national symbols by the Republic of Macedonia, Brown (1998) explains that the Vergina Star's selection as a symbol of FYROM has more to do with “internal pressures, especially those arising between Macedonians and Albanian political parties, rather than an attempt to a deliberate provocation of Greece” (Brown 1998:73). Hence, such an action can only be understood if seen in light of the ethnic diversity that characterises this state. Brown specifically argues that, “no other symbol could unify public opinion in the same way” (1998:73), since it “is a historically potent symbol for various ethnic groups in FYROM” (Brown 1994:790). In other words, the past that the emblem represents predated the events of Yugoslavia’s ethnic partition, and thereupon does not evoke stories of civil aggression (see Cowan 2000:18).

Although the Vergina Star gave its place to a schematic 8-ray sun, the ancient Macedonian past still holds a central role in the cultural agenda of the newly founded state. On the official website of the Ministry of Culture of FYROM between 2000 and 2003, a schematic star figured accompanied by images from the “Macedonian [referring to the region] material culture” (see Figure 8.8).

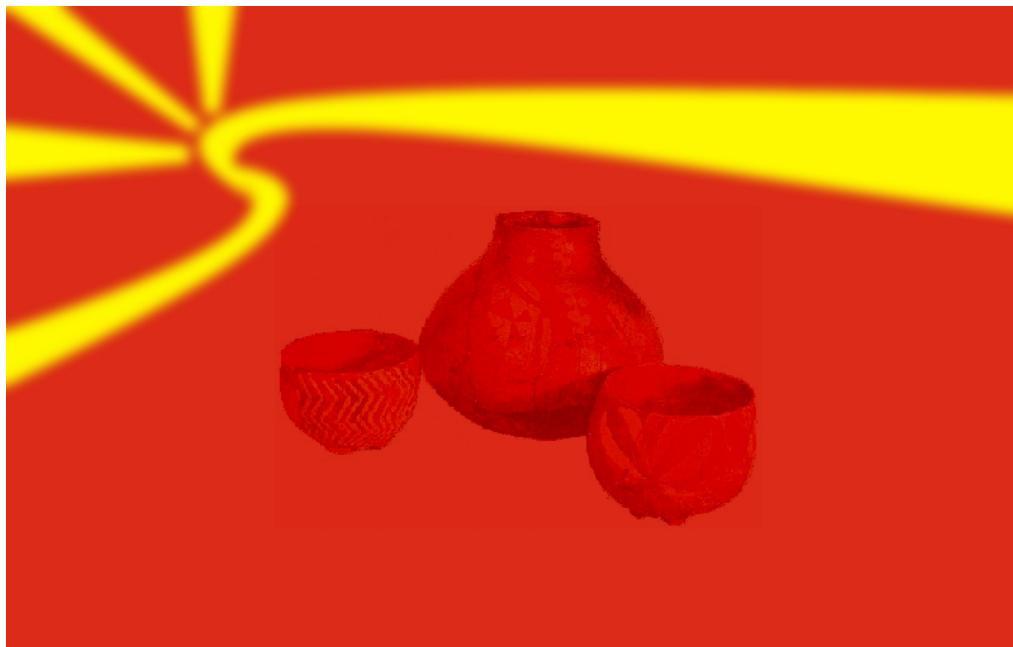


Figure 8.8 Desktop background available online from the official website of FYROM's Ministry of Culture (source <http://www.culture.in.mk/> [Accessed 12/11/2003]).

Obviously, FYROM looks for landmarks of the new Macedonian identity in the tangible heritage contained within its territory. As Brown (1994:795) advocates, the new state has strived at "territorialising" the signifiers that make up the Macedonian identity, "to emphasise, in other words, the material context of these images".

FYROM's New Past

The remoteness of prehistory serves as a value-free arena and as the raw material for sustaining FYROM's national and territorial claims (see Figure above for depictions of seemingly prehistoric pottery). As stated on FYROM's National Tourism portal: "Macedonia has literally thousands of sites where relics can be found going back 3800 years" (source <http://www.exploringmacedonia.com/default.asp?ItemID=C54F6B9CCCBDB44892B10FAF75913DA1> [Accessed 15/05/2009]). Nevertheless, in a perennial understanding of ethnicity, it is obvious that FYROM has evidently embraced the notion that all material culture -independent of period- contained in the soil of the new state, forms part of the "Macedonian Cultural Heritage".¹ That is because through projecting and introducing various national emblems and landmarks, the intention has been to forge loyalties among the nation-state's "multicultural citizenry" (see Cowan 2000:18). This is greatly accomplished through the constant display of visual and

contextual information on the electronic media. The Medieval city of Ohrid, the Roman site of Stobi, the site of Heraclea (founded by Philip II), and the Roman site of Skupi figure widely as celebrated sites of “Macedonian heritage”. Aside from exploiting the media’s immediacy and increasing popularity, FYROM also acknowledges the legitimising and ideological power of the concept of World Heritage and of UNESCO as an institution of global power. References to the WH status of Ohrid appear on all official websites (e.g. website of Ministry of Culture <http://www.kultura.gov.mk/> [Accessed 20/03/09]; also the national tourism portal <http://www.exploringmacedonia.com/>). For instance, the logo of UNESCO features prominently on the official website of the region of Lake Ohrid, which remains the only cultural WHS for FYROM up to the present (Figure 8.9).



Figure 8.9 The WH emblem featuring together with the emblem of the city of Ohrid (source <http://www.ohrid.org.mk/> [Accessed 15/05/2009]).

This serial nomination was placed for designation by the Former Yugoslavia in 1979. With Yugoslavia’s fragmentation and the subsequent proclamation of FYROM, this WHS has emerged prominently as an asset of the “Macedonian cultural heritage”. Evidence of FYROM’s recognition of the convention’s power has been also the sites awaiting nomination in the State Party’s tentative list. Instead of Stobi, Heraclea or Skupi, the natural properties of Cave Slatinski Izvor and Markovi Kuli feature (see Appendix 13). Both sites are located on borderlands. The former is close to the turbulent area of Kossovo and the later extends to the borders with Greece. In Markovi Kuli’s justification for inscription apart from the site’s natural significance, it is stressed that archaeological evidence in the area dates from Neolithic, Bronze Age, Hellenistic, Roman, “the Slavic period” to the late Middle Ages, covering this way all periods of “Macedonian heritage” (source <http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1918/> [Accessed 20/05/2009]).

In FYROM’s conception of “Macedonian heritage”, ancient Macedonia holds also a salient role. The ancient Macedonian past was recently the focus of an academic

meeting on *The Last King of Antique Macedonia-International Scientific gathering on Perseus*. During the meeting the director of the Directorate for Protection of Cultural Heritage indicated the physical link between modern Macedonia and ancient Macedonia, by concentrating on the Vergina Star, or as he called it “the Sun” (source <http://www.culture.in.mk/> [Accessed 13/05/2009]). The analogy between the modern republic and the ancient inhabitants of the region is also drawn on FYROM’s National Tourism official portal. There it is stated:

“The Macedonian people –a mixture of ancient Macedonians and Slavic tribes that settled here starting in the 5th century C. E.– make up the greatest part of a country where that mixed population is a vibrant reminder of Macedonia’s rich and lengthy history”. (source <http://www.exploringmacedonia.com/> [Accessed 18/05/2009])

Not surprisingly, in a similar fashion, the embodiment of Macedonian heritage, Alexander the Great, lent his name to Skopje Airport, whereas three-dimensional portrayals of him adorn public spaces (Figure 8.10).



Figure 8.10 Statue of Alexander the Great in Skopje Airport (source http://www.rferl.org/content/Macedonia_Where_The_Streets_Have_Greek_Names_/1376847.html [Accessed 15/05/2009]).

In all these examples, the past of ancient Macedonia is openly tied up to the present of the modern “Republic of Macedonia”. Accordingly, symbols, such as the Vergina Star,

have been given in some cases a new name, have been invested with a new meaning, and have been redeemed to fit the nation-state's new identity. All these endeavours clearly portray the emphasis placed upon the past in the construction of the modern "Macedonian" identity.

The government of FYROM embraces culture in all its forms as a means of development, identification and also European integration. "I think that Macedonia will enter into Europe through Bitola's cultural and historic richness", the mayor of Bitola, FYROM's second largest city and a cultural, economical, administrative and educational centre, Vladimir Taleski maintains (source <http://www.culture.in.mk/> [Accessed 15/04/2009]). In both FYROM's and Greece's state policies, the institutionalisation of the past leads to its nationalisation. The past has operated as a valuable resource that has been continually fuelling the Macedonian Conflict. Added to this, during the same period, another dispute broke out on the Greek side of the border. This is an "academic conflict", whose delineation will help eventually contextualise Vergina's WH designation.

The "Vergina Dispute"

In 1994 another major controversy put the identity of Vergina under question. Alongside the Macedonian Conflict, a dispute on the identity of Vergina has been initiated and developed as one of the most heated archaeological and public debates of recent years in Greece. Almost 20 years after Andronikos' revolutionary discovery one of his former students, Professor Faklaris (1994), published an article that challenged the identification of Vergina with Aigai, proposing an alternative location (cf. Hammond 1972). In addition to this theory, Faklaris (1998; 2000) rejected the identification of the tomb as that of Philip II, based on stylistic elements (see also Bartsikas 2000; Palagia as cited in Kiosse 1998)

While controversial, Faklaris' theory was not an unprecedented idea. Twenty five years earlier Phyllis Lehmann had disputed the identity of Phillip's II tomb (Lehmann 1980; cf. Borza 1982; Fredricksmeier 1981; Musgrave Calder 1983; Musgrave et al. 1984; Prag 1990). In contrast to Lehmann's (1980) hypothesis that the deceased was Philip III Arrhideaus, Faklaris' ideas caused considerable sensation among the academic circles, as well as in the public spheres of the Macedonian Conflict (e.g. Hammond 1997; Harisopoulou 2005; Saatzoglou-Paliadeli 1998). Although he never

questioned the Greekness of Macedonia (see Faklaris 2001), he presented his theory at a point when the character of Macedonia and Vergina's identity were contested. To some degree, his theory queried the platform upon which the Greek counter discourse to the Macedonian allegations was constructed. In this sense, if this thesis is ever proven accurate, it could deeply alter the dynamics of the dispute and fuel further nationalistic discourses from both sides.

8.1.2 Vergina's Outstanding Universal Value

In 1996, a few years after the outbreak of both the Macedonian and Vergina dispute, Vergina was designated as WHS. On the eve of its inscription, in the justification for inclusion provided by the Greek State party, Vergina was nominated on the basis of criteria i, iii and vi because (Table 8.1):

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ "Here some of the most important surviving original works of late Classical Greek art have been found which testify to the achievements of miniature art (the gold and ivory couches), metal-working and gold- and silver-work".
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ "The group of magnificent wall-paintings which adorn the Macedonian tombs at Aegae constitute a unique example of ancient Greek painting, a high art form which until recently was known to us only through Roman copies (Pompeii, Herculaneum etc.)".
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ "Aegae constitutes the oldest and most important urban centre in Northern Greece and promises to provide important information about the culture, history and society of the ancient Macedonians, the Greek border race that preserved age-old traditions until late Hellenistic times and carried Greek culture to the outer limits of the ancient world".
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ "Some of the monuments that have been found here are directly related to historical events and figures such as Philip II and Alexander the Great who made a vital impact on the course of history and mankind".

Table 8.1 Extract from Vergina's nomination dossier (MoC 1995:19-20).

The above lines represent the epitome of the Greek thesis on the Macedonian past: Aigai as a borderland of Hellenism, Macedonians as a "Greek border race" and Philip II and Alexander the Great as globally renowned figures (on the semiotics of the nomination dossiers see Labadi 2007). Throughout the text, the prominence of the discovery of the tomb of Philip II constantly surfaces. In fact, it is so potent that it

operates as the single *raison d'être* for the nomination. As stressed on the nomination dossier: "Following the international impact caused by the discovery of the royal tombs, Vergina is already a place of pilgrimage for large numbers of visitors, lovers of antiquity from all over the world who flock here every year in their thousands" (MoC 1995:20). The emphasis accorded on the significance of the Royal Tombs during the designation allows suggesting with great certainty that there were two key events enveloped in the process: the Macedonian Conflict and the Vergina Dispute. In both cases the identity of Vergina and the Hellenic identity of the past were placed directly or indirectly under scrutiny. Similar to the Burtint case, the nomination has operated as a process of validation and projection of Vergina's identity, and as an alternative institution of national imagination in the spirit of Anderson's (1991) institutions of power. Thus, the Vegina's WH status did not just give public value to the property, but it has confirmed the site's association with the Greek past as a "world view".

Despite the centrality of Andronikos' discovery in the nomination dossier, neither for ICOMOS, nor for the WH Committee, the unearthing of the tombs alone justified the inscription of the property on the WH list. It is true that on the ICOMOS' (1996:38) evaluation, the controversy about the identification of the tomb was taken into account. In fact, "this identification" was not considered "central to an evaluation of the cultural significance of the finds at Vergina". Therefore, by believing that Vergina does not "represent a masterpiece of human creative genius" and that is not "directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions", ICOMOS agreed on the designation only on the basis of criterion iii. Nevertheless UNESCO ultimately designated the site under both criteria i and iii since:

"Vergina represents exceptional testimony to a significant development in European civilisation, at the transition from the Classical city-state to the imperial structure of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. This is vividly demonstrated in particular by the remarkable series of royal tombs and their rich contents". (UNESCO 2006b)

Vergina's importance for the "European Civilisation" thus provided to UNESCO the reasons for the site's inclusion, in a western understanding of the qualities of global heritage. As for the direct link of the site with Philip II, it is important to note that in UNESCO's justification for inscription references to the issue were clearly omitted (see also UNESCO 2006b). This is again a typical example of the aforesaid incompatibility between global perceptions and national readings of heritage. As reflected on the

official correspondence between the WHC and the Greek State Party during the designation, the WHC centered its attention on the exceptional frescoes found at Vergina instead. In the case of Vergina, UNESCO seems to openly embrace its role as moderator of cultural conflicts. Its stance concerning the Macedonian dispute has been generally clear. In a volume on FYROM's cultural heritage, UNESCO states its position:

"Without even trying to enter the much debated question of "Who are the Macedonians?", it is certainly difficult to single out the historical outlines of today's Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). (UNESCO 2004d:7)

Notwithstanding ICOMOS' and WH Committee's non-assertive attitude towards the interpretive value assigned to the property by Greece, as recently as 2002, evidence of the concrete meaning with which the MoC has imbued the nomination, re-emerges (see Kottaridi 2002; MoC 1995; MoC 2002). Even more recently, on another publication of the MoC (2007:24), the parameters of its significance as cited in the nomination dossier (1995) are reiterated word by word and both the historical personalities of Alexander the Great and his father, and the tomb of the later at Vergina are presented as indisputable evidence of the site's *outstanding universal value*. Apparently, for Greece, Vergina's *outstanding universal value* stems from the site's prominence for the "border race" of Macedonians' and its direct link with Greek historical events and personalities. Most notably, Vergina's ever-increasing national value pertaining to its ideological and geographical liminality has been of foremost importance in the rational behind the site's nomination. This is a valid assertion if one takes under consideration that until very recently, the Macedonian heritage held a rather marginal place in the Greek imagination and in the formation of Greek identity, as "a result of the tension between the" ambiguous "geopolitical situation of the region" and the idealistic view of Hellenism primarily rooted in classical ideals (Kotsakis 1998:47). For a long period, the ancient Macedonians remained viewed not as an essential part of Greek heritage, but rather as "barbarians" and enemies of Hellenism (see Austin 2006; Hamilakis 2007a; 112,165,165; Herzfeld 1987:19; Roudometof 1996).

At the interpretive level, Vergina's designation has undeniably served as a process of signification, and in this case, legitimisation of authority over the past, merging the national with the global. The State Party activated the mechanisms of WH inscription in order to achieve global recognition of the site's Greek identity and to

consequently enlist it along other landmarks of national identity. The proposal of Vergina to be included in the WH list however, is just one facet of the meticulous efforts of the MoC to legally protect the site. In 1993, two years after the foundation of the Republic of Macedonia, Vergina was declared by the Minister of Macedonia-Thrace as a “site of outstanding natural beauty”, perhaps an act of symbolic significance. Two years later, the Central Archaeological Council passed also a resolution in order to create a complete protection zone for the entity of monuments and structures related to Vergina (MoC 1995:3). As Wilson (2007:100) remarks concerning the Mausoleum of Kemal in Ankara:

“It is this very maintenance that is significant in the construction of collective identity, memory and nationalism. The fact that physical objects, like architecture, need to be constantly maintained (or literally, propped up) to achieve their purpose means that there is always something or somebody behind that maintenance with reason for doing it. This type of maintenance is more ideological than physical”.

Vergina’s “maintenance”, through its legal framework is more ideological as well. It indicates the site’s increasing public importance and particularly its symbolic and political value. Thereby, Vergina’s physical protection has been just one aspect of the state policies for its nationalisation in consideration of the Macedonian Conflict.

Post-Designation Management and the Importance of the Royal Tombs

In an effort to draw a distinction between the different degrees of use of the WH status by States Parties, it was proposed in Chapter 5 that we should discern between *passive* and *active* WHS. Greek WH nominations clearly qualify for the *passive* type, even if Kavoura (2001) claims that both the MoC and the Greek National Tourism Organisation (GNTO) enthusiastically have received the WH status and have laid great emphasis on the designated sites at the level of representation. Suffice it to say that until recently the WH emblem was absent from the designated WHS, whereas little attention was also paid to the WH status in terms of management, representation and public outreach. Although, the successful designation of Greek sites in the WH list was received with enthusiasm (as reflected on official documents; see further Kavoura 2001), neither the MoC, nor the GNTO appear to have deemed the WH membership of great importance and to have deployed its commoditising power. The MoC, only in

2003 included the WH logo on its official website with regard to properties of the WH list. As for the actual WHS, in the majority of them the commemorative plaque has been absent up until the eve of the Athens Olympic Games 2004. Even for the WHS of Acropolis, up to 2004 there was no sign in place celebrating its inclusion in the list. Similarly, the UNESCO logo and the WH emblem have been totally absent from all GNTO's brochures, documents, its campaign and its official website. Succinct references to the Greek WHS began to appear after 2006. In fact, just two mentions of Greek WHS (Epicurius Apollo and Nea Moni of Chios out of 17 WHS) were found in all recent GNTO publications and brochures (e.g. GNTO 1993; 2004; 2006a; 2006b; see also <http://www.visitgreece.gr/pages.php?pageID=758&langID=2> [Accessed 20/05/2009]). Greece has long accepted its role in the global imagination as a cradle of western civilisation and has long secured its position in the tourism industry as a prominent tourist destination instead. Thereby one sees that it does not necessitate the signifying power of the WH logo as far as heritage tourism is concerned. It is often believed that Greek nominations enhance the significance of the WH list rather than the other way around (see next section).

Given its political value, Vergina stands out as an irregular and special example among other Greek properties included in the WH list, not only in relation to the parameters of its listing, but also in terms of its post-designation management. In comparison to other Greek WHS, the WH status of Vergina was by and large publicly embraced, albeit not from a commoditising aspect. At the entrance of Vergina there has been a sign commemorating the site's designation since at least 2002 (Figure 8.11). In fact, Vergina was the only, to my knowledge, Greek WHS with a commemorative plaque at its entrance until 2004. Another striking point for the management of Vergina is the different degrees of restoration and presentation between the palace and the Royal Tombs. The former is neglected, while the latter is carefully preserved and protected (see Figure 8.12, 8.13, 8.14), albeit as stated in the ICOMOS' evaluation (1996:38), the WH nomination is for the entire site, in order for the royal Macedonian tombs to be seen within their context. These views, though, have not been endorsed in the official policy of the MoC and the Directorates. For example, according to the commemorative plaque celebrating the designation, it is only the "Ancient cemetery of Aegae- Royal Tombs listed as a World Heritage Site". Added to this, within the protection zone of the palace, no sign exists in reference to its co-designation as an important component for the property's integrity and authenticity.

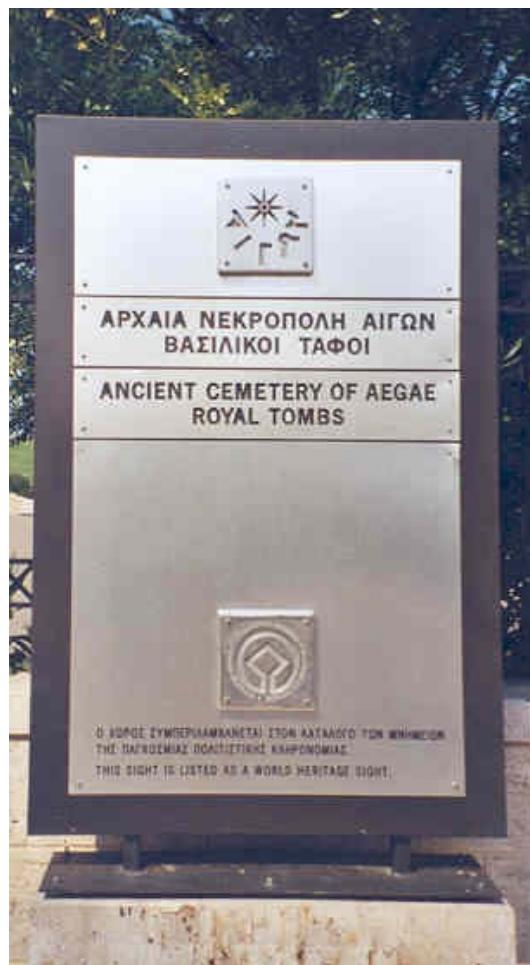


Figure 8.11 The commemorative plaque in the entrance of the Royal Tombs.



Figure 8.12 The protective shell over the Royal Tombs (source www.wikipedia.org/en).



Figure 8.13 View of the entrance of the crypt-museum of the Royal Tombs at Vergina.



Figure 8.14 View of the palace and of its current state of conservation.

This inconsistency is further mirrored in the number of people who visit the palace and the tombs annually. In April 2002 (peak month for 2002), 29.851 people visited the Royal Tombs, whereas just 2.866 visited the palace. In 2006, a total of 163.430

people visited the Royal Tombs, whereas only 12.971 visited the palace (according to statistics produced by the Archaeological Receipts Fund).² Meanwhile, unlike many archaeological sites in Greece, Vergina has received substantial funding from the government, already from the 1970s. Indicator of the site's marginality in the national agenda up until that period, is the fact that for the realisation of the project the Signer-Polignac Institution (in 1954), a French private foundation, provided substantial funds to the Greek archaeological team (see Andronikos 1984:21). Again, the focus of state subsidy has been centered on the Great Tumulus. In 1993, the subterranean construction of a model shelter was completed, and in 1997 the museum -a type of museum-crypt- was opened to the public, due to generous funding provided by the MoC (see Mirtsioti 1997). Regardless of the ongoing rehabilitations in the surrounding area, the palace remained bypassed until February 2007, when it was announced that restoration work has been initiated also there with the aid of state funding (on the MoC's presence on Vergina see also Lilibaki-Akamati 2003).

From a semiotic aspect, in comparison with the WHS of Butrint or Kotor (see Chapters 5 and 7), where the UNESCO logo is widely used, Vergina is symbolised by the so-called Vergina Star, an iconic marker of Phillip II and the Macedonian kingdom. As discussed previously, the discrepancies pertaining to the assessment of Vergina's *outstanding universal value* and the inconsistencies in its management can only be understood in conjunction with the re-emergence of the Macedonian issue and the theory on the false identification of Vergina with Aigai. Most notably, all of these practices exhibit the centrality of the Royal Tombs in the narratives and policies of the state. Philip's tomb and its remains specifically provided a human and material parameter to Greece's symbolic claim over the Macedonian past. With their powerful symbolism, they naturalised Greece's authority over the Macedonian heritage and moved the conflict to the public domain. As Verdery (2000:1) remarks on the semiotics and politics of human remains: "Dead bodies have enjoyed political life the world over and since far back in time". Human remains possess unique values that lift them beyond material culture, since they provide the connection between the living and the dead, the past and the present. In Hamilakis' view (2007a:144), the assumed dead body of Phillip II has been shifted to "the status of the holy relics of a new saint, a national, not strictly religious saint" (see MoC nomination dossier 1995; see also Geary 1986; Verdery 2000). Perhaps, being perceived as "sacred" relics, the human remains attributed a "sacred" character to Andronikos' discovery and justified to a certain

extent the site's inscription in the WH list, whose religious orientation is evident. In Kavoura's (2001:123) opinion, religion is the common denominator among all Greek WHS. The impetus for their selection, she maintains, has been the need to substantiate the continuity between Classical antiquity, Byzantine Orthodoxy and modern Greece. This connection seems to have been also verified in the case of Vergina due to the "sacred" character of the finds, whose visiting not surprisingly has turned for tourists into some kind of "pilgrimage" (see MoC 1995:20).

Vergina's WH Designation and the State Rhetoric

The ceremony for the WH designation of Vergina took place in December 1997. UNESCO Director General Mayor, the Greek Minister of Culture Venizelos and Greece's ambassador to UNESCO Vassilikos attended the event. At a public level, the ceremony received also some attention and coverage in the media (see the *Athens News Agency* on 9 December 1997 <http://www.hri.org/news/greek> [Accessed 13/04/2009]; also the website of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs). Yet Professor Faklaris, who was present -by coincidence- at the event, told me that apart from the Director General, the Minister of Culture and the local authorities, the attendance was not remarkable and that no locals participated. He also underlined that prior to attending the official ceremony for the inclusion of the site, he had had no knowledge of the WH convention. From Faklaris' point of view, UNESCO's fame benefited from the designation of Vergina in the WH list and not the other way around, given that by 1977 the site has been receiving continuously global attention.

The MoC holds similar views to Faklaris' on Greece's role in the implementation of the WH convention. For example, the former Minister of Culture (E. Venizelos) goes as far as to state that UNESCO "gained in lustre from the addition" of Greek properties to the list (2002:5). He also underlines how Greece "from 1986 to the present day it has added to the list 16 monuments and archaeological sites that project the eternal quality of Greek culture during its history from the Bronze Age to Late Byzantine times" (ibid.). In the same spirit, Kolonas (2002:7), the General Director of Antiquities, by endorsing theories on the unique qualities of the Greek spirit, claims that through the designation of Greek properties the aim is "to project the grandeur of ancient Greek art and to emphasise the role played by Greek civilisation in the cultural processes throughout the entire world". The MoC has greatly invested in the

designation of Vergina, not as a mean to enhance the WH list with another example of the “grandeur of ancient Greek art”, but as a way to defend and establish globally the site’s cultural and ethnic ties with Greece. As a matter of fact, the procedures for the nomination of Vergina had already started in 1992, immediately after the foundation of the “Republic of Macedonia”. In light of the ongoing conflict thus the Greek state recognised the political role of the designation and accepted eagerly its symbolic role in the territorialisation and singularisation of heritage. At that time, for the MoC and the Permanent Delegation of Greece in UNESCO, northern Greece, and especially Macedonia was “a sensitive area” and it was felt that cultural landscapes from these region “need to be presented” in the WH list (see Kavoura 2001:120).

The idea of border sites with seminal national importance is recurrent in the agenda of the MoC. “Eight out of the sixteen nominations of Greece to the list come from areas in the borders of Greece”, Kavoura (2001:119) proposes. In the designation of the site of Heraion (Samos), in an island overlooking the Aegean coast of Turkey, it was asserted with enthusiasm: “The inscription of our important border monument is a success for the Ministry” (as cited in Kavoura 2001; see also the case of Rhodes, Chios and Patmos). The listing of WHS on borderland areas, such as the Eastern Aegean islands, aligns with Greek borderland politics, in view of the tense Greek-Turkish bilateral relations. Probably the designation of the city of Corfu, the addition of Nicopolis (in Greek Epirus and within the limits of Chameria) and the area of Prespa lakes in the tentative list (see Appendix 12) should be also understood within this perspective of legitimisation of borders and territory. Concerning the WHS of Corfu, whose nomination considerably attracted the media attention, striking evidence also exists of the particular political nuance with which its successful designation was imbued by the MoC. The former Secretary General of MoC Zahopoulos in a speech he gave, presents the site’s inclusion as a story of political success of the Greek Government and respectively of the New Democracy Party, underlying an added aspect of WHS’ potency (source <http://www.nd.gr/> [Accessed 14/05/2009]). Yet lately, funding and tourism prospects deriving from the WH designation, must also draw Greek heritage managers’ and local authorities’ attention, given the amount of text published and conferences organised in Greece with respect to WHS.³

On the whole, at the level of representation and management, it has been shown that it is preferable to speak of a subtle and certainly *passive* use of the symbolism and benefits of the concept of World Heritage by the Greek institutions, albeit there has

been lately a small increase in recorded references to the convention. Such attitudes mirror the reassurance that the Greek state feels for holding an established role in western imagination. Therefore the designation of Greek sites is more of an outcome of an attempt to boost Greece's public image, rather than an endeavour to endorse the philosophy of World Heritage or commoditise the WH status for tourist purposes. Nevertheless, the example of Vergina up to the present is rather unique, since it appears to be the only case of a WHS in a Greek context in which the political and symbolic role of the designation was more than subtle. As an archaeologist working at the site of Vergina explained to me, the decision for the nomination of the site "was a political choice" and it was taken exclusively by the MoC.

8.1.3 Idiosyncratic Readings of Vergina's Past

At a local level, material factors rather than ethnicity are the key issue, as also stated by Karakasidou (1997:20) in her research on identity politics in Macedonia. The village of Vergina named after a mythical Queen was formed shortly after the arrival of the new settlers from Asia Minor in 1923. Claims over the locals' direct descent from Philip II and Alexander the Great thus cannot be the case here (for the composition of Macedonia see Karakasidou 1997). Although I have no detailed or official data concerning the origins of the locals of the village of Vergina, the above assumption might be valid, but not crucial in locals' understanding of the past. Regardless of ethnic or cultural affiliations, they have by now adjusted in space and place, and have produced their own local culture. More concretely, the locals have opened up their own dialogue with the past. Their understanding of the past derives from and is regulated by their direct or indirect interaction with Vergina's physical remains. The locals have their own "sense of place" in the meaning that Feld and Basso (1996) ascribe to it. In their definition, the senses of place are "the experiential ways places are known, imagined, yearned for, held, remembered, voiced. Lived, contested and struggled over; and the multiple ways places are metonymically and metaphorically tied to identities" (1996:11). Hence similar to the Butrint example, locals' engagement with the tangible heritage is determined by daily practices, economical factors and matters of survival (see 7.8). If we accept the idea that a site's biography is continually enriched -even when discovered by archaeologists and approached as an archaeological site- then the modern locals through their embodied experience of the past, contribute in their own

way to the biography and values of Vergina. By some means, it can be even proposed that the residents of the modern village of Vergina through their own embodied experience of Vergina -by working close to or on the site, living close to and living off Vergina, by gazing, contemplating about it and walking by it- have succeeded the past inhabitants of the ancient town.

As far UNESCO and the concept of World Heritage are concerned, the locals at Vergina appear unaware of the WH status of the site. At a local level, there has been no sign of any "use" of the WH emblem or UNESCO's logo, comparable to the case of Palenque. Instead, the emblematic Vergina Star appears to be a valuable commodity in locals' hands. It is omnipresent. It can be found on cards, flags, t-shirts and all types of souvenirs that are being sold in the proximity of the Royal Tombs. Nonetheless Vergina's global recognition and status could be vital for the sustainable development of the local community, whose centrality is acknowledged. For instance, there is vested interest from the local town council, which aims to exploit the site in order to attract more tourists and therefore to create new sources of income for the village. Additionally, the mayor demands the creation of a new museum to house all the Vergina findings, the majority of which are located in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki. Up to the present, tourists typically spend only a couple of hours in Vergina. The prefecture of Imathia is not a tourist destination as Chalkidiki, Pieria and Thessaloniki are according to the official data provided by the National Statistical Service of Greece. For the locals of Vergina, the creation of a museum could possibly strengthen the local economy, by increasing their assets. For them tourism development is clearly the means to sustainable development. However, due to WHS' *passive* and nebulous role in state policies and the MoC's agenda, the locals are in the dark about the benefits of the designation. Unfortunately, even the archaeologist in charge of the archaeological site and the museum of Vergina seems to ignore the parameters of the WH convention. In discussing the impact of the WH designation, she told me with disappointment that UNESCO has been totally absent from the management of the site given that she anticipated a more active role for the organisation. Another archaeologist working on Vergina, also said that she knew little about the WH convention and Vergina's WH status. Similar to the case of Butrint, for the archaeologists involved in the management of these two sites, UNESCO does not meet their expectations. They appear unaware that according to article 4 of the WH

convention the duty for the protection, conservation and representation of cultural heritage belongs primarily to States Parties (UNESCO 1972).

Irrespective of Vergina's place among the 10 most visited sites in Greece (according to the number of admissions to the archaeological sites ticket revenue 2006), the local community seems frustrated regarding Vergina's use value. A local young man from Vergina communicated to me his disappointment regarding the current economic situation and maintained that the prestige of the site was more of a disadvantage for the economic development of the village. Vergina's legal status has applied restrictions to the daily practices of locals by defining buffer zones, regulating agricultural, herding, building activities and controlling tourism development. Vergina though is not merely in locals' perception a commodity and a means for financial empowerment. The local people seem to ascribe their own value to the distant past through their personal attachment with its material manifestations. In an interview on the British newspaper the *Guardian* in 1993, in light of the cancellation of Greece's former King Constantine visit to the site the then local deputy mayor Kostas Aslanoglou asserted: "We regard Vergina as a holy place. How can a man like Constantine who doesn't even recognise our constitution, possibly pay homage to it?" (see Smith 1993). Overall, in local imagination, Vergina's national momentousness and not its *outstanding universal value* stands out. Some locals also appear to be familiar with the concrete archaeological and historical significance of Vergina. A local young man, former worker in the excavations carried out by the AUTH, evinced his contempt to the theories that challenged the identification of the dead of the tomb with Philip II, when I asked him about his view on the Professor Faklaris' theories (1994; 1998). He wondered how scholars could question this idea, since indisputable evidence exists thanks to the osteo-archaeological study of the human remains. It is important to bear in mind that for decades, archaeologists have interacted closely with the local community of Vergina and locals have also acquainted themselves with archaeological work carried out in the area either by working in the excavations, being employed in the museum or the archaeological site. Undoubtedly the ongoing archaeological activity and archaeologists' presence in the area have greatly shaped locals' understanding of Vergina's past.

At the same time, archaeologists in Vergina have ascribed their own values to the site. In Saatsoglou-Paliadeli's eyes (personal communication 2003), excavator of the temple of Eukleia and former student of Andronikos, the marble funerary stele with

inscriptions in Greek, confirm largely the site's archaeological importance. Kottaridi (personal communication 2004), the director of the Museum of the Royal Tombs recognises the miniature art (such as ivory ornaments) and the prominence of Vergina as an urban centre, as the qualities that support the site's archaeological, national and global value. For the Greek state, it is Vergina's national and political role that justifies its centrality in the state's rhetoric and the nation's poetics. For the locals, it could be argued that material factors anchor them more to the present and regulate their dialogue with the past, while for UNESCO and ICOMOS, it is Vergina's contribution to the understanding of European civilisation that justifies its *outstanding universal value*.

8.1.4 Conclusions

In historiography and archaeological accounts, Aigai is considered to have lost its importance as the capital of Macedonia in the 4th century AD and Pella prospered instead as the new administrative centre of the Macedonian kingdom and as the place from where Alexander the Great launched its expedition to the East. Until the 1970s, Pella retained its position as the undisputed landmark of ancient Macedonian identity. Due to Andronikos' discovery, however, Vergina was dragged out of anonymity and developed from an unknown site to a signifier not only of Macedonian heritage but also of Greek identity. The site's *eternal life* then began. Simultaneously Pella was transformed into a site of archaeological significance but of lessened symbolic value. In spite of its unquestionable national prominence, Pella, the birthplace of Alexander the Great and the capital of Philip's II kingdom, does not figure on the list of sites of *outstanding universal value*. The human remains of Philip II seem to validate in a more efficient manner the claims over the indisputable rights of Greeks on the identity of Macedonia and the global value of the Macedonian heritage. Vergina's "maintenance", in Wilson's (2007) sense, through its designation as a WHS and a site of natural outstanding beauty has an ideological basis rather than a physical one. This means that the site's political and symbolic connotations greatly determined the need to safeguard the eternity of Vergina, regardless the theories on the false identity of the site and of the deceased of the tomb.

The Macedonian Conflict is not, however, just a cultural dispute. It is also a political contestation over borders and realms of interest and authority, disguised under the mantle of powerful cultural associations. In consideration of global

immediacy, modern nation-states have foreseen that by exploiting the abundant means available to them they can successfully strengthen national identity and globalise national perceptions of the self. Within this frame of mind, Vergina's WH designation should be seen as a manifestation -a conspicuous one in relation to the Butrint example- of borderland nationalism in light of global economic, political and cultural conditions. Beyond the dispute, one should bear in mind though that Vergina, like Butrint, has numerous meanings and multiple values for different social and political actors, these be the local community, the Greek government, neighbouring states or its visitors. Even, the archaeologists themselves depending on their personal and academic interests assign to the site multiple layers of meanings. Compatible or not compatible these diverse understandings of the same historical past illustrate both the multiple actors involved in its signification and the diverse activated apparatuses for cultural heritage's negotiation. Overall, Vergina's biography is a blueprint of the biography of the historical and geographical region of Macedonia from antiquity to the present, and undoubtedly a palimpsest of Balkan politics. Hence, it is in this context that the site's designation as WH has to be seen, understood and contextualised.

8.2 The Eternal Troy

The archaeological site of Troy lies on the margins of Anatolia, between Europe and Asia, and at the junction between the Black, the Aegean and the Mediterranean Sea (see Figure 8.15). Liminal and at the same time so focal, it has exerted great fascination and magnetism in the course of its biography. From the Trojans, the ancient Greeks, the Romans, the Hellenistic successors of Alexander the Great to Fatih Sultan Mehmet the conqueror of Byzantium, Troy was elevated to a timeless symbol and a *topos* for many consecutive generations. Each conqueror, each visitor and aficionado contributed to the creation of this palimpsest of Balkan history with several successive stages of occupation and strata of construction. But it is only Homer, the 8th century BC bard who succeeded to disseminate the epos of the Trojan War and glorify Troy. Despite the continuous academic discussions on the historic resonance of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and the identity of their creator(s), both texts keep fuelling public's and scholars' imagination with the same intensity for many years now (see Iakov et al. 1999; Sherratt 1990). As a result, contrary to Vergina and Butrint, the site has been celebrating its *eternal life* before it even proceeded to its *afterlife*. Moreover it has been recognised for its global value well before being designated by the WH Committee. In exploring the reasons behind its WH designation, the aim is to illuminate Troy's role in identity politics, as shifting between the global and national realms. Furthermore an examination of the Turkey-Greece nexus in light of borderland nationalism will hopefully provide the justification for Troy's inscription. Such an approach requires a brief background presentation and analysis of the shifts in Troy's interpretive and symbolic significance particularly during two seminal stages in its biography: the passage to *afterlife* and the events before and after its WH designation.

8.2.1 Troy's Biography: The Passage to *Eternal Life*

The site of Troy is located in northwest Turkey (Figure 8.15). It lies on the hill of Hissarlik (Figure 8.16) and is in the hinterland of the modern village of Tevfikyie and 29 Km away from the city of Çannakale. In the mouth of Dardanelle and in close proximity to the island of Tenedos (Bozcaada), the site has been occupied continuously for more than 3000 years. The current excavations have demonstrated the existence of 9 levels of human occupation with 46 superimposed phases of construction (see Figure

8.17), dating from the early Bronze Age to the late Roman and early Christian times (3000 BC to 6th century AD; see Saherwala 1985; Wood 2001).



Figure 8.15 Map that indicates the location of Troy.

In total nine Troys existed, from which the most representative and indeed most well known phases of the city are II (2600-2250 BC), which was falsely identified by Schliemann as "Priam's Troy" and VII (1300-1190 BC), which Blegen in 1930s and most recently Korfmann associated with the "Homeric Troy" (between 1893 and 1894, Dörpfeld, Schliemann's successor, linked Troy VI with Homer's Troy).

Homer's epic of love and war has captivated the imagination of successive generations from the time of Homer to the present. Even though the *Iliad* narrates the mythical ten-year struggle of Achaeans to besiege Troy and take revenge on Paris' abduction of Menelaus' wife, Helen was not the true reason behind the "Trojan War" or the Trojan Wars as Korfmann suggests (see 8.2.3). The war was a struggle for control over a strategic point between two realms of power. In fact, politics are deeply embedded in the biography of Troy and similar to Virgil's *Aeniad*, the epos itself is a political indoctrination of power symbolisms (see Chapter 7). In 334, Alexander the Great on the way to conquer Asia paid tribute to Achilles' tomb in the region of Troad.

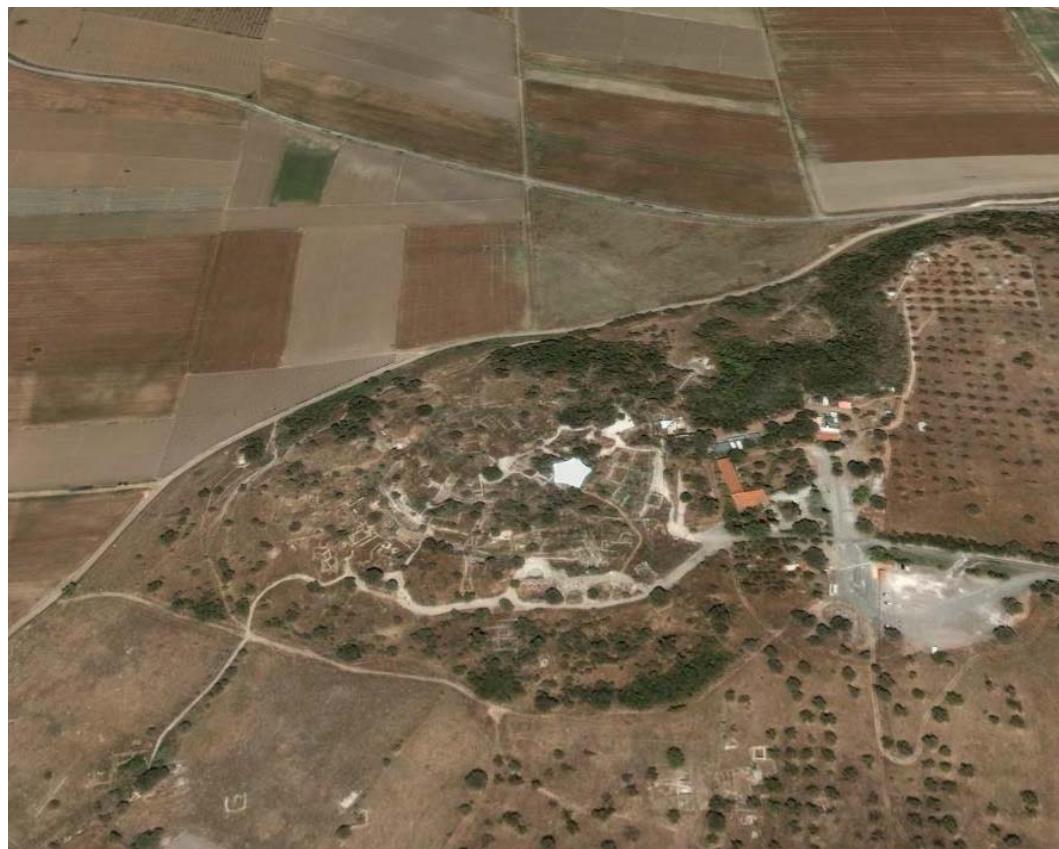


Figure 8.16 Aerial view of the main site of Troy (<http://earth.google.com/>).



Figure 8.17 A view of the hill of Hissarlik where the main site of Troy lies. The shape and height of the protective roof represent the appearance of the mound of Hissarlik before excavation began in 1871.

Similarly Caesar, the emperor of the Romans, who claimed direct ancestry from the Trojans, gave immunity to Troy from taxation (see Wood 2001; Zengel 1990). Centuries later, on the eve of the foundation of Byzantium, the emperor Constantine was enthralled by the powerful symbolism of Troy and initially regarded it as a perfect location for the foundation of the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire (see Stoianovich 2000). On the contrary, Sultan Mehmet Fatih, “shortly after the capture of Constantinople in 1462 visited Troia and the grave mounds in the plain to testify that the outrage was in fact avenged”, referring to the siege of Troy by the Achaeans (extract of text from the panels in the *House of Excavation* at the site of Troy; see also Wood 2001:38).⁴ Even if it is called Ίλιον, Tpoia, Novum Illium, or Truva, the site’s symbolism has been undoubtedly enchanting and persistent. Most notably these various appellations signify the changing character of political allegiances Troy had to serve over the course of centuries.

Following the Ottoman occupation, the physical remains of the celebrated Troy decayed into oblivion. Yet the myths attached to the site continued to fuel people’s imagination (see Wood 2001; Zengel 1990). Schliemann was himself victim of the fascination that the Trojan myths exerted (see Trail 1995). In the 1860s, he paid his first visit to the Troy of his childhood and through political means he obtained a firman from the Sublime Port to begin his lifetime project (Schliemann 1881:3; see also Schliemann 1875). With Homer as his companion, he excavated the mound of Hissarlik between 1871 and 1890 (see Virchow 1881). In search for Priam’s palace he opened a huge trench and removed all “debris” superimposed above the lowest stratum (Figure 8.18). Having faith in the correctness of his theory, he firmly believed in 1873 that he found among the “debris” of Troy II “Priam’s treasure” one of the most controversial hoards of all times, which following a legal battle with the Ottoman state Schliemann finally offered to the National Museum of Berlin. Schliemann, as Achaeans and Homer did, contributed actively to Troy’s *eternal life* by enriching its symbolic and interpretive value. In concrete terms, his excavations moved Troy from the realms of fantasy and mythology into the realms of reality. Accordingly, his contemporaries received his discoveries with great enthusiasm and Troy was celebrated as the cradle of western civilisation and of Hellenic culture (e.g. Evans 1931; Smith 1875:xvii).

In the successive years after Schliemann’s death (1891), Homer’s *Iliad* and the Trojan War paled in comparison to the sensation surrounding the myth of Schliemann and “Priam’s Treasure”. By the end of the 20th century, Schliemann’s personality

though was gradually degraded to that of a gold-seeker, a dreamer and a mythmaker (see Duchêne 1996; Koulmasi 2006; Ludwig 1931; Trail 1995). While Schliemann's appeal faded, the significance of Troy steadily increased and interest in the Homeric site was revived, especially following the new excavations carried out under the direction of the German Professor Korfmann and Troy's designation as a WHS.



Figure 8.18 View of Schliemann's trench.

8.2.2 Culture as the Foundation of the Turkish Republic

The 1980s marked the beginning of a new era in Troy's *afterlife*. The launch of Korfmann's archaeological project in 1988, (followed by the re-discovery of "Priam's treasure" in Moscow) in combination with the ratification of UNESCO's WH convention by the Turkish State Party in 1983, the 1980 military coup in Turkey, and the electoral victory of Özal's Motherland Party in 1983, directly and indirectly altered and redefined Troy's value, at global, national and local level. During these years, along with the new discoveries and re-discoveries, contention over Troy's identity grew and issues of ownership and authority re-surfaced.

This cultural revival and the renewed interest in Turkey's cultural capital can only be understood if seen first through the lenses of Kemal's cultural politics. In the

1930s Kemal, the father of Turkish nationalism, preached that “culture is the foundation of the Turkish Republic” (source <http://www.kultur.gov.tr/> [Accessed 25/01/2009]). In his efforts to attain realisation for his vision that of a secular modern Turkey, Kemal took firm steps in instilling national pride in all the citizens of the republic independent of religion. Similar to Hoxha’s Albania, in Turkey culture replaced religion as a new dogma and provided the raw material for the national imagination. In this context, the Turkish Historical Thesis was introduced and archaeology developed as a national discipline (see Chapter 6). As Hoxha did in Albania, Kemal foresaw their potential for forging the cultural foundation of the new state within a remote past, detached from the contentions and discordances of the present (on the making of the Turkish nation see Bartu 1997; Vryonis 1991). In fact, based on factious elements subtracted by an alien to Ottoman Turks’ heritage, he aspired to create a link between the Turks and the current territory of Turkey (see Figure 8.19), since location is central in the conception of the nation (see Smith 2001b).



Figure 8.19 Statue of Kemal in Çannakale depicting various symbols of the Turkish nation.

For this purpose, attention was especially drawn to the material manifestations of the Hittites, the Lydians, the Lycians and the Phrygians (see Wilson 2007). Sites such as Hattusha and Alaca Hüyük monopolised state attention for a long period. With its ambiguous identity and associations with the Greek past, Troy consequently had little role to play in the making of modern Turkish identity. As a result, a 50 year hiatus followed Blegen's excavations in Troy. Thus, as for all national identities, the making of the Turkish identity has been a complex process of negation, adaptation and fabrication.

Following the two World Wars and a couple of military coups, the election of Özal as prime minister (1983) opened a new chapter in the Turkish historical trajectory. Sympathising with Atatürk's belief in the centrality of culture in the modernisation of Turkey, aside from economic and political reforms, he undertook a series of cultural initiatives. During his leadership, Turkey ratified the WH convention and proceeded to the nomination of properties of *outstanding universal value*, investing its hopes in the convention's potency to attract wide attention and nationalise the past. In this spirit, Troy was also re-introduced in the arena of Turkish archaeology after almost 50 years of hiatus. The project was resumed by a German professor, Manfred Korfmann, who conducted research on the site until his death in 2005. These initiatives cannot be seen, however as separate from the political instability of these years which was caused by the clash between the PKK (The Kurdistan Workers Party) and the Turkish state, as well as the escalating crisis of the Greek-Turkish bilateral relations. In part Turkish nationalism has developed against and in conjunction with Kurdish and Greek nationalism (see for the Kurdish-Turkish case Canefe 2002; Canefe and Bora 2003; Kuyucu 2005; Öktem 2004; Saatci, 2002; Yavuz 2001; for the Greek-Turkish relations see also 8.2.4). At the same time, Özal sought to pave the way to Turkey's European integration. In this context, regurgitating Kemal's historical thesis, he published a book called *Turkey in Europe and Europe in Turkey* in 1988. In this work, Özal defends the right of Turkey to be regarded as legitimate part of the European civilisation on the basis of historical and archaeological evidence. His book is by and large a revised version of the Turkish Historical Thesis. In this volume, Troy despite its national marginality in comparison with Hittite sites of the Anatolian plateau, is associated with Anatolia, whereas the Trojans with the glorious Hittites. In contradiction to Kemal, however, Özal did not deny the Ottoman heritage (see Salt 1995). In this spirit, during his leadership, the Lycian site of Xanthos-Letoon, Hattousha the capital of the Hittite

Empire, the Ottoman mosque and hospital of Divrigi and Nemrut Dag, both in contested land between Kurds and Turks,⁵ and Constantinople the cultural centre of the Turkish state, were nominated to be included in the WH list (see Appendix 14; see 8.2.3 and 8.2.4). At this point, Troy in spite of its undeniable global value still did not qualify to be included on the list of Turkish WHS, of whose national character was apparent. The Turkish professor Faruk Sen in an article in the *Turkish Daily News* (23/07/2004) speaks of “national treasures” pertaining to the Turkish nominations in UNESCO’s WH “collection”. In the 1980s, the list of the Turkish State Party was composed of monuments which reflected Özal’s conception of Turkish identity. Consequently UNESCO due to its legitimising power, was indirectly validating and establishing these landmarks of Turkish identity and Turkish politics.

In Vryonis’ view (1991), the content of Özal’s book is highly propagandistic. Not only this, but the Greek historian also critically examines the former president’s efforts and intention to appropriate the Greek past and ascribe Turkish identity to all tangible and intangible heritage lying within modern Turkish territory. Perhaps it is more preferable, as Bibina (1998:45) comments, in the context of Turkish history books, to perceive such endeavours not as signs of “appropriation of someone else’s history and culture, but rather an expression of the desire for cultural identification”. Turkey since its foundation, has undeniably been struggling to substantiate that the country and its people, similar to all Balkan states, belong to the West and not to the East in a broad attempt to disconnect from the ghosts of the past and disassociate itself from the negative associations with the Orient. During Özal’s time thus the WH designations likely helped to reinforce Turkish identity, legitimise authority over the past and land, establish Turkey in the global political arena and pave the way to European integration. Not all sections of Turkish society though have accepted the vision for Turkey’s moving towards Europeanness and exposure to western influence (see Canefe and Bora 2003). Since the 1980s, with the Islamic revival, extreme right, Islamist, xenophobic voices, such as the Nationalist Action Party (MHP), have been expressing their anti-European sentiments and adopted more traditional, religious approaches of identification, evoking greatly popular attitudes of the poorest and disfavored segments of society against elites’ secularism (see on Turkish radical nationalism Arikan 2002; Canefe and Bora 2003; Salt 1995).

8.2.3 Troy Revisited. The World Heritage Designation

The launch of the Turkish-German “Troia Project” in 1988, inaugurated a new phase in the biography of Troy. Many believed then that there was nothing left to be discovered in Troy (see Rose source www.uc.edu/profiles/rose/htm [Accessed 23/05/2009]). Notwithstanding the widespread beliefs, in the years that followed 1988, numerous of important finds were unearthed. The so-called “Achille’s tomb” (Korfmann 2001), the mound where Achilles was allegedly buried and where Alexander the Great presumably performed his rituals, was found (further on the tumulus of Achilles see Burgess 2005), the Achaeans’ anchorage was relocated in Beşik tepe, the actual size of the site was estimated and the story of the Trojan War(s) was to a certain degree deciphered (see also Eberl 1995; see also Korfmann 2004).⁶ From the 1980s onwards, accordingly, Troy’s position in the collective memory seems to be gradually strengthened and the public interest renewed. Unquestionably, the site held up to then marginal place both in Kemal’s and Özal’s state rhetoric. In 1991, another event generated state interest in the site. Two Russian historians of art announced publicly the re-discovery of the long-lost “Priam’s treasure” in the Pushkin Museum (Moscow). This was a rather unexpected event, given that the treasure was considered missing since the end of the Second World War (see Korres 1995a). Not surprisingly the treasure’s re-discovery instigated the second “Trojan War”. Germany, Greece, Russia, Britain and as expected Turkey engaged in a dispute over which country had rights of ownership. Four years later, Korfmann’s new archaeological discovery of a bronze seal (see Figure 8.20) supported the supposedly Turkish ownership over the site and provided to the Turkish state the justification for the site’s inclusion in the WH list along with other properties of national prominence.



Figure 8.20 The biconvex seal. This is the only known example of Bronze-Age writing from Troy (source <http://www.basarchive.org/> [Accessed 12/02/2009]).

The bronze biconvex seal (diameter of 2.3 cm) with a name of a scribe written in Luwian hieroglyphs and that of a woman on the reverse side, was found in a VII context (12th century BC- *Iliad's Troy*; together with a female bronze figurine of "assumed" Anatolian origins). The find's archaeological and political implications were immense since it indicated "links of Late Bronze Age Troy to the Hittites in central Anatolia" (source <http://www.uni-tuebingen.de/troia/eng/info.html> [Accessed 23/02/2009]). More precisely, it furnished for many groups evidence that Troy was an Anatolian city and not a Greek one; a thesis widely spread, but not archaeologically proven. Troy was no longer important just because of its association with Homer's epics, but it stood out on its own because of its new discovered role in the periphery of the Anatolian civilisations. From this moment, the Turkish government, in collaboration with the Tübingen University and Korfmann embarked upon a campaign for the promotion and protection of the site activating all available mechanisms.

Immediately after the 1995 discovery, Turkey with the assistance of Korfmann proceeded to the nomination of Troy, motivated by the implications of this discovery. In fact, Korfmann "played a leading role in UNESCO's decision to declare Troy a WHS" (source <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/obituaries/article561029.ece> [Accessed 10/05/2009]). He and his team were also actively involved in the preparation of the nomination and systematically monitored all stages that pertain to the designation process. Following such undertakings, the site was proposed to be of *outstanding universal value* particularly on the basis that "the archaeological site is unique in providing more than 3000-year long unbroken sequence" and "Troy II and Troy VI, especially provide a characteristic example of an ancient oriental city" (see MCT 1996:6). In the Turkish State Party's justification for inscription, it is also emphasised in relation to Troy's connection with the events described in the *Iliad* that "through the profound and widespread influence of this work, the Troad has become perhaps the most famous non-urban landscape in the world after the Holy Land" (*ibid.*). By stark contrast, ICOMOS (1998:107) overlooked the Anatolian identity of Troy and underscored instead the "immense significance" of the site "in the understanding of the development of the European civilisation at a critical stage in its early development" and its "exceptional cultural importance because of the profound influence of Homer's *Iliad* on the creative arts over more than two millennia". Similarly, the WH Committee in its 22nd session in Kyoto by espousing Troy's importance for the European civilisation and regarding it as the setting for Homer's *Iliad*, inscribed it on

the WH List on the basis of criteria ii, iii, and vi. That means that Troy is considered to be an example of important interchange of human values, an exceptional testimony of a cultural tradition, and finally a property that is directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions. For UNESCO, Troy meets criteria vi on the basis of its association with the Homeric epics. The classicist Burgess (2005:16) claims that “the Troad would never have received so much archaeological attention if it were not for the *Iliad*”. Without a doubt, European fascination for Homer’s poems helps understand the rationale behind Troy’s *outstanding universal value*. As in the case of Butrint and Vergina, UNESCO and ICOMOS disregarded national readings of the past and endorsed relatively “neutral” interpretations, clearly inspired by western conceptions of heritage, portraying in this way the frequent incongruity between global and national attitudes.

Troy’s physical and aesthetic aspect is less distinctive compared to other Turkish WHS such as Xanthos Letoon or Istanbul (see Figure 8.21). According to UNESCO’s criteria for justification, Troy neither “represents a masterpiece of human creative genius”, nor is “an outstanding example of a type of building”, nor “a traditional human settlement”. Therefore it is its historical, symbolic (intangible) and mythical quality rather than its materiality that justify its global recognition and its popularity. For instance, the archaeologist Silberman (1989:30) in his visit to Troy describes his disenchantment:

“I expected that a trip to the city of Priam, Paris and Helen would awaken memories of grammar Greek myths. But ... the landscape around Troy seemed unpleasantly unfamiliar. It was not easy to call to mind strutting Greek and Trojan horses”.

He avows: “Although my visit to the site gave me a clearer mental picture of the various points of my archaeological contention, I found only the cartoon images of my childhood overlaid with a harmless, if discordant, modern reality” (ibid.:48). His nostalgic feelings, comparable to those of the travellers of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries who visited the antique lands, anchored him to an imaginary past, and simultaneously the reality of Troy appeared too disappointing (on the issue through the example of Delos see Pantzou 2002; 2008). A modern traveller, Hans van der Ham in his wonderings on Western Turkey experienced analogous disillusionment. On his internet travelogue, he wrote:

"Highlights on paper, like Troy and Pamukkale are disappointing in reality". (source <http://www.off-the-beaten-track.net/?/travelogues/tr02c03.html> [Accessed 25/05/2009])



Figure 8.21 Tourists during a guided tour around Troy.

Regardless of Troy's visual aspect and materiality, its protection has been highly valued. Acknowledging laws' political and ideological strength, two years before the WH nomination, the Turkish government also designated Troy as a Historic and National Park, in consideration of its national value. This has proven to be a greatly beneficial status for the natural environment and the cultural landscape in the surroundings of the citadel. Even though this initiative dates back to 1971, it was only with the 1995 events that the nomination was completed (see also ICOMOS 1998). The park is divided in two zones and incorporates an extensive area that expands from Orphyneion and Sigeion to Beşik Tepe and the village of Pinarbasi (Burnabashi) (see Figure 8.22) and also encompasses 85 monuments and sites dating from prehistory to the 20th century (see Aslan 2001). In this manner, the Trojan landscape can be seen in its entirety and Troy is placed in context. Most importantly, the past of the region is linked to the present and resultantly to the modern history of Turkey naturalising the theories on the nation's enduringness.



Figure 8.22 The location of Ophryneion and Beşik Tepe.

No matter UNESCO's and ICOMOS' attitudes towards Troy's anatolian traits, the significance of the site for the Turkish state was not lessened and its new status has been widely promoted. Panels and signs with UNESCO's logo and the WH emblem figure at focal points within the limits of the site (see Figure 8.23). But most prominently, references to UNESCO and the WH convention appear widely on the official website of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MCT), other websites of tourist character (such as <http://www.discoverturkey.com/english/kultursanat/miraslistesi.html> [Accessed 13/04/2009]) and most certainly the media (see numerous articles on the website of *Turkish Daily News* www.turkishdaily.news.com.tr). Together with accepting the convention's legitimising and symbolic power, the Turkish state has realised how the media and in particular the internet can serve as the optimal vehicles for the dissemination of its "story" and as new modes of expression of the national imagination.



Figure 8.23 The panel that commemorates the designation.

Not surprisingly, Troy's designation was covered extensively by the press. Following its inscription, the newspaper *Hurriyet* (04/01/99) informed its readers: "Troy, a legendary city in the history of civilization, has been added to the World Heritage List of UNESCO."⁷ The MCT praises also enthusiastically Turkey's presence on the WH list. On the official website of the Ministry there is a special section for Turkey's WH membership, demonstrating the particular meaning ascribed to it. It is stressed there that the "inscription of 9 properties in the list may be sufficient for many countries, but it is not representative for a country like Turkey" (source <http://www.kultur.gov.tr/> [Accessed 12/05/2009]). In the article *Turkey and UNESCO contribute to the coexistence of cultures and civilisations* on *Turkish Daily News* (16/06/1998), Turkey's former ambassador to UNESCO Fırat, subsequent to Troy's listing, underlined "the importance Turkey gives to UNESCO's ideals" and "goal of promoting international peace and common welfare through global understanding and cooperation". Article titles such as *Turkey and UNESCO working for global understanding* and *World Cultural Heritage and Turkey* are recurrent on the media, in this way exhibiting the importance accorded to Turkey's relation with the international organisation (see the website of *Turkish Daily News* <http://www.turkishdailynews.com.tr/>). In the Turkish cultural agenda, references to

UNESCO seem to grant esteem and prestige to the ministry's cultural endeavours in contrast to the Greek example. Without a doubt, the Turkish state makes a clearer and more *active* use of the concept of WH and of UNESCO's ideological and semiotic potency (cf. the Vergina case 8.1).

Even if modernisation appears as a key component in the Turkish cultural agenda, echoes of Kemal's thesis, as well as obsolete anthropological views of the late 19th century about culture as a bounded entity, still surface all through the cultural program and the narratives of the Turkish government. Thereby, despite anthropologists' aphorisms, theories of cultural superiority and readings of culture as a marker of difference have become at the level of nation-states truism (see Wright 1994; 1998). The articulation of such a perspective is an extremely frequent phenomenon on the website of the MCT and of the Turkish Embassy, and on official brochures of the MCT Office. For instance, Atatürk who is credited for contributing to Turkish culture, in the Turkish Embassy's in Washington perception "gave the impetus to the study" of the Pre-Islamic culture, "which proved that, long before the Seljuk and Ottoman Empires, the Turks had already created a civilisation of their own" (<http://www.turkishembassy.org/> [Accessed 15/04/2009]; see also MCT 2004). The idea that Turkish people should be identified with the ancient inhabitants of the lands that the Turkish state occupies, is persistent. "Whereas as an ancient land and modern nation" for the Turkish Consulate General (of Michigan), "Turkey today holds and protects the common past of all people" (source <http://www.turkishconsulategeneral.us/trav/know.shtml> [Accessed 20/04/2009]). Hence it can be argued that the 1995 discovery provided the link between the *ancient land* and the *modern nation* in the spirit of Kemal's thesis. In fact, Troy stands out in comparison to all other Turkish WHS, as it occupies a separate section on the website of the MCT. There issues, such as the *Who the Trojans are?* are addressed and details on the *Geographical Position of Troy in History* and the significance of Korfmann's find [the seal] are provided, exhibiting the site's special place in Turkey's agenda (see <http://www.kultur.gov.tr/> [Accessed 12/04/2009]).

From the aspect of commoditisation, Troy's nomination did not aim intrinsically at supporting tourism development in the region. As it affirmed in the nomination dossier, Troy is one of the most visited sites in Turkey. Troy, like Palenque (see Chapter 5) and the Athenian Acropolis, does not necessitate UNESCO's prestige to attract tourists. Its recognised global value preceded its designated *outstanding universal value*. This did not prevent, however, the WH status from being an added quality and an

important stage in the site's biography. This is apparent on the tourist guides, numerous articles and websites (see Askin 2004; also the popular online encyclopaedia wikipedia). For example, on <http://www.guide-martine.com/troy.asp>, a tourist website, on the closing sentence of the text on the history of the site it is stressed: "Troy has been declared by UNESCO to be one of the Eminent Cultural Heritages of the World" [Accessed 10/04/2009]. Each time that a statement of this kind appears on a text on Troy, looks like it operates as a confirmation and official validation of Troy's momentousness provided by a high esteem organisation such as UNESCO and as an added reason for someone to visit the archaeological site. Visiting Troy is signified as a prestigious act and accretion of cultural capital bearing also UNESCO's approval.

In terms of WH designation's effects, Korfmann its initiator, told me in the summer of 2004 that the effects were still not visible and that it was too early to judge. Until the 1990s the area surrounding Troy was under military control and various restrictions in land cultivation and tourism development were applied due to the site's strategic location in the mouth of Dardanelles (see Figure 8.24). Hence local communities, apart from the village of Tevfikye close to the site, have not yet discovered Troy's and the WH status' commoditising power. In the case of Troy, the designation was an act of political and symbolic signification, rather than an endeavour to protect its value and sustain tourism growth. Evidence of this attitude towards World heritage has been the current tentative list of Turkey (see Appendix 14), where numerous Ottoman sites await designation, while sites such as Miletus, Pergamus and Halikarnassus, all national tourist assets and of immense archaeological interest are excluded from the list of "national treasures". These Classical sites do not comply with the current iconography of Turkish heritage (see 8.2.4). However, Troy's designation should not be solely seen as reflection of current cultural politics under the influence of Kemal's rhetoric and the Islamic revival. In the case of Troy, such as in the case of Vergina and Butrint, it is the site's symbolic and political implications with regard to transnational and borderland politics that has also justified its *outstanding universal value* for Turkey.

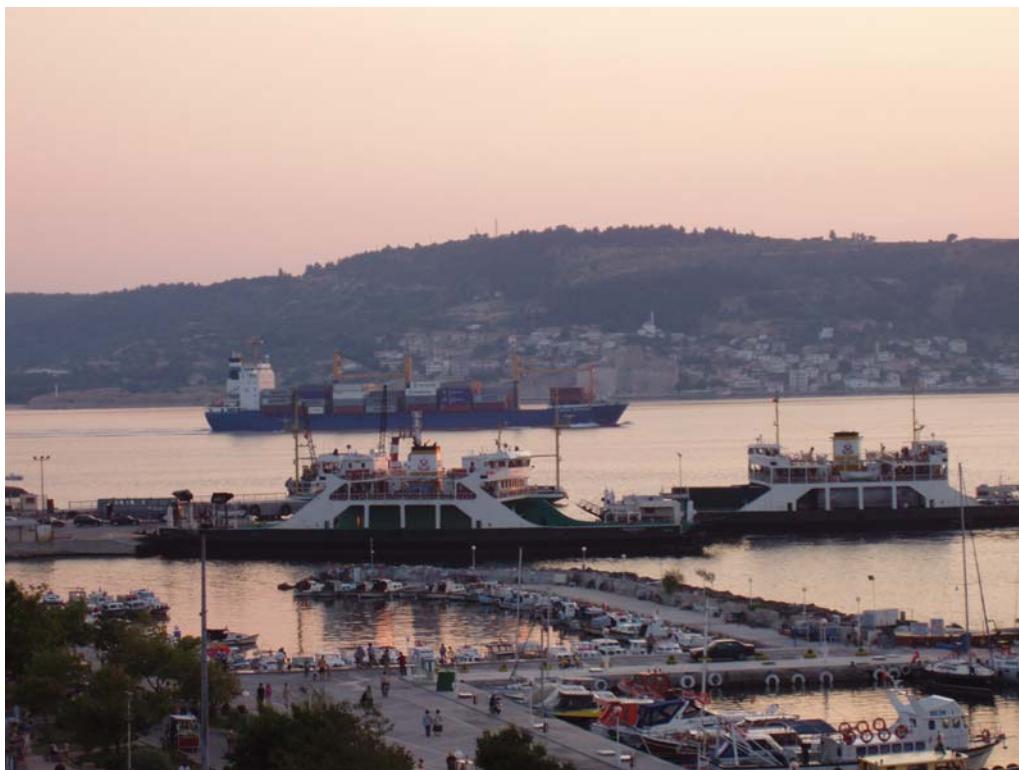


Figure 8.24 View of the straits of Dardanelle from Çanakkale.

8.2.4 The WHS of Troy: Anatolian Bastion, Cradle of European Civilisation or a Greek Site?

The biconvex seal proved to be an ideologically potent symbol for Turkey. It created a physical link between modern Turkey and its territories. This finding's national value subsequently instigated state interest in Troy and triggered the mechanisms for the site's WH designation. However, the biconvex seal's role in the inclusion of Troy in the WH list should be seen in consideration of the site's liminality in the national consciousness up to 1995 and its marginality in Turkish geography. Finally, the increased projection of Troy's Anatolian identity has to be also examined in relation to its association with the European and world heritage by UNESCO and ICOMOS, taking into account Turkey's aspiration to secure its place in the global and European scene. Such considerations are valid if one accepts the legitimising and symbolic implications of the WH designation.

From 1995 onwards, Troy has been established as an Anatolian city in the periphery of the Hittite Empire and the seal as the "Troia Project's" logo. The seal has also evolved to a marker of Troy's identity and within the archaeological site figures

along the WH emblem (see Figure 8.23). Korfmann, who directly became involved in both designations -as a WHS and a National Park- repeatedly stood by his theories and arguments. On several occasions, the German archaeologist's zeal to prove Troy's cultural ties with Anatolia and sometimes over-optimistic archaeological readings of the evidence has been translated as a way of recompensing those who granted him with the permission to excavate Troy after the 50 year research gap (see Moskovou 2001a; 2001b). In an article he wrote two years before his death, Korfmann defended the Anatolian origins of the Trojans and challenged past theories:

“Although Troy is in Anatolia, Carl Blegen, who directed excavations at the site in the 1930s, regarded Troy VI/VIIa as a Greek settlement. The idea of a Greek Troy, one that had also been entertained by Schliemann, became firmly established. These excavators had come from Greece to Troy, both literally and figuratively, and later returned to Greece, and were biased, most likely unconsciously, in their outlook.”

“We know today, from our own excavations and even from earlier ones, that in all main respects, Bronze Age Troy had stronger ties with Anatolia than with the Aegean. (source <http://www.archaeology.org/0405/etc/troy.html> [Accessed 12/05/2009])

With Korfmann's breakthrough, not only was Troy's identity reinvented, but also Korfmann's identity was forever “altered”. In 2004, he accepted the Turkish nationality as recognition of his valuable contribution to Turkey, and added Osman as a middle name. In Korfmann's case, an individual's identity altered as the meaning of a site evolved.

Korfmann's theory was not an unprecedented idea. In the 19th century not all scholars' traced Troy's connection to the West as Schliemann (1881) and Smith (1875:xvii) did (see Virchow 1881:xiv). Yet it is mainly in the 1980s (see below) that theories on that Troy was an Anatolian city are widely discussed among archaeologists (e.g. Foxhall and Davies 1984). Since then, scholars have pointed out that the Wilusa of the Hittites documents should be identified with Homer's *Tλιον*. The unearthing of the seal, however, placed Troy, a marginal site both in Turkey's geographical and national imagination, at the centre of the government's cultural agenda and at the attention of the public and the media. As expressed on the website of the Turkish Embassy, Troy is “one of the most important historical cities of Anatolia” (source <http://www.turkishembassy.org/> [Accessed 12/05/2009]). Nonetheless the reason

behind the increase of its national importance is not based solely on the historical resonance of the find, as suggested earlier, but chiefly on its symbolisms and political connotations.

The Turkish narratives circulate around the idea that Troy is a bastion of Anatolian culture. Since 1995, this idea, as supported by the state, figures together with assertive negations of all theories on the Greek identity of the site, reminding us of Troy's liminality and role in borderland nationalism. In the magazine of the Turkish airlines' *Sky life* it is maintained:

"The most extraordinary finding... is that Troy was an Anatolian center. For thousands of years Troy has been seen as belonging to Greek Mycenaean culture, and the origin of today's European cultures." (Bayçin 2001)

MCT also considers that Troy's inhabitants originated from Anatolia and until 2007 preached on its website that they had no ethnic relation to Greeks. To vindicate this claim, it was suggested: "Because the Iliad was written in Ancient Greek and all the names of the persons and gods were Greek names, many people think that the Trojans and the Greeks were the same people and they spoke the same language". (source http://www.kultur.gov.tr/portal/default_EN.asp?BELGENO=1968 [Accessed 12/05/2007]; see also <http://www.thetroyguide.com/id7.html> [Accessed 23/05/2009]). For the MCT, this thesis was dismissed thanks to the seal. As stated in its official website, "the bronze seal and goddess statuette inscribed in Luwi writing, found in the Trojan excavations in 1995, are the clear evidences that the Trojans descended from the Luwi people."(source www.kultur.gov.tr/en [Accessed 12/05/2009]).

Until Korfmann's breakthrough, Troy was widely associated with the Greek world and the foundation of the European civilisation (e.g. Schliemann 1875; 1881; Blegen 1963). In Evans' (1931:13) view, the excavator of Knossos, Schliemann's work "was a very real contribution to the origins of European civilisation". Even several decades later, Blegen (1963:37) who excavated Troy in the 1930s supported that the Trojans had intimate contacts with the Aegean. Therefore, despite Kemal's and Özal's aspirations and policies, it did not fit the mental imagery of the modern Turkish state. It was as if Turkey had only territorial jurisdiction over the site but not cultural authority on the basis of history and archaeology. Hence, the 50-year hiatus of archaeological research and the marginality of Troy in national programs and collective memory in

comparison with Phrygian or Hittite sites are justified. In 1995, for the first time, Atatürk's thesis on the Anatolian identity of Ionia and consequently Troy was archaeologically substantiated. Regardless the fact that many decades have passed since the pronouncement of the Turkish Historical Thesis, seeds of these ideas are still deeply rooted in the psyche of the Turkish nation. Turkish nationalism as in the case of the Albanian nationalism has regressed to more rigid and traditional models of national representation. While embracing the openness' benefits, the Turkish state was not though prepared to undermine its national individuality. So even if during our conversation Korfmann himself denied any relation between Turks and Anatolians, and accordingly Troy's cultural ties with the Turkish nation (see also interview of Aslan to Kleftoyanni in *Eleftherotypia* 29/06/2004), one cannot overlook the echoes of nationalistic theories of the early republic surviving in the agenda of the modern Turkey pertaining to the site of Troy and its new identity (source <http://www.kulturturizm.gov.tr/> [Accessed 12/01/2008]).

One facet of Turkish nationalism is that it emerged to a certain degree in opposition to and in relation to Greek nationalism, and that it was shaped through Greek-Turkish bilateral relations and diplomatic skirmishes (see Canefe 2002; Canefe and Bora 2003; Kuyucu 2005; Özkirimli and Sofos 2008). In Özkirimli's and Sofos's (2008:2) perception, "both countries have been historically posited as the 'Other' in their respective nationalist imaginaries, each being seen, from the outset, as being at the antipodes of the survival of the other". Troy, in particular, is located on a territory which flourished as an integral part of "Greek" cosmos from the 10th century BC to the 1923, the time of the Lausanne treaty and the population exchange between Greece and Turkey. Consequently the site's position in the Greek-Turkish nexus is salient. In Greek public imagination, Asia Minor, where the region of Troad is located, is greatly conceived as a "lost homeland" and an undisputed land of Hellenism similar to Northern Epirus, Pontus and Thrace (see Karzis 2002; for the first official Greek archaeological expeditions in Asia Minor see Davis 2000). Up until 1923, Greek speaking Orthodox population inhabited the area. Many travellers and scholars who visited Troad had Greek local guides. In 1403, for instance, the Spaniard Ruy Gonzales de Clarijo was shown around the site of Troy by Greek inhabitants from Tenedos (Wood 2001:36-37). Nowadays, following the 1923 population exchange, the landscape of Troas is scattered with homogenous rural communities. Despite the area's nationalisation, Turkey did not underestimate the strong political and strategic

significance of this borderland area. As a result the environs of Troy were a forbidden military zone up to the 1990s. In other words, as in the case of Butrint the site's military status embodies an added proof of Troy's liminal location in state rhetoric and collective memory.

In Greek academia, Troy's Aegean (Greek) character seems to be firmly established. The Greek archaeologist Korres (1995b:27-28) claims that it is not correct to name Troy's civilisation as Trojan, hence Anatolian, since the site was clearly and solely linked with the north Aegean. Troy's role, he adds, in this prehistoric north Aegean world was to supervise the straits of Dardanelles. For him, the site rests at the periphery of the northern Aegean world and not on the margins of Anatolia. In the same context, Tiné and Benvenuti (1995:28), members of the Italian Archaeological Institute (in Greece) assert that on the basis of material culture, there is clear evidence that Troy was not related to the Hittites, but with the islands of Lemnos, Skyros and Samothrace instead. Furthermore, in the Aegean coast of modern Turkey numerous archaeological sites, such as Ephesus, Pergamus, Miletus, are scattered in the landscape, signifiers of Classical and Hellenistic antiquity and also of Greek identity, as echoed on Greek national narratives. In this sense, the Anatolian traits of Troy have lifted it to a Turkish landmark among sites of alien historical significance to the modern Turkish nation. Ephesus is the only Classical site that figures in the Turkish tentative list since 1994 (up until 2008). Yet for the Turkish State Party, it is the site's cultural ties with the Persians, Christianity and the Seljuk Turks that provide the justification for its inscription.

Classical heritage's position in Turkish national rhetoric is generally ambiguous. On *Turkey's Travel Directory* for 2006, published by the Turkish Tourism and Culture Office, while referring to Turkey as home of thirteen ancient cultures, no mentions to Greek culture are found (2006:4). At the same time, possibly in recognition of the Classical antiquity's "exchangeability" as cultural capital, the "ancient Aegean" is introduced to the readers of this tourist material as follows:

"Rich in scenic beauty, agricultural wealth and recreational possibilities, the Aegean coast is also the heartland of Classical civilizations. Many of the most famous legends from ancient Hellenic and Roman times can be traced to these shores". (2006:24)

Turkish attitudes to Classical heritage as cultural capital date back to the period of the Ottoman Empire (see Jezernik 2007; Shaw 2003). Then however, those efforts were made on account of the imperative “to retain antiquities as signs of their territorial sovereignty”, since the Ottomans “began to see the collection of antiquities as an incipient of colonial territorial aspiration on the part of the European governments” (Shaw 2003:134). Therefore the dispute over Priam’s treasure ownership between Korfmann and the Ottoman state, did not reflect the latter’s interest in Troy as a signifier of Ottoman identity, but rather as a commodity. As for Turkey’s negation of the classical past, this is manifested not only through literary and textual omissions, but often through the destruction of sites such as the renowned site of Zeugma (by constructing dams) in the name of prosperity and progress (Öktem 2004: 566; see also case of Illisu Dam, Kitchen and Ronayne 2001; Shoup 2006). Such manifestations can be understood, based on what Öktem (2004:564), describes as “strategies of destruction and neglect of the other’s heritage” referring to Turkish state’s cluster policies for self identification through the appropriation of space.

In later years, in Turkey’s agenda towards World Heritage, the focus is centered mainly on landmarks of Ottoman identity. The current WH tentative list of the State Party of Turkey is representative of Turkish cultural politics and of what in academic circles is called “radical Turkish nationalism” (Bora and Canefe 2003). It specifically demonstrates the shift in Turkey’s cultural orientation and national imagery, as shown through the apparent redemption of the Ottoman heritage, illustrating in this manner nationalism’s adaptable and ever-changing character and the increasing need to bolster national identity under circumstances of exposure. Most likely, not even Troy would have been nominated if it was not for Korfmann’s astonishing find, given that the nomination and designation is perceived clearly as a process of national signification and legitimisation of authority over the past and territory.

Striking evidence exists that UNESCO’s and ICOMOS’ negation of Troy’s Anatolian identity did not act as an impediment for the site’s incorporation in the national agenda and memory. Its association to the “world civilisation” was also to some extent endorsed and projected along with its Anatolian character. On the official website of the MCT, it is affirmed: “Troy which has an important position on the land of Anatolia where the civilisation of the world has been born and had flourished has always attracted the interest of archaeologists” (source <http://www.kultur.gov.tr/> [Accessed 12/05/2009]). In terms of Troy’s role in the developing of European

civilisation, references are notably scarce. Most probably, Troy's prominence in Anatolian heritage was deemed more ideologically potent for serving Turkish state's undertakings and political objectives. Notwithstanding this, Turkey has acknowledged the World Heritage concept's authority in the politicisation of the past in its dreams of European membership. For instance, few years ago, the Turkish State Party demanded that the WHC should geographically include Turkey in the Unit of Europe, instead of the Asia/Pacific one, as it happened up to that moment. Such action directly "authenticated" Turkey's cultural ties with European heritage. Since then, all Turkish WHS are protected, monitored and seen in reference to other monuments of *outstanding universal value*, but of concrete significance for the European heritage. From Özal's time, Turkey has devoted itself to the promotion of its cultural heritage as a means for its European integration. However, the modern Turkish state appears not to be willing to negate totally its Turkish identity for its forthcoming European membership and a place in a competitive globalised world.

Overall, the Turkish list of WHS reveals the evolution of state ideology with regard to Turkish identity both in its essence and techniques. The designation of WHS has been strategically designed to fit the political agenda of the Turkish state in each period. It portrays Turkey's determination to establish itself in the world, without denying its Ottoman past as Kemal did, in view of the rise of an Islamic Turkish identity. Hence the national realm does not inevitably disappear in the name of progress. Finally, Turkey's ambivalent position towards the identification of its heritage, indicates Turkey's waver between East and the West, between a European and Islamic identity, between modernity and tradition. At the same time transnational politics are clearly not downplayed. The concept of World Heritage and the nominating procedure have offered to Turkey a new form of expression for Turkish nationalism.

8.2.5 Conclusions

In the course of time, Troy has functioned as an intercultural historical landmark and powerful political signifier. As the ancient Greeks, the Romans and others manipulated the epic of the Trojan War to express power relations, similarly, Greece and Turkey, both on different grounds have placed claims on the cultural identity of the celebrated site. Can then a single biconvex seal support the theory on the Anatolian character of Troy? Are Homer's epic and the archaeological evidence from the north Aegean

enough to authenticate the Greekness of Troy? What is important is not the identity of the Trojans, but the identity that is assigned to them by consecutive generations. As Troy changed rulers, it changed identities. Over the course of centuries, Troy had to conform to a new cultural identity and to the demands of each new “proprietor”. In particular, Troy’s meaning throughout the course of the 20th and 21st centuries evolved along the politics of the Balkan region. Since 1923, Troy had to acquire one identity, a national one, whereas its culturally diverse biography has been at times overlooked, hidden, forgotten, erased and occasionally celebrated. UNESCO’s role is seminal since it appears that the designation of Troy and also of other properties, served as an apparatus to singularise territory and the past. Although the site was inscribed in the list by UNESCO for its contribution to the understanding of the European civilisation, and not as an Anatolian centre, this has not discouraged the Turkish State Party from projecting Troy’s WH status along with the site’s Anatolian elements. UNESCO provides the resources through the concept of World Heritage for a subtle manifestation of claims over the territory and the heritage it contains. Thus, as the Turkish nation invests in modernisation, modernised have become its apparatuses. Embracing UNESCO’s and the WH convention’s ideological power, Turkey has also valued high its membership in the UNESCO WH list, as a means to secure a place in the global scene.

Most importantly, similar to the Vergina and Butrint example, UNESCO and the concept of World Heritage were proven for Turkey valuable tools in the articulation and conception of borderland nationalism and cultural conflicts. In all these three sites, archaeology and the past steadily retain their conspicuous role in identity politics and trans-national cultural conflicts, reflecting once again the complexity of Balkan politics. I do not wish to suggest that for all Balkan WHS regional politics are embedded in their designation. However, one cannot overlook that at first glance all Balkan nominations embody projections of the national “self” (see Appendix 15). For example, Serbia proposed for designation sites of extreme national prominence such as Stari Ras the first capital of the nation, and Bulgaria selected sites from the country’s both distant and recent past like the Tomb of Kazanlak reminiscent of its Thracian heritage and the Rila monastery, symbol of the Bulgarian national awareness. This is also the case with Rumania, which proceeded to the enlistment of properties celebrated landmarks of ancient Dacia and of the country’s religious heritage. On the other end, Bosnia-Herzegovina has invested entirely in its connection with the Ottomans, whereas

Croatia through its WHS projects its western cultural associations. With the exception of Bosnia-Herzegovina, it could be suggested that the Balkan states, as manifested in the WH list, seek to disassociate themselves from the Ottoman legacy by striving to create a link with a certain glorious and distant past and by opting for cultural monuments that testify their cultural distinctiveness during the Ottoman period. Most notably, in juxtaposing Butrint with the Vergina and Troy cases, insightful analogies were drawn not only pertaining to the dynamic character of nationalism, but also to the fact that nationalism in the Balkans cannot be studied independently from neighbouring nationalisms, in consideration of the area's entangled historical and political actualities. Only at this scale the parameters of the convention are fully unfolded.

¹ See further the cultural agenda of FYROM's Ministry of Culture on <http://www.culture.in.mk/>.

² Since 2007 restoration work has been carried out by the MoC. Therefore the palace is not open to the public (05/2009).

³ See for example <http://culture.ana-mpa.gr/view0.php?id=1180> [Accessed 25/05/2009] and <http://www.monumenta.org/article.php?perm=1&IssueID=3&lang=gr&CategoryID=28&ArticleID=117> [Accessed 20/03/2009]).

⁴ The text was produced by the team of Tübingen University.

⁵ The designation is probably linked to the Kurdish/Turkish crisis (Wilson personal communication 2004).

⁶ For Korfmann, as he pointed out to me, Troy is not though just a bloody meadow, but it should be associated with peace and human revolutionary achievements instead.

⁷ See also the website of *Anadolu Agency* <http://www.anadolujansi.gov.tr/> [Accessed 18/05/2009].

CHAPTER 9

Reflections on Nation-States, Local Communities and the World Heritage Convention in a Global Context

The first archaeologist to come to Albania was the Frenchman Leon Heuzey, who arrived in the area as a special envoy of Napoleon III in the late 19th century (see Kamberi 1993:3). This is the very same person who discovered Vergina in 1855, a site that later played such a prominent role in the Macedonian Conflict. Similar to Ugolini, his mission was to draw the analogy between Napoleon's France and the ancient empires of Julius Caesar and Alexander the Great through the unearthing of the celebrated past. Several years later, Ugolini, the Italian archaeologist, excavated Butrint aspiring to provide the material hypostasis to the governing myths of the Italian nation. It is believed that in a similar frame of mind Virgil wrote the Aeneiad in the first century BC, seeking to "mythologically" substantiate the Roman Empire's expansionist program (see Bowden et al. 2002). On his account of Aeneas' wonderings following the fall of Troy, Butrint appears as the "New Troy", the epitome of the perpetuation of the Trojan ancestry. Homeric conceptualisations of Troy differ. The ancient epics reproduce poetic images of the Greek city-states' allegiance and echo popular conceptions of the dynamic Greek world. The biographies of Butrint, Vergina and Troy, all of diverse geographies and histories, entangle in a unique fashion. It is their prominence in the politics of the past that justifies their role in the politics of the present and has consequently led to their designation as WHS. In this sense, the concepts of *eternal life* and *after life* in the biography of a site most efficiently illustrate a site's complex history, values and shifts in its significance. This is not in a linear understanding of the past, but in its conception as an integrated and compound story of continuities and discontinuities, and as far removed from traditional archaeological readings of space and time. In this respect, the designation of WH status is considered as a seminal stage in a site's biography since, on many occasions, it triggers a site's *eternal life* and certainly facilitates its introduction in the global realm. More concretely, a property's inscription in the WH list has practical and ideological implications that can enhance and alter a site's meaning and value simultaneously at global, national and local levels.

In Chapter 5, I distinguish between *active* and *passive* WHS. The WHS of Butrint, Vergina and Troy represent examples of both types. On one hand, Butrint and Troy make clear use of the WH status as a means of increasing the influx of tourists. Especially, the government of Albania strives to establish Butrint as a tourist destination in the world tourist routes, given that the WH designation also coincided with the emergence of the state from a long period of isolation. Nonetheless, there are examples worldwide, like the WHS of Kotor and Campeche, which attest to the fact that the semiotic quality of UNESCO and of World Heritage can be further commoditised. Conversely, the WHS of Vergina stands for the *passive* type, given that the logo of World Heritage and the emblem of UNESCO are absent and references to the WH status are limited. Such an attitude stands for evidence of the Greek state's and public's strong belief in the symbolic power of the Greek past without the added identification with symbols of international heritage. Unquestionably, WH convention's commodifying prospects raise questions about how UNESCO, which states that the WH emblem and UNESCO logo should be exclusively exploited for educational, scientific and cultural purposes, could effectively control their "misappropriation", given that such actions reflect the treaty's success and the local or national strivings for financial empowerment. As far as site management is concerned, in the case of Vergina, the property's new status had no practical implications in terms of protection and representation. On the contrary for Butrint, the site's status operated as the apparatus that ensured its safeguarding from uncontrolled development and its designation as a National Park. Similarly, the implementation of the plan for Troy's protection by the Turkish National Parks Department seems to be closely related to the site's inscription in the WH list. Regardless of the *active* or *passive* use of the WH status and of its effects on site management, in the case of all three sites, the political and symbolic value of the designation has been truly embraced.

Political actualities, powerful symbolisms and national poetics were the impetus behind Butrint's, Vergina's and Troy's nomination. Butrint's *outstanding universal value* is related to the site's marginal position in Albanian geography and liminal locus in modern Albanian history in light of the Epirus Issue. Vergina's designation was a result of the Macedonian Conflict, a borderland contestation that evolved into a cultural dispute over the land and its past. In the case of Troy, however, despite its symbolic prominence in European and western memory, it was primarily its subsequent integration into state rhetoric and collective memory following Korfmann's

discovery that served as the rationale behind its inscription. In all three cases, borderland nationalism and transnational politics prove to be determining factors in a State Party's decision to nominate sites for inclusion. In examining the cases of Butrint, Vergina and Troy through the lenses of borderland nationalism, it is clearly demonstrated that nationalism is not just a "monogenetic" phenomenon. Elaborated conceptions of the "self" are considerably constructed against some "other" or several "others". Borders define geographically and symbolically the limits of national imagination and regulate conceptions of otherness, albeit occasionally symbolic national borders expand beyond the national ones. In this context, we see how marginal regions and subsequently borderland archaeological sites and monuments lay at the core of national agendas, even when they hold a liminal and ambiguous place in the national imagery or when they are located on non-national territories. In a unique manner, the inclusion of sites of borderland significance in the WH list brings accolades for them and at the same time attests to their -fictitious or not- "outstanding national value". Undeniably, amongst all these efforts to singularise the past by catching public attention and by granting global esteem, there is also evidence of States Parties' aspiration to establish themselves as members of a global imagined community through the politics of difference. Hence, the WH status is more than just an optimal vehicle for ethnic conflicts and nationalistic propagandas; it is a process of signification or better identification in a world composed of "distinctive, territorial nations" (Smith 2001b:441). Thereby currently, apart from legitimising authority over the past and land, UNESCO's WH convention, unlike any other institution of imagining, serves greatly as a platform where identities are built. For instance, following the collapse of Former Yugoslavia, UNESCO's symbolic power offered to the newly emerging nation-states another means of establishing themselves as distinct entities in a world of nationalities, as in the case of FYROM and Montenegro (see Chapters 5 and 8). Along the same lines, Butrint's incorporation into the national narratives and imagination, and its metamorphosis into a landmark of modern Albanian identity was greatly accomplished due to its WH status. Overall, WH nominations and tentative lists function as inventories of landmarks of national identity and images of self-conception. Nominations and tentative lists are not based on random choices. They are the result of meticulous assessments and valuations of the national momentousness and appropriateness of cultural heritage. In the social and political landscape of nation-states not all heritage sites "deserve" a place in the national "hall of fame". Identity

building involves a series of decisions of fastidious, selective and at the same time eclectic character. But most importantly, the presented case studies reflect Balkan politics and the complex history of the region, where borders have firmly determined transnational, both cultural and political interplay. The decision to proceed to an analysis of WHS' role in the politicisation of the past from a regional perspective was thus justified. It has been clear that if the nomination of Butrint had been seen exclusively as a national phenomenon and independently from its historical and geopolitical context, layers of interpretation and the diverse and dynamic aspects of the convention would have been overlooked.

The WHS of Butrint, Vergina and Troy are informative for an additional reason. The shifts in their national and local significance, their passage to World Heritage, as well as the evolution of state rhetoric and academic discourse over the course of their biography, signify the ever-changing character of nation-states. They confirm that nationalisms develop in a rather dynamic and reciprocal way and cannot be reduced to generic categories. Most notably, in open global societies nationalism is far from being extinct. It is omnipresent and omnipotent. For this reason, by exploring the biography of sites as national landmarks, their evolving identity is revealed. It is essential to bear in mind that the identity of sites evolves as people's identity alters, whereas national narratives are constantly regulated by political and social actualities. As discussed in Chapter 8 with regard to Turkey, the Turkish list of WHS greatly mirrors the evolution of state ideology with respect to the Turkish identity. In this context, Troy was nominated only when it fitted the national conceptions of the "self". Accordingly, Vergina's national and global value grew, only when its political and symbolic importance had been significantly raised. In Butrint's case, following the site's designation, from a liminal site in national rhetoric and marginal *topos* in public imagination it has been established as a source of "national pride" and operates "as a testimony of the national dignity of Albanians" according to the MCYS, affirming the legitimising and ideological potency of the WH convention.

Nonetheless, sites are not only imbued with political and national values. First, the aesthetic, use and interpretive, local and global values of a site emphasise on one hand the plural appropriations of heritage, and on the other hand that archaeologists and nation-states are not the sole mediators of value. Multiple actors, from local communities and international organisations to tourists, heritage managers and students get involved in the signification of the past's remains. This plurality of voices,

the multiple layers of meaning and the visual prominence of heritage substantially stem from the new conditions of imagining and openness. Modern media technologies have opened up the arena where identities are negotiated and formed. Cultural pluralism, however, is far from being achieved, as power struggles in the name of the nation did not disappear under the impact of globalisation. Second, it has been shown that the more embodied and experiential is people's engagement with the past, the more complex and idiosyncratic notions they develop concerning the importance of cultural heritage. On the whole, it was demonstrated that the biography of a site is a palimpsest of its past and present, a tale of continuous adoption and negation of stories, myths and functions. It is within this frame that the WH status comes to mark the *afterlife* or *life* of a site, as period or categorisation similar to the Medieval, the Classical or the Roman.

Accounting for its manifold implications and dynamic features, the WH convention has unquestionably exceeded all expectations and has developed into a legal instrument of immense political, social and semiotic power. Thus, it is not wrongly regarded as the most successful treaty in the history of UNESCO. In fact, it is the most representative example of the organisation's ideological orientation and potency. Aside from protecting and preserving world heritage, its salient role in the politicisation of the past impels UNESCO to openly readdress its role. In spite of the organisation's aphorisms on cultural diversity and cultural tolerance, it sees identities as territorially and culturally bounded and often equates cultural heritage with national heritage. More specifically and of equal interest here, apart from assigning monuments and sites to concrete national cultures, UNESCO, through the WH convention, ascribes its own meaning to cultural heritage, a meaning not always compatible with national or local interpretations of the past. As demonstrated in Chapter 8, the WH Committee emphasised the European significance of Vergina and overlooked the Greek State Party's justification for inscription which developed around Andronikos' discovery of the Royal Tombs. This is also the case of Troy, whose "immense significance in the understanding of the development of European civilisation" overshadowed national valuations of the site's past. This, however, did not prevent the Turkish state and media from projecting the WH status of Troy along with its Anatolian identity, regardless of the "assumed" incompatibility of the interpretations. Similarly, although the WH Committee proceeded to Butrint's inscription in the WH list in consideration of its importance as a repository of Classical,

Roman, Byzantine and Venetian ruins, Albanian scholars have actively engaged in substantiating the Illyrian connections of the site. As demonstrated through the examples of Butrint, Troy and Vergina, it is apparent that UNESCO's attitudes often portray European and western views on cultural heritage and are not always in accordance with national or local narratives. Nonetheless, it is not just a matter of incompatibility of interpretations, but often of expectations. Archaeologists, heritage managers and locals (as demonstrated in particular through the example of Butrint) envisage a more active role for UNESCO. Several of them place their hopes on the organisation for economic regeneration, research funding and technical assistance. Nonetheless, until recently, UNESCO's post-designation role was limited and focused mainly on "fragile" or "disempowered" WHS. At the same time, it is remarkable that although in all three examples, the States Parties sought and welcomed the global recognition the nomination brought, and considered it as a means to produce locality, provide credibility and occasionally draw benefits, they were not willing to sacrifice their national individuality by supporting western aspirations and interpretations upon their territorial heritage for the sake of global alliances. Under the current state of openness and exposure, nation-states feel more vulnerable and urge the pressing need to retain and project those traits and qualities that constitute their national identity.

The social and ideological power of the convention is equally reflected at the local level. As shown in the case of Butrint, the WH status, as an added layer of meaning in the biography of the site, can strengthen the past's value in local memory and through the impact of socio-economic revival, can readdress local dialogues with the past. Most of the inhabitants in the environs of Butrint through their embodied experience of the past, either by working for BNP and the BF, living close by the WHS or by exploiting financially (e.g. through tourism) the assets of the property, have developed a sense of belonging; a dynamic association with cultural heritage. Furthermore, for the Albanian government, state initiatives to incorporate the site both in national and local memory by promoting its global and national importance can serve as modern enculturation policies, especially given that cultural and ethnic diversity in this borderland area is strong. Notwithstanding this, the WHS status of Butrint serves as a point of reference and not as a dividing force. As shown, although the locals attach to Butrint their own meaning often according to their diverse identities –and not necessarily in accordance with global reading of the site's values-, they openly entrust their aspirations for financial prosperity and social regeneration to

Butrint and recognise it as a source of local pride. On the whole, material factors and idiosyncratic perceptions of the past greatly regulate the impact of the WH convention on the local realm. Contrary to the Butrint example, in Vergina local people have little or no knowledge of the essence and implications of World Heritage. They invest entirely in the commodifying power of the Vergina Star, emblem of ancient Macedonia, instead of the WH logo. Unquestionably, such attitudes are justified on the basis of the marginal role that the convention holds in the MoC's agenda. As discussed in Chapter 8, the archaeologists working on the site also ignore the scope of the convention and the concrete meaning of the designation. In Troy, even though the MCT acknowledges the dynamics of the convention, local communities have not still embraced the WH status given that, up until recently, the hinterlands of the site remained a restricted military zone. In many instances, it has been rather obvious that local people, as well as local archaeologists and authorities, are unaware of the objectives and practical aspects of the WH convention. This is due partly to UNESCO's failure to properly inform the public about the concept of World Heritage and, partly to States Parties' lack of interest in communicating the importance and effects of designating WHS at a national and local level. Although the local implications of the convention have not yet been fully explored and appreciated from a local, national and academic perspective, it is rather obvious that the WH status' prospects whether financial or ideological and social could empower local communities in unique ways. For a start, the national and international attention that the designation raises in the domains of academia and tourism, could result in stimulating local communities' interest and inventiveness with respect to their role in the signification, negotiation and commoditisation of the past. At another level, the local recognition and embracement of the status' potency in all geographical and cultural contexts will help to prolong the success of the WH convention as a unique instrument.

The local realm has only lately been incorporated into UNESCO's agenda pertaining to the WH convention (see WH Papers UNESCO 2003d; on further activities see further <http://whc.unesco.org/en/activities>). By actively integrating the local realm in its logistics, philosophy and practice, UNESCO could efficiently measure the success of the convention, fully appreciate its implications that move beyond issues of protection and conservation, and finally develop more inclusive strategies that could more appropriately fit to its underlying philosophy. This could be achieved by designing and launching strategies and campaigns that will aim at informing local

communities and the wider public of the benefits of the designation and of its concrete meaning, and at building capacity and appreciation of these properties' momentousness and worthiness of being of *outstanding universal value*. More concretely, UNESCO, could present several examples of success stories such as the case of Butrint, where the integrity of the site was not compromised in the name of development, but as a result of its designation, sustainable development projects have been elaborated in the area with a wish to build respect and responsibility concerning the local cultural and natural values. Thus, it is by instilling respect and creating financially, environmentally, and culturally sustainable communities that the ground is being laid for the safeguarding and preservation of cultural heritage for posterity.

It is also extremely important to recognise the significance of local voices as alternative and genuine readings of the past, often detached from state politics. In this way, nation-states can be examined not only in relation to systemic understandings of identity, but also in conjunction with idiosyncratic and embodied views and processes of self-identification. Insofar, archaeological considerations largely touch upon images of self-conception as expressed by nation-states. In this regard, the locals of Butrint provided a penetrating understanding of the incompatible relation between official and unofficial attitudes, confirming simultaneously that the national realm consists of many locals that operate at different levels. Additionally, these Balkan borderland communities represent the best evidence that the global realm has not overshadowed the local and that homogenisation has not replaced difference. Difference, as exhibited through the example of the local communities of Butrint in this thesis, should not be merely equated with nationalism, since in many cases they seem to have overcome nationalist feelings and to have discovered diverse ways in conceptualising their identity in connection with the past. Hence, given the Butrint case, it could be argued that nationalist narratives are not inextricably woven into all layers of the fabric of contemporary Balkan society. Unquestionably, the cultural, political and economical interplay together with the increasing influence of modern technologies have altered the way in which local cultures perceive themselves and have asserted their position in the global scene. To the disappointment of those supporting the idea that globalisation leads to homogenisation, the case of Butrint exhibits uniquely that in this changing world, local cultures and communities demonstrate remarkable adaptability. Most importantly, the juxtaposition between UNESCO's reflections and the national attitudes and local perceptions or aspirations allows comprehending and visualising

the degree of these perspectives' incompatibility. Although the global realm may not be congruent to the national and the local, that does not mean that they cannot coexist. Certainly people never shared the same values or perceived their identities in the same manner.

Notwithstanding WH convention's shortcomings, WHS are located in a region of fixed assumptions" (Thompson 1979:9) given their public esteem. Moreover, with their symbolic power and their establishment as a "world view" they clearly show that new modes of expression are available for hitherto excluded voices and nation-states. The ratification of the convention and the subsequent inclusion of sites in the list evidently open up communities to the world. This is also facilitated by the spread of new technologies, the escalating power of media and the world's interconnectedness (where and when this is possible). Hence, it is not presumptuous to foresee the ever-increasing role of WHS in global politics, identity formation, as well as in conservation policies, cultural heritage management, cultural tourism, sustainable development and in raising public awareness. Additionally, the process of bestowing World Heritage status to properties functions as a mechanism of signification that can transform sites to *signs*, lifting them beyond the national and local realm (for some this had occurred prior to their WH designation). As *signs* they set apart from those sites and monuments not being considered of *outstanding universal value*. In such context, on several occasions, they grant prestige to those States Parties that nominate sites, to those who live within and close to them, and those who visit them as an illustrious act for the accumulation of cultural capital. Regardless if some skeptics foretell the devaluation of the convention's potency, there is evidence that the States Parties' and the public's interest regarding the convention has not decreased. First, there are countries like Greece which progressively discover the full prospects of the designation. Second, since this research begun, the amount of websites, publications, Internet citations referring to the convention and the WHS, has increased immensely. It is in UNESCO's hands, however, to invent possible ways to retain public interest, strengthen WHS' position in the global arena and invest in its post-designation role since at some point in the future the WH list will inevitably become saturated. It is by appreciating WHS' potential and by endorsing their ideological power and social role that they could serve as paradigms for best practices and evolving ethics, since often those who work for WHS, excavate WHS and live close to them inevitably attract public attention. Hence, WHS can operate as platforms where innovative work can take place paving the way

to facilitate the connection between the past and the present and the public's -be they local communities or visitors- association with cultural heritage.

To conclude, I wish to highlight the WHS' importance for the archaeological practice and thinking beyond management and protection issues. The interest that has instigated the compound character of these sites in the politics of identity, has ensured potential for the development of the field of Politics of the Past. The increase of academic publications and especially their geographical coverage help to fill the existing theoretical vacuum and offer valuable insights into phenomena that are not just typical of the Balkan case. As for this study's contribution to the field of the Politics of the Past, the centrality of the past as an infinite resource in the politics of identity has been once again confirmed. Since it has become an axiom of our times that "a nation stays alive when its culture stays alive" (this is from an inscription at the entrance of Kabul Museum, Afghanistan) and that in several cases irredentism gives place to cultural imperialism, UNESCO seems to provide, to some extent, the means for cultural conflicts. In a way, I would like to argue here that culture has become the element that several international contestations use nowadays to disguise themselves. Most importantly, this thesis, through a comparative study of Albanian, Greek and Turkish national conceptions of the past and of the "self", has demonstrated the entanglement and reciprocity of the politics of identity, and that archaeology has to move beyond national borders. It is true that archaeologists' role and responsibilities have expanded transcending constantly into the political and social realms. Archaeology cannot -and should not- remain "entrenched". Nowadays, the supreme difficulty is to strive to account for all voices and implications in light of globalisation and its accelerated developments. At the same time one cannot overlook that global conditions opened the window to the world of archaeologies of diverse geographies and cultural landscapes.

Notably, a great deal of the discussion is developing around the political role of the concept of World Heritage. Although, WHS often serve as landmarks of difference, it is more appropriate to embrace the role they can potentially play in promoting cultural diversity and establishing an imagined community with a shared interest in respecting others' right to culture. Nonetheless, to achieve this, States Parties have first to embrace the ratification of the WH convention as a *philosophical commitment* (Derrida 1991) to the protection of world heritage. From their perspective, archaeologists have to acknowledge and adopt the political and ideological potency of these properties and

the semiology of the WH convention, in an attempt to follow up with developments that surpass the limits of specific localities and nation-states. Finally, UNESCO has to further and openly embrace the function of WHS in the politicisation of the past and its responsibilities as the mediator of value. Only then, will the greatly "philosophical" and symbolic concept of World Heritage signify "a heritage accessible to all and respected by all".

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Methodology

I used semi-structured and unstructured, open-ended interviews (see Fetterman 1998: 37-40), types that during the fieldwork often overlap and blend. The current conditions in each case dictated the type of interviews. Furthermore, I performed only open-ended interviews, as they leave the response open to the discretion of the interviewee and are not bounded by alternatives provided by the interviewer's constraints on length of the response (Schensul et al. 1999:121). For the purposes of my research, I conducted interviews with heritage managers, archaeologists, visitors, locals and representatives of the local administration and the government. The concepts of identity and past are central, around which I also organised and led the conversations. Recording supplies and devices were also used (see Schensul et al. 1999:133), though, my intention in informal conversations was to only keep notes. In each interview I followed some "pilot" steps. First I mapped the informant, by collecting data regarding his name, age, occupation, origins (especially for locals), and social background. Then by starting from a general point, I proceeded to the more concrete issues of my research. The intention was to leave the interviewees free to express their beliefs and ideas, even though this sometimes could probably sidetracked the conversation.

In order to eliminate the number of unsuccessful interviews, I planned first to try to introduce myself to the possible informants. Therefore, in the first season of my research I did not take any formal interviews, but I mainly made informal conversations. This is essential as my research questions were enhanced and broaden every year, and furthermore, the opportunity to speak more than once with the same informant was further illuminating their perceptions and attitudes. It is important to note that in Butrint, my main case study, I conducted most of the interviews either in Greek or English. Hence only in few instances I required the help of a translator and only while I was conducting interviews in the village of Xarra and Mursia (Albania). It is important to state that all informants were aware of the purpose of this study.

Secondary and archival data

I collected and studied a variety of documents regarding issues of management and decision-making about the sites. Therefore, I visited UNESCO's headquarters and ICOMOS Documentation Center in Paris to investigate their archives in order to illuminate the process of listing and inclusion of the World Heritage Sites. At the same time, I collected data from governmental institutions (as far this was possible), such as the Ministries of Culture, UNESCO's National Commissions, private foundations and archaeological projects (Troia Project and Butrint Foundation), as well as from the local communities or individuals.

Participant observation and observation from a distance

This method refers to the process of learning through the exposure to or involvement in activities of participants in the research setting (Fetterman 1998:34; Schensul et al. 1999:91). For the purposes of the specific research I followed the routines of tourist visits to the sites and participate in any local events. More precisely, in Butrint (Albania) I participated in the organisation of an "open day" for the locals and I assisted in the setting up of Butrint Museum's permanent exhibition. This second observation method helped me to get acquainted with the sites and provided a backdrop to more systematic inquiry (Schensul et al. 1999: 87). I consider it as an essential tool, especially when one conducts indigenous ethnography.

Questionnaires

Aware of the advantages and disadvantages of using questionnaires in surveys, I applied this method only to the site of Butrint and to a specific target group. The Albanian archaeology students working on the site operated as the sample (42 students in total; The first group of students numbered 26 and the second 16). The questionnaires were in Albanian in order to facilitate the process for the informants. The aim was to trace their attitudes towards the past, and their ideas on global heritage and how they perceive their identity in relation to landmarks of the past. For the purposes of this survey, I provided a questionnaire with open and close-ended questions.

Appendix 2

Questionnaire Pjetësor- Butrint 2005

Please answer every question on the appropriate line:

1. Are you

Female Male

2. How old are you?

.....

3. Where do you live (city-region)?

.....

4. What are your family origins (city-region)?

.....

5. Educational Background

High School.....

Bachelor.....

Master.....

Doctorate.....

6. What are you studying?

.....

(Which year?)

1st 2nd 3rd 4th

7. Is this your first visit to Butrint?

Yes No

8. If yes, how many times have you visited Butrint?

1 2-5 more than 5

9. Have you been to other excavations?

Yes No

10. On which occasions you have visited Butrint? (More than one answers)

School Trips.....

With family.....

With friends.....

University.....

11. How did you find out about Butrint (More than one answers)?

From School.....

Family.....

Friends.....

University.....

Media (Newspapers, TV, magazines).....

12. Is Butrint mentioned in school books?

Yes No

13. Which other archaeological have you visite sites?

Apollonia.....

Durres.....

Byllis.....

Other.....

If other define which (can be more than one)

.....

14. Which archaeological site do you think is the most important?

.....

15. In a Workshop held in Butrint in 1998 regarding the significance of Butrint the participants identified the following values:

	Strongly Agree	Some-what Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Do not know
Butrint is a source of cultural identity and national pride					
It is a magical place, full of atmosphere					
It is a place of outstanding natural beauty and natural bounty					
It is a site of great archaeological and historical importance					
It is an important economic resource as a focus for tourism					
It is an educational resource for schools and the general public					

16. Have you heard before for UNESCO's World Heritage Sites?

Yes No I am not sure

17. Do you know that Butrint is an UNESCO World Heritage Site?

Yes No

18. Do you know what is UNESCO?

Yes No I am not sure

If yes please define briefly

.....
.....

19. According to the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports Butrint is a “world property of first class”?

Strongly Agree.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Somewhat Agree.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Somewhat Disagree.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Strongly Disagree.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do not know.....	<input type="checkbox"/>

20. Do you know any other World Heritage Sites

Yes No I do not know

If yes which?

.....

21. Which Albanian site do you believe it should be designated World Heritage Site?

.....

22. Which is the most significant period of Albania's past in your opinion?

Prehistory.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Illyrian.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hellenistic.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Roman.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Byzantine.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Venetian.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ottoman.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
All important.....	<input type="checkbox"/>

23. UNESCO believes that World Heritage Sites belong to everyone. How do you feel about that?

Strongly Agree.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Somewhat Agree.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Somewhat Disagree.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Strongly Disagree.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do not know.....	<input type="checkbox"/>

THE END

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP

Pyetësor- Butrint 2005

Ju lutemi, përgjigjuni cdo pyetjeje në vendin e përcaktuar.

1. Jeni

Femër Mashkuall

2. Sa vjec jeni?

.....

3. Ku jetoni (qyteti, fshati)?

.....

4. Nga janc prindërit tuaj qytcti, fshati?

.....

5. Edukimi

Shkollë e mesme

Universitet

Master

Doktoraturë

6. Për cfarë studioni (dega juaj)?

.....
(Nëse jeni student në shkolle, ju lutemi shenoni në cilin vit studioni?)

1st 2nd 3rd 4th

7. A është kjo vizita juaj e pare ne Butrint?

Po Jo

8. Nëse po, sa here keni qenë në Butrint?

1 2-5 Më shumë se 5

9. A keni marrë pjesë ne germine të tjera arkeologjike?

Po No

10. Për cfarë arsyesh e keni vizituar Butrint (Mund ti përgjigjeni më shumë se një opsioni)

Eksursione Shkolle

Me familjen.....

Me shoqërine.....

Nga Universitet.....

11. Si/nga dëgjuat per here të pare për Butrintin (Mund ti përgjigjeni më shumë se një opzioni)?

Nga shkolla.....

Familja.....

Shaqëria.....

Universiteti.....

Mediat (Gazeta, TV, revista).....

12. A përmendet Butrinti në librat tuaj shkollore?

Po Jo

13. C' vend tjetër arkeoloqjik keni vizituar (ose mbase keni punuar?)

Apollonia.....

Durres.....

Byllis.....

Të tjera.....

Ju lutemi te shkruani emrat e tjerë, mund te jene më shume se një

.....

14. Si mendoni, cili nga vendet arkeologjike shqiptare është më I rendësishem?

.....

15. Në një seminar të mbajtur në Butrint në vitin 1998, pjesemavrësit identifikuan vlerat e me poshtme për sa iperket rëndesisë së Butrintit:

	Jeni dakort Ploteshit	Jeni dakort Disi	Nuk jeni ploteshit dakort	Nuk jeni fare dakort	Nuk keni asnje mendim
Butrinti është një burim I idenitetit kulturor dhe krenarisë kombëtare					
Është një vend magjik me plat atmosferë					
Është një vend me bukuridhe pasuri natyrore të jashtë zakonshme					
Është një qendër me rëndësi te madhe arkeologjike dhe historike					
Është një burim irëndesisheim ekonomit si ry ë qender turizmi					
Është një burim edukumi për shkollat dhe publikum egjerë					

16. A keni dëgjnar në përgjithësi për qëndrat e zrashëgimisë Botërore të UNESCO-s?

Po

Jo

Nuk jam i, e sigurtë

17. A e dini se Butrinti eshtë një nga qëndrat e trashëgimisë Botërore të UNESCO-s?

Po

Jo

18. A e dini se cfarë është UNESCO?

Po Jo Nuk jam e sigurtë

Nëse po, ju lutemi përshkruani shkurtimisht se cfarë dini

.....

.....

19. Sipas Minisrisë së Kulturës, Rinise dhe Sporteve të shiqipërisë Butrinti
është një “pasuri boterore e klasit te pare”?

Juve:

Jeni dakort ploteshit.....

Jeni dakort disi.....

Nuk jeni ploteshit dakort.....

Nuk jeni zave dakort.....

Nule keni asnje mendim.....

20. A njini ndonjë qendër tjetër te Trashëgimisë Botërore?

Po Jo Nuk jam e sigurë

Nëse po, cilin njihmi?

.....

21. Cilën qender tjeter arkeologjike ju mendoni se duhet përfshirë ne listen e gendrave të trashegimisë Botërore.

.....

22. Cila është periudha më e rëndësishme e të shkuarës se shqipërisë, sipas mendimit tuaj?

Prehistoria.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Iliria.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Periudha Helenistike.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Periudha Romake.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Periudha Bizantike.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Periudha Veneciane.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Periudha Otomane.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Periudha Të gjitha janë të rëndësishme.....	<input type="checkbox"/>

23. UNESCO mendon se qundrat e Trashegimise Botore I përkasin gjithsekujt. Cfare mendoni për kete?

Jeni dakort ploteshit.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jeni dakort disi.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nuk jeni ploteshit dakort.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nuk jeni zave dakort.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nule keni asnje mendim.....	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix 3

Selection criteria according to the 2005 Operational Guidelines	
i)	to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius
ii)	to exhibit an important interchange of human values , over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design
iii)	to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared
iv)	to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history
v)	to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change
vi)	to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);
vii)	to contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance
viii)	to be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;
ix)	to be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals
x)	to contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation

Appendix 4

Advisory and Statutory Bodies

World Heritage Committee (WH Committee): It is a statutory body responsible for the decision-making on all matters related to the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, such as the selection of new properties, examination of reports on the state of conservation of listed properties and the allocation of finances of the World Heritage Fund. It consists of 21 representatives from the State Parties, elected every two years by the General Assembly, a body with delegates from all State-Parties. The WH Committee also produced a document known as 'Operational guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention', where all the details regarding the process of listing and monitoring of the listed sites are included.

World Heritage Centre (WHC): It was set up 30 years after the adoption of the Convention in order to assure the day-to-day management of the World Heritage Convention.

Advisory Bodies:

The convention of Paris 1972 triggered the creation of a series of bodies, with different functions and responsibilities and also brought together a number of institutions, which all operate and collaborate under the framework set by UNESCO.

ICUN (The World Conservation Union): It is an international non-governmental organisation engaged with conservation issues. Its role is to technically evaluate natural heritage properties. It was established in 1948 in Gland, Switzerland.

ICCROM (The International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property): It is an intergovernmental body, which provides information on how to preserve and conserve listed properties and also training regarding restoration techniques. The decision to found the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property was made at the 9th UNESCO General Conference in New Delhi in 1956 at a time of mounting interest in the protection and preservation of cultural heritage (<http://www.iccrom.org/eng/about/whats.htm>).

ICOMOS (The International Council on Monuments and Sites): It is an international, non-governmental organisation, founded in Paris in 1965, which evaluates the cultural and mixed properties. ICOMOS is dedicated to the conservation of the world's historic monuments and sites. The organisation was founded in 1965, as a result of the international adoption of the Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites in Venice the year before. Today the organisation has National Committees in over 107 countries (<http://www.international.icomos.org/about.htm>). Therefore, at a national level, each state party has to establish an UNESCO National Commission, which serves as the intermediary among UNESCO, the national Governments, and the governmental institutions responsible for the nomination and protection of WHS.

Appendix 5

Number of World Heritage properties inscribed each year by region

Year ↓	Number of Properties Inscribed	Europe and North America	Asia and the Pacific	Latin America and the Caribbean	Arab States	Africa
1978	12	7	0	2	0	3
1979	45	25	5	2	9	4
1980	27	10	3	3	4	7
1981	26	11	5	3	2	5
1982	24	3	5	4	9	3
1983	29	18	4	5	0	2
1984	22	10	3	2	4	3
1985	30	14	5	4	6	1
1986	29	17	5	2	3	2
1987	41	17	11	9	2	2
1988	27	12	5	4	3	3
1989	7	3	1	0	1	2
1990	16	8	4	3	0	1
1991	22	8	9	3	0	2
1992	20	12	6	1	1	0
1993	33	16	10	6	1	0
1994	28	15	7	4	1	2
1995	29	18	6	5	0	0
1996	37	25	5	3	2	2
1997	46	25	10	6	3	2
1998	30	21	5	3	1	0
1999	48	22	10	12	0	4
2000	61	34	11	12	1	3
2001	31	19	3	4	1	4
2002	9	4	2	2	1	0
2003	24	8	8	3	2	3
2004	34	16	11	2	2	3
2005	24	11	5	4	2	2
2006	18	5	3	3	2	5
2007	22	9	7	1	1	4
2008	27	12	8	3	2	2
2009	13	6	4	1	0	2

(source <http://whc.unesco.org>)

State Parties with the most designated WHS (top 20)

Peru	11
Czech Republic	12
Poland	13
Portugal	13
Japan	14
Sweden	14
Canada	15
Australia	17
Brazil	17
Greece	17
United States of America	20
Russian Federation	23
India	27
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	28
Mexico	29
France	33
Germany	33
China	38
Spain	41
Italy	44

(source <http://whc.unesco.org>)

Appendix 6

Reflections on the WH Designation of Kotor

Official Tourist Website	“The high concentration of the artistic and cultural wealth was recognized in the Kotor Bay, so the town of Kotor was included in the UNESCO list of cultural heritage.” (<u>http://www.visit-montenegro.com/culture.htm</u> [Accessed 12/02/2009])
Local Website	“Kotor is for many the most beautiful place in Montenegro. UNESCO felt the same, and added Kotor to their list of world cultural heritages after the devastating earthquake in 1979” (http://www.access-montenegro.org/eng/kotore.htm [Accessed 12/02/2009])
Tourist brochure	“...Kotor is like a fairytale, a part of world’s heritage, which is protected by UNESCO...You will become richer for a wonderful experience and impression which cannot be seen anywhere in the world. Kotor is the soul of the coast; Reach out to it” (Extract from tourist brochure “Kotor in Pocket” available from Kotor’s Tourist Office issued in 2003).

Appendix 7

Matsuura's recommendation regarding the Jerusalem incident

Following the return of the WHC Technical Mission sent to the Old city of Jerusalem, Matsuura developed his recommendations given the mission's report to the following five points (14 March 2007):

"The Government of Israel should be asked to comply with its obligations regarding archaeological excavations and heritage conservation in World Heritage sites such as the Old City of Jerusalem and, in particular, with Decision 30 COM.34 adopted by the World Heritage Committee in Vilnius in July 2006 on this matter.

The Government of Israel should be asked to stop immediately the archaeological excavations, given that the excavations that had been undertaken were deemed to be sufficient for the purpose of assessing the structural conditions of the pathway.

The Government of Israel should then clearly define the final design of the access structure, whose principal aim should be to restore the Mughrabi pathway without any major change to its structure and shape, in order to maintain the values of authenticity and integrity of the site. A clear work plan thereon should be communicated to the World Heritage Committee in the shortest possible time.

The Government of Israel should be asked to engage immediately a consultation process with all concerned parties, in particular the authorities of the Waqf and of Jordan, the latter having signed a peace agreement on 26 October 1994, and agree upon a plan of action before taking any further action and decision thereon.

This process should be supervised by an international team of experts coordinated by UNESCO and involving in particular structural engineers, specialized in archaeological consolidation works, in order to ensure the most appropriate solution for the restoration of the Mughrabi pathway".

Appendix 8

Maps of the Balkans

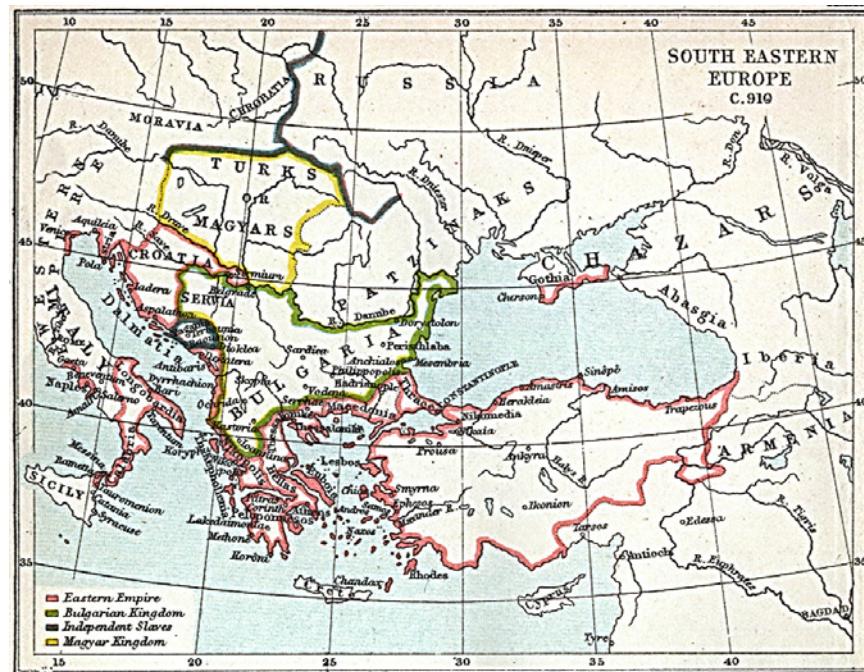


Figure 1. The Balkans C. 919



Figure 2. The Balkans C. 1180



Figure 3. The Balkans C. 1354-1368



Figure 4. The Balkans C. 1672



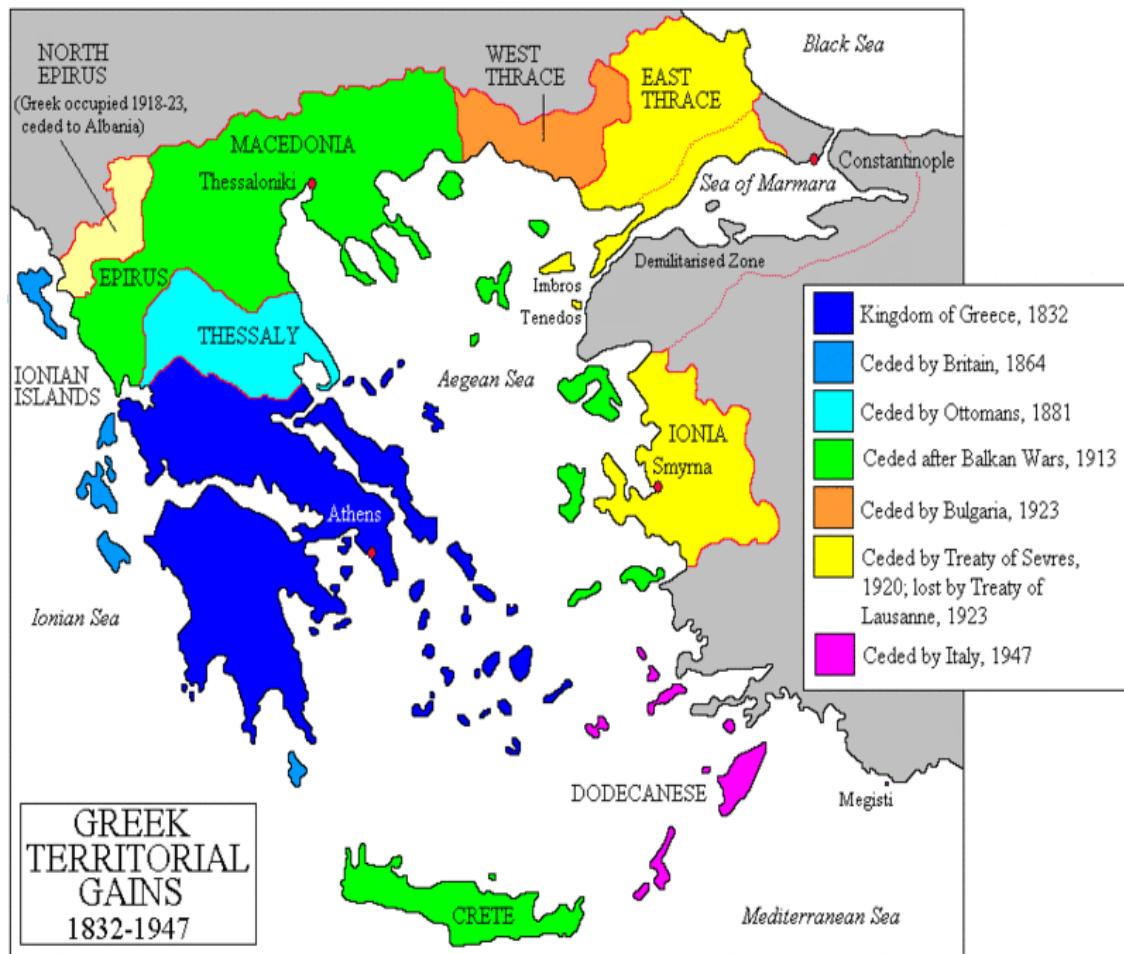
Figure 5. The Balkans C. 1861



Figure 6. The Balkans C. 1881

(The following maps are from the *Atlas to Freeman's Historical Geography*, Edited by J.B. Bury, Longmans Green and Co. Third Edition 1903 (Perry-Castañeda Library Collection- The University of Texas at Austin. http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/se_europe.html)

Appendix 9



Appendix 10

Albania

Date of ratification of the Convention:

10 July 1989

Properties inscribed on the World Heritage List:

Cultural

- Butrint (1992)
- Historic Centres of Berat and Gjirokastra (2005)

Properties submitted on the Tentative List:

- Les tombes de la Basse Selca (1996)
- L' amphithéâtre de Durres (1996)

Appendix 11

Butrint's Open Day promotional material

PARKU KOMBETAR I BUTRINTIT

DITA e Butrintit

JENI te FTUAR te VINI ne Butrint, diten e PREMTE,
Data 23 Korrik, nga ora 17:00 deri ne oren 20:00
HYRJA ne Park, ekskursionet dhe piye freskuese, te gjitha FALAS

ACTIVITET



EKSURSION ME VARKE - TE KALAJA E ALI PASHES: NISJA ME VARKE NGA BUTRINTI NE OREN 17:30, 18:00, 18:30, DHE 19:00. VENDET JAVE TE KUFIZUARA – ME TE PARET PERFITOJME !!



EKSURSION NE FUSHEN E VRINES - PAK MINUTA ETCE NGA BUTRINTI DHE DO TE MUND TE SHIHNI GERMIMET DHE ZBULIMET E FUNDIT ARKEOLOGJIKE TE VRINES: NISJA BUTRINTI ORA 17:30



EKSURSION NE KALANE E BUTRINTIT - NJE CICERON HISTORIK DO T'IU SHOQEROJE NE KALANE E BUTRINTIT DHE RRENOJA TE TJERA: NISJA NGA PRODIHME ARTIZANALE ORA 17:30.



EKSPOSITE NE PRODIHME ARTIZANALE - NISJA NGA ORA 17:00 DERI NE OREN 20:00: OFROHET PIJE FRESKUESE

Organizuar nga Fondacioni Butrint, Shoqata CISP,
Komuna e Ksamilit, dhe Komuna e Xarra
PJESE'MARRES NGA

KSAMIL
XARRA

MURSIA

SHEN DELLI

VRINA

E PREMTE, 23 KORRIK 2004

Appendix 12

Greece

Date of ratification of the Convention:

17 July 1981

Properties inscribed on the World Heritage List:

Cultural

- Acropolis, Athens (1987)
- Archaeological Site of Delphi (1987)
- Archaeological Site of Epidaurus (1988)
- Archaeological Site of Olympia (1989)
- Archaeological Site of Vergina (1996)
- Archaeological Sites of Mycenae and Tiryns (1999)
- Delos (1990)
- Historic Centre (Chorá) with the Monastery of Saint John "the Theologian" and the Cave of the Apocalypse on the Island of Pátmos (1999)
- Medieval City of Rhodes (1988)
- Monasteries of Daphni, Hossios Luckas and Nea Moni of Chios (1990)
- Mystras (1989)
- Old Town of Corfu (2007)
- Paleochristian and Byzantine Monuments of Thessalonika (1988)
- Pythagoreion and Heraion of Samos (1992)
- Temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae (1986)
- Old Town of Corfu

Mixed

- Meteora (1988)
- Mount Athos (1988)

Properties submitted on the Tentative List

- The Palace of Knossos (#) (2003)
- Archaeological Site of Nikopolis (2003)
- Archaeological site of Philippi (2003)
- Lavrio (Ancient Laurion) (2003)
- The broader region of Mount Olympus (2003)
- The Area of the Prespes Lakes: Megali and Mikri Prespa which includes Byzantine and post-Byzantine monuments (2003)
- National Park of Dadia - Lefkimi - Souflion (2003)
- Gorge of Samaria National Park (2003)

Appendix 13

The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

Date of ratification of the Convention:

30 April 1997

Properties inscribed on the World Heritage List:

Mixed

- Natural and Cultural Heritage of the Ohrid region (1979)

Properties submitted on the Tentative List:

- Cave Slatinski Izvor (2004)
- Markovi Kuli (2004)

Appendix 14

Turkey

Date of ratification of the Convention:

16 March 1983

Properties inscribed on the World Heritage List:

Cultural

- Archaeological Site of Troy (1998)
- City of Safranbolu (1994)
- Great Mosque and Hospital of Divrigi (1985)
- Hattusha (1986)
- Historic Areas of Istanbul (1985)
- Nemrut Dag (1987)
- Xanthos-Letoon (1988)

Mixed

- Göreme National Park and the Rock Sites of Cappadocia (1985)
- Hierapolis-Pamukkale (1988)

Properties submitted on the Tentative List

- Ephesus (1994)
- Karain Cave (1994)
- Sümela Monastery (The Monastery of Virgin Mary) (2000)
- Alahan Monastery (2000)
- St. Nicholas Church (2000)
- Harran and Sanliurfa (2000)
- The Tombstones of Ahlat the Urartian and Ottoman citadel (2000)
- The Citadel and the Walls of Diyarbakir (2000)
- Seljuk Caravanserais on the route from Denizli to Dogubeyazit (2000)
- Konya-A capital of Seljuk Civilization (2000)
- Alanya (2000)
- Mardin Cultural Landscape (2000)

- Bursa and Cumalikizik Early Ottoman urban and rural settlements (2000)
- Edirne Selimiye Mosque (2000)
- St.Paul Church, St.Paul's Well and surrounding historic quarters (2000)
- Ishak Pasha Palace (2000)
- Kekova (2000)
- Güllük Dagi-Termessos National Park (2000)

Appendix 15

Balkan WHS

Bulgaria

- Boyana Church
- Madara Rider
- Rock-Hewn Churches of Ivanovo
- Thracian Tomb of Kazanlak
- Ancient City of Nessebar
- Pirin National Park
- Rila Monastery
- Srebarna Nature Reserve
- Thracian Tomb of Sveshtari

Bosnia and Herzegovina

- Old Bridge Area of the Old City of Mostar
- Mehmed Paša Sokolović Bridge in Višegrad

Croatia

- Historical Complex of Split with the Palace of Diocletian
- Old City of Dubrovnik
- Plitvice Lakes National Park
- Episcopal Complex of the Euphrasian Basilica in the Historic Centre of Poreč
- Historic City of Trogir
- The Cathedral of St James in Šibenik
- Stari Grad Plain

Serbia

- Stari Ras and Sopoćani
- Studenica Monastery
- Medieval Monuments in Kosovo
- Gamzigrad-Romuliana, Palace of Galerius

Romania

- Danube Delta
- Churches of Moldavia
- Monastery of Horezu
- Villages with Fortified Churches in Transylvania ¹⁸
- Dacian Fortresses of the Orăştie Mountains
- Historic Centre of Sighișoara
- Wooden Churches of Maramureş