UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Archaeology

The Present of the Past at a time of No Future:
a synergistic art archaeology of the Athenian Acropolis

by

Vassilis Demou

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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<u>ABSTRACT</u>

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THE PRESENT OF THE PAST AT A TIME OF NO FUTURE: A SYNERGISTIC ART ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE ATHENIAN ACROPOLIS

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The long-standing relationship of archaeology with the art of its time is manifested variously throughout its history. In the last three decades this relationship has found a new expression with a handful of scholars making use of art-works and art-making as tools for research and public engagement. Their experiments have so far yielded a small yet substantial number of descriptive and (self-)reflective publications which have hitherto appeared scattered in the literature as unconnected one-off side-projects. However, their careful systematisation and historicisation suggests that they constitute an uncoordinated critique of the modernist legacy of contemporary archaeological practice, and articulate, albeit fragmentarily, a proposition for a new, counter-modern one. In the first part of my thesis I tease out and assemble the pieces of the abovementioned critique and proposition by examining the genealogies and incentives of each project described in the publications (both individually and comparatively). In the second and final part, I build on the lessons learnt from the assessment of these projects' merits and shortcomings to explore the potential of a counter-modern, site-specific ethnographic art installation to counter and deconstruct hegemonic narratives concerning the material remains of the past, and to encourage people to establish more intimate connections with those, using as case-study the Acropolis of Athens in the years of the so-called 'crisis'.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Vassilis Demou

declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

The Present of the Past at a time of No Future: a synergistic art archaeology of the Athenian Acropolis

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;

2. 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;

3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;

4. 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;

5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;

6. 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;

7. None of this work has been published before submission.

Signed:

Date: 11 January 2017

Acknowledgements

Των γονιών μου, μικρό αντίδωρο

Introduction

The long-standing relationship of archaeology with art manifests itself variously throughout the history of the discipline. One of its most recent expressions is the development of a hands-on interest in contemporary art and arts practice. During the course of the past three decades, a handful of scholars have made use of art-works and art-making as research or public engagement tools. The reasons behind their ventures in the art-world, as I shall subsequently demonstrate, are theoretical and socio-historical, and pertinent to a turn-of-the-century crisis of disciplinary identity. Due to the diversity of their authors' incentives, purposes, and areas of expertise, the publications of these engagements appear as scattered dots on the map of archaeological literature. In this thesis I attempt their gathering and systematisation with a three-fold intent: first, to draw the current contours of the phenomenon they attest to; second, to understand the reasons behind the emergence of said phenomenon; and, finally, third, to explore its significance and potential for the way archaeology is practiced by way of a case study, the Acropolis of Athens. As such, the question that this study ultimately seeks to answer is this: *'Does the integration of archaeological and contemporary arts practices articulate a critique of contemporary archaeology and a proposition for a new social role for the discipline?'*

My research question

The story of this thesis begins in 2008, when I moved to Southampton with the intention to pursue application-based research on approaching and communicating the past through art and art-making. Taking the Acropolis of Athens as my case study, I set out to explore the potential of investigating and artfully communicating two aspects of the site that its traditional archaeological management had hitherto largely overlooked or even actively suppressed: first, the intimate, personal meanings attached to it by contemporary Greeks; and second, the parts of its history that have been silenced or eliminated due to their dissonance with the national narrative that state archaeology in Greece has served since its inception (cf. Hamilakis 2007a). The first step in this research was to look at whether other archaeologists had already sought an integration between archaeological and arts practices, and, if so, how. My search resulted in a small number of publications, which, despite their different points of departure and methodologies, appeared to hint at the existence of a shared rationale, albeit perhaps as yet unrealised as such. The close examination of these publications alerted me to the fact that my own work at the Acropolis partook of this same

rationale, which was, essentially, at once a multifaceted critique of current archaeological practice, and a constellation of propositions for a new way of doing archaeology. In light of this, I decided to reduce my work on the Acropolis to a case study in a thesis that would: first, systematise the engagements of archaeologists with contemporary arts practice in order to articulate their collective critiques and propositions; and second, investigate the potential of an integration of archaeological and arts practice informed by said engagements and contemporary archaeological theory as a more socially relevant way of doing archaeology. The relevance of my case study, as will be discussed further on, is therefore more pertinent to the second aspect of this thesis. More precisely, I will attempt to investigate whether the integration of archaeological and arts practices may inform a more holistic and, perhaps, more socially useful approach to the Acropolis.

Disclaimer

Before attempting to answer the question of this thesis, the context within which the engagements of archaeologists with contemporary art and arts practice took place, a clarification of how the term 'contemporary art' will be employed, and a brief summary of my own theoretical and methodological positioning are required. These parameters will be set in the following three sections, after a brief disclaimer concerning my subject-matter.

In this thesis I set out to examine a specific phenomenon in the history of a particular tradition of archaeology, i.e., the 'art turn' of some scholars affiliated with the so-called Anglo-American tradition from the late twentieth century onwards, and *not* the relationship of archaeology with contemporary art in general. This has two implications for this thesis' subject-matter. First, I have chosen not to engage with the work of individual artists inspired by archaeology (e.g., Robertson 2006; 2008). Doing so, would result in a vast body of data, unmanageable within the spatial limitations of a doctoral thesis, but, also, beyond the purposes of this particular one. The only exception I make concerns the work of Mark Dion; the artist's oeuvre, as I shall discuss in §1.1.2 and §2.2.1.b, has been instrumental in opening the discussion in which this dissertation partakes. As such, it could not be omitted.

Second, although I am fully aware of the existence of remarkable isolated examples of archaeological experimentation with arts practice outside the tradition in question since the 1970s (see the case of Dragoş Gheorghiu in Chapter 2), I have chosen not to consider them, but only when they relate to the recent engagements. The reason for this is that they

do not, unless otherwise stated, partake of the critique that the engagements that I examine articulate, and that, rather than claiming to be archaeology proper, they are archaeology-inspired art-projects. As such, they fall under the previous category. Instead, I consider Christopher Tilley's *Excavation as Theatre* (1989) to be the keynote publication in the emergent 'field' under examination here. As I shall explain in Chapter 2, Tilley's article merely hinted at the possibility of integrating archaeological and art practices, but it did so through its path-breaking theorisation of archaeology as a cultural form comparable to another such form: theatre. All engagements that I shall consider in this thesis adhere in one way or another to this vision of archaeology as a cultural form. It is for this reason that I believe that they express a new tendency within archaeological thinking, and, deem their examination instrumental in understanding the problems of contemporary archaeological practice.

Context

The idea of juxtaposing archaeology with other cultural forms only caught on in the late 1990s and early 2000s, when Interpretivism (also known by the term Post-Processualism) had already established itself as the dominant educational paradigm in archaeological theory, and the first 'hybrid' experiments shyly appeared. By that time, the Interpretivist theorisation of the 'archaeological record' in linguistic terms (as text) had struck a blow against Positivist objectivity: as with words, the meanings of archaeological finds were not innate but attributed by those interpreting them, i.e., those seeking to understand them in light of inevitably subjective processes. This development shook the foundations of archaeology by challenging not only its methods but also its purpose. If archaeology could not retrieve the truth about the past but only piece together *a* truth out of its material leftovers, why did we need it? Re-visiting the foundations of the discipline was necessary to address this question and many archaeologists did just that. The turn of the century witnessed a wave of self-reflexive meta-archaeological publications re-examining and re-negotiating the processes of excavation (e.g. Hodder 2003), teaching (see papers in Dowson 2004; papers in Rainbird & Hamilakis 2001) and (re-)writing the past (cf. Fagan 2006; Joyce 2002; Pluciennik 1999). The main incentive behind this inward turn was a desire to understand what archaeologists do, why they do what they do in the way that they do, and whether they could do things differently. At the same time, this exercise in self-reflexivity provided a golden opportunity to try and make archaeology more accessible, socially inclusive, and relevant – an endeavour instigated by a curious interplay of

changing disciplinary ethics and external pressure for the popularisation of research funded by public monies (see papers in Merriman 2004). Thus started accumulating a new body of work experimenting with various literary genres to explore other, more user-friendly, ways of writing and telling (cf. Bender 1998; Demou 2002; Praetzellis 2000; 2003; and papers in Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1998). Due to the familiarity of archaeologists with linguistic (and sometimes literary) theory (and, of course, with writing), these publications at first glance do not seem to differ much from standardised academic ones. One might argue that their only difference lies in the fact that they are targeted towards wider audiences. However, in my opinion, they are more subversive than they are given credit for. Working at the interface of academic and creative writing, their authors have exposed not only the differences between the two literary genres, but also their similarities. The most striking of those being the fact that, regardless of their degree of dependence on 'facts', 'evidence' or 'truth', both types of texts are essentially subjective utterances of their authors, who are thus *embedded* in them. As such, they are both cultural forms, distinct yet frequently overlapping.

Contemporary art

As suggested earlier, due to their common medium, text, the overlap between creative and more standard academic writing is not very noticeable. However, the same cannot be said about the overlap of archaeology with other cultural forms, like the visual and the performative arts which this thesis is concerned with. In the engagements of archaeologists with contemporary art, which were also facilitated by the theoretical and socio-political context outlined above (and, in the case of the United Kingdom, the popularisation of contemporary art in the 1990s), the transgression of disciplinary boundaries is far more pronounced. Yet the engagements of some archaeologists with contemporary arts practice are not in principle different to others' engagements with experimental ways of writing. I think it possible that this inconsistency is the product of a double-standard: with writing being an essential part in the formation of an archaeologist and Interpretivist archaeological theory relying heavily on linguistic and literary theories, most archaeologists are familiar with the fact that writing is a complicated and dynamic act, while their understanding of contemporary art theory and art-making is comparatively limited. Influenced by traditional discourses about ancient art, most archaeologists seem to subscribe to an understanding of all art as representational and self-explanatory. Such theorisation of art is, first of all, inconsistent with current archaeological theory which, as

argued earlier, has long now got over the idea that things have innate meanings, and problematised the concept of representation by exposing the dynamic nature of the interpretive process. Should one, however, be willing to ignore this inconsistency, they might find that this paradigm of art might, arguably, be useful for the study of art-works created within a known representational tradition, as is the case of classical Greece or Renaissance Italy, but its imposition on prehistoric, modern or contemporary art-works does not necessarily work. Due to its centrality in this thesis, I believe it is worth taking a moment here to consider the case of contemporary art, in particular, in slightly more detail.

By the term contemporary art, I refer to the constellation of art-movements that emerged between the end of World War II and the present[1]. Despite the fact that the term is little more than an umbrella concept encompassing diverse artistic currents that emerged and flourished within this time-frame, it is characterised by a certain attitude. Contemporary art-works not only share a displeasure with the institutionalised elitism and social irrelevance of the 'High' modern art that they succeeded, but are the direct expressions of that displeasure. Each movement has manifested this differently. Pop artists, for example, shocked the art-scene by dragging street graffiti and popular culture into the gallery, and art-works out of it. They transformed the popular into art and then returned it to the public sphere to become re-incorporated into popular culture once more; they made art socially relevant at a time when it had started to concern less and less people. Conceptual and Performance art, on another note, emerged as art-forms out of a desire to break with the traditional system of the Fine Arts. By giving priority to the ideas behind an art-work, conceptual artists confronted the legacy of aestheticism in art and raised questions concerning the materiality of art-works. Through their oeuvre they argued that works of art were not just beautiful objects, but social and/or personal statements. In that they shifted attention from the art-object to its hermeneutics. Cutting through the established art-forms, performance artists, in their turn, amplified this shift by turning the spotlight from the art-object and its meaning to the audience, thus making people real-time interpreters, and an indispensable element of the art-work. Long gone were the days of the idea of the artist as a romantic *maudit* pouring their soul on canvases that no one would ever lay eyes on. For financial, ideological, or other reasons the consumption of the art-work would take centre stage in contemporary art. For this reason, contemporary art-works are largely expressive

[1] There are two rival definitions of contemporary art. The first, a rolling definition, regards as contemporary all art produced within the last 10, 20, or 30 years. The second qualifies as contemporary all art produced

of a constant re-negotiation of art's positionality within society, and may be considered to be social commentaries if not outright ethnographic endeavours.

It becomes clear, then, that the imposition of representational paradigms on contemporary art is inappropriate. Moreover, it is rendered even more problematic when archaeologists decontextualise and appropriate the *techniques* of a contemporary art-work, art-form or genre in order to use them to their ends – the interpretation of material culture, communication of interpretations, self-reflection concerning their practice, and so forth. Such appropriation, I believe, unlike other types of productive appropriation which I shall discuss later on in the course of this dissertation, is not only stagnant and counter-productive, but also damaging.

Theory and methodology

I commence this thesis with the conviction that a politically aware and theoretically informed integration of archaeological and arts practice could not only be fruitful as an interpretive, communicative or reflective tool, but also instrumental in the re-negotiation of (the public appeal of) the practice of archaeology altogether. Through the evaluation of the merits and shortcomings of the archaeological engagements with contemporary art, I wish to investigate whether archaeological art can be a successful strategy for the deconstruction of hegemonic and oppressive narratives that dominate both the material traces of the past and the role of archaeology in contemporary society. As I explained previously, my reading of said engagements is that they may simultaneously constitute elements of both a partially articulated critique of current archaeological practice and a constellation of propositions for doing things differently. It is with the hope to infer what I perceive as a new tendency in archaeology that I shall undertake an overview of these engagements within the contexts that produced them (Chapter 2). Its inference might offer a resolution to the still on-going crisis of identity that institutionalised archaeology suffers in a world condemning the modern idea(l)s it was created to serve.

I have chosen to construct my argument by way of a case study, which, rather than illustrating a library-based theory, will allow me to tailor one through and for it. Thus, by virtue of its site-specificity, my work aspires to openly refuse to become a framework, a cure-all or an archaeology of contemporary art. My case study will be the Acropolis of Athens, one of the most iconic, complex, and politically loaded archaeological sites worldwide, and one that is of great importance to my cultural and political identity as a

Greek and as an archaeologist working in Greece. I very briefly explain: The so-called 'Sacred Rock', a feature that has attracted the attention of humans from the Neolithic to the present, became in the early nineteenth century the physical embodiment of the then emergent modern Greek nation-state by way of its appropriation and (com)modification by archaeology. Archaeology, whose role in the process of nation-building in Greece and elsewhere is well-documented (see Hamilakis 2007a for Greece, also Díaz-Andreu 2007; Díaz-Andreu and Champion 1996), was employed to create monuments of the nation's Golden Age, fifth century BCE Athens. In the case of the Acropolis, the production of the site as we know it today entailed the destruction of most of its pre- and post-classical features and the reconstruction of the classical buildings. The demolition of all things 'non-Greek' did not only shrink the history of the Acropolis from five millennia down to a period of less than a century, but also had very serious supremacist connotations: modern Greeks were direct (biological or cultural) descendants of the classical Greeks; all others before or between them, Macedonians, Romans, Byzantines, Ottomans, and so forth were invaders, disturbers of the continuity, and the traces of their presence on the 'Sacred Rock' taints that needed clearing away. The elimination of the non-classical past was essentially 'a triumph of Hellenism over barbarism', a very appropriate and justified symbolism for a nation-state that had only months earlier gained its independence after a prolonged and bloody struggle and was now in desperate need of an ego-boost. A hundred and eighty years on, however, and despite the dramatic changes in the cultural makeup of Greece and archaeological ethics, the classical (read: national) past is still prioritised by the state archaeology at the expense of all other phases. This is especially noticeable in the case of the Acropolis, as attested by the exhibits of the New Acropolis Museum. The establishment of a hegemony of finds according to their age is symptomatic of a modern attitude towards the past, once relevant (e.g., nineteenth century nation-building) but now out-dated (at least in my opinion) due to its inconsistency with contemporary liberal ethics. By way of its nation-centrism, archaeology is rendered memory-design, determining what is to be remembered and forgotten (see Hamilakis 2011a), and its practitioners (re)producers of the national narrative.

Due to my aversion to all kinds of supremacism (no matter how implicit, covert or banal), and, by extension to nationalism, as well as my Interpretivist formation, I feel uncomfortable working within the modern paradigm of archaeology-as-memory-design. Hence stems my desire to explore whether an integration of archaeological and contemporary arts practices could encourage a less passive and more intimate mode of

engagement of people with ruins and leftovers of past human activity – whether it could allow them to discover and share the ways in which their life is tangled with these ruins and leftovers.

My encounter with the Acropolis entails the creation of an ethnographic art installation. Archaeological approaches to the past tend to focus predominantly on physical remains, less on their representations (cf. Moser 1998), and even less on their contemporary appropriations by non-archaeologists. Yet the past is constantly under construction. From Roman coins to accounts of eighteenth-century travellers and the Parthenon Sculptures in the British Museum to its Google Earth tour, the Acropolis is reconstituted in transactions, books, public debates, and the Web, independently of its physicality. What is more, as attested by its long-standing conservation project, even the physicality of the Acropolis is not fixed, but under constant renegotiation; and so is its meaning. It was for this reason that I decided to adopt an ethnographic approach to it, one that would simultaneourly show and investigate how the site has been and still is actively reconstituted through its appropriations past and present.

Emphasising the fact that all archaeological practice is in essence *construction* of (regimes of) truths rather than *retrieval* of the true past, with this installation I aimed to simultaneously expose the dynamics underlying the construction and maintenance of the national narrative and encourage the re-interpretation of the Acropolis in more personal and intimate ways. I aimed to do this by juxtaposing the nationalist appropriation of the Acropolis by the state via modernist archaeology with other appropriations of it, but also by bringing to the fore its everyday, counter-monumentalising uses (e.g., as a podium for political expression) in my ethnographic art installation at its foothill. My wish was to publically expose *all* archaeological practice as inter-subjective and relational and to encourage people to re-connect with the Acropolis by producing their own narratives of it. If successful, this experiment would hopefully deconstruct, albeit at a very small scale, the hegemony that modern archaeological practice has established over the materiality of the past and propose a new role for archaeology: from memory-designer to provider of primary and secondary material for personal memory-work.

Chapter outline

This thesis comprises six chapters. These are arranged in two parts. In the first one, Chapters 1 through 3, I shall lay its theoretical foundations through a presentation of the

context within which my research question becomes meaningful. In Chapter 1, I shall provide the background to my thesis by narrating the history of the relationship between archaeology and art. I shall argue that both concepts are selective elaborations on overlapping sets of power-yielding pre-modern ideas and practices concerning materiality and memory. Due to their common origins and subject-matter, archaeology and art, even as distinct institutionalised disciplines, have always maintained strong bonds. These bonds are vividly manifested in academic traditions (such as classicism), where archaeology is almost synonymous with art history. They also find other expressions, sometimes subtler, as was the impact of Primitivism in the reconsideration of Cycladic figurines, and sometimes more direct, as is the case of the recent 'art turn'.

Chapter 2, which is essentially my literature review, will be exclusively dedicated to the examination of the publications constituting this 'art turn'. Through the classification of the engagements they describe according to their purpose and the examination of their genealogies, I wish to infer the deeper incentives behind them. I will start by dividing the engagements into three very general categories according to their intended function. Some of these engagements are meant to facilitate the re-interpretation of a site, while others are employed as devices for the communication of interpretations, or even used as mirrors for self-reflection. Following this, I shall review each engagement separately by situating it within its particular context. Thus I hope to tease out the breaks with conventional archaeological practice entailed in each engagement and the propositions articulated. Finally, I shall bring all the engagements together in order to summarise what they would express if they were to be considered as a movement within archaeology.

After organising the engagements of archaeologists with contemporary arts practice into a movement, I will proceed with the situation of this movement within current archaeological thought. Thus, in Chapter 3, my theory and methodology chapter, I shall provide a very brief critical overview of the theoretical developments of the last two decades with particular focus to those articulating a critique of modern archaeology and a proposition for counter-modern ones. I shall close this chapter with a brief review of archaeological ethnography and explain its relevance to my thesis.

The second part will be dedicated to my case-study. Chapter 4, which will herald it, will provide an illustrated account of the Acropolis' history in order to introduce the site and render clear the reasons that I have chosen it for my ethnographic art installation. The chapter will begin with an account of the history of the Acropolis from the Neolithic to its destruction by the Persians in 480 BCE, which will be followed by an account of the

Periclean Acropolis' appropriations from the fourth century BCE to its transformation into an archaeological site in 1834. Consequently, I will present the genealogy of the modern image of the Acropolis and the challenging thereof by contemporary Greek artists and other cultural producers in the time that this research has been on-going – the period of the so-called 'crisis'. The role of this chapter, and its final paragraph in particular, will be to remind that this thesis is being written from a specific vantage point within a specific socio-historical context that will be reflected in the ethnographic art installation.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 will be dedicated to the design, execution, and evaluation of the ethnographic art installation which I have called 'Sub/Liminal Ethnographies', and whose purpose is two-fold: on the one hand, to allow participants to tell me *their* story of the Acropolis, and on the other, to encourage them to take up the role of the archaeologist, realising the limitations and choices that their 'finds' pose. By this installation I hope to make a statement about archaeology and the Acropolis, and to 'measure' the willingness of people to play with a sacralised object. Chapter 5 will start with a brief history of collage, the art-form whose logic all three components of the installation adhere to in order to explain the thought process behind the latter's design, and will conclude with the presentation thereof. Chapter 6 will offer an account of the installation's testing in my fieldwork in Athens in April 2013, as well as its unexpected transformations, and announce its findings. In Chapter 7 I will expand on my work on the Acropolis through an analysis of its findings in light of the socio-historical context within which it took place, and a self-critique of my project as a whole. Finally, my conclusions chapter will reflect on the potential of the integration of archaeological, anthropological and arts practices in the production of more socially relevant and meaningful pasts.

Chapter 1: *Powerful Origins:*
art & archaeology through time

The recent engagements of archaeologists with contemporary art and arts practice are a new manifestation of the long-standing relationship between archaeology and art. The aim of this chapter is to give a concise account of this dynamic interplay in order to provide the background against which these engagements can become meaningful. Studying them in light of their genealogy will allow us to identify (in the next chapter) the elements of contemporary archaeological practice they react to, and in relation to which they articulate their propositions. In terms of organisation, the chapter is divided into three parts. In the first, I wish to draw a distinction between the *concepts* of archaeology and art and their homonymous *institutions*. I will define the latter as modern, institutionalised elaborations of the former, which I consider to be constellations of diverse ideas and practices potentially facilitating the exercise of power over and through materiality. In the second part, I will attempt a brief overview of the socio-historical conditions that necessitated the selective systematisation of said ideas and practices into two separate institutions. Finally, in the third part, I will try to demonstrate how, even as two distinct institutionalised practices, archaeology and art have continued to influence, if not condition, the aesthetics, ethics, and poetics of each other.

1.1   The 'archaeological' and the 'artistic'

The discipline of archaeology and the system of the Fine Arts are both modern constructs. Their coinage was necessitated by particular socio-historical processes to accommodate specific social needs and interests. These I shall try to describe in the following section. First, however, I shall consider the very ideas and practices that are at the heart of these institutions, the stuff that they are made of: the *archaeological* and the *artistic*. By way of two examples, one ancient and one contemporary, I will try to show that the *archaeological* and the *artistic* became *archaeology* and *art* because of, albeit not exclusively, the usability and exploitability of the material traces of the past and of aesthetics for political reasons.

1.1.1   From *archaiologia* to archaeology

The discipline of archaeology is not the only way of engaging with the materiality of the past. Nor is it the only way to construct knowledge through it. Yet its practitioners are often considered (and in many states are legally designated) to be the sole authorised agents to do so. Thus, far removed from its etymology (=discourse concerning all things ancient), the term 'archaeology' is today synonymous with its modern, institutionalised and professionalised incarnation. On the public sphere, this association is diversely reflected in the employment of the term to evoke authority by the Media, (e.g., through the portrayal of archaeology as scientific retrieval of the one true past), by popular culture (e.g., through the tired reproduction of orientalist and colonialist stereotypes of archaeologists rescuing artefacts from restless, ignorant natives [cf. Hall 2004; Holtorf 2005; 2007]), and, occasionally, by museums (e.g., through the neo-colonialist 'Universal Museum' discourse [cf. Curtis 2006]). Most importantly for the purposes of this paragraph, it is also reflected in the treatment of archaeology as a singular product of a singular modernity in theoretical and historical accounts of the discipline.

Although they recognise that humans have engaged with the material traces of the past since, at least, antiquity, historical accounts of archaeology tend to disqualify these engagements from constituting archaeology. This is owed to the fact that archaeology is defined not only on the basis of a checklist of acceptable archaeological practices, but also the idea that it is about the construction of knowledge about the past. This theorisation of archaeology as a uniform academic endeavour pertinent to the process of western European modernity automatically discredits any pre- and alter-modern engagements of people with the material remains of the(ir) past as naïve. Julian Thomas makes this clear when, with reference to pre-modern archaeological practices he argues that

> while these cases demonstrate an awareness of the remains of the past surviving
> into the present, there is no sense in which these remains were being used as
> evidence in the construction of a systematic knowledge of a past society, or of the
> diversity of humankind. So, arguably, while these early excavators were *addressing
> the archaeological*, they were not practising archaeology. Such a practice could
> only come into being once a particular series of understandings of humanity, time,
> and materiality had developed.
>
> <div align="right">(Thomas 2004:4; original emphasis)</div>

On the one hand, Thomas' definition of archaeology presupposes that there is only one archaeology, and that that is the product of a specific process – modernity. However, this is not the case for at least one archaeological tradition. As Yannis Hamilakis (2007a) has

recently argued, Greek archaeology is a peculiar hybrid of the western modern tradition that Thomas describes, Winckelmannian classicism, and pre-modern indigenous beliefs and practices concerning antiquity (which he collectively qualifies as 'indigenous archaeologies' [cf. Hamilakis 2008]). The fact that the Acropolis is still referred to as the 'Sacred Rock' and the Parthenon sculptures are anthropomorphised in much archaeological discourse somewhat betrays the syncretic origins of a tradition that to this day maintains an affiliation with pre-modern animism, even if that animism is simply alluded to symbolically (see Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999). Through its idiosyncratic experience of western modernity, then, this tradition could be characterised as the product of a different process, or a different modernity, indeed as an alter-modern archaeology, but an archaeology nevertheless (see Hamilakis 2008; Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009; Hamilakis and Momigliano 2006). On the other hand, Thomas' definition is almost essentialist, because it defines an inherently diverse and rhizomatic practice on account of one sole condition: that its purpose is to produce knowledge. Yet if there is no one singular archaeology but multiple, and they are products of equally multiple modernities, surely their incentives must be multiple, too. Instead of defining archaeology on the basis of what it does, I believe that it is more useful to seek out what enables it to do what it does. The way to do this, is to consider the practices that make up archaeology outside their disciplinary boundaries.

As Alain Schnapp's (1997) thorough examination of archaeological engagements from antiquity onwards demonstrates, none of the practices of archaeology is without precedent. Examples of excavation, collection, even interpretation and reburial of material remains of past human activity abound in pre-modern literature. What is more, it is evident in many cases that those involved had very clear ideas concerning materiality, temporality, and the political dimensions thereof. By way of example I will account here a story given to us by Thucydides, not because it is a first of any sort, but because it allows a different glimpse into the politics of fifth-century BCE Athens (the stipulated golden era of the Acropolis) and thus contributes, albeit indirectly, to the relational biography of this thesis' case-study.

<div align="center">* * *</div>

In the winter of 426/5 BCE a group of Athenians, probably soldiers, were shipped over to Delos on a mission: in compliance with an oracle other than Delphi, they were to perform a purification of the sacred island. The operation, which was funded by Athenian monies,

entailed the disinterment of all burials. In the first book of his *History of the Peloponnesian War*, interestingly titled *Archaiologia*, Thucydides, possible leader of the expedition[2], quite laconically informs us that more than half of the deceased were identified as non-Greeks ('Carians') on account of the style of their weapons and the way they had been buried[3]. Their remains, he goes on, along with those of the Greeks, were carried over to the nearby isle of Rheneia to be ritually reburied[4].

Despite its laconic, recurrent, and suspiciously unconnected presence in a text about the Peloponnesian War (or perhaps precisely thanks to it), the incident provides a good case study for the evaluation of pre-modern engagements with the material remains of the past. The Athenians sailed to Delos on what we would today call a publicly-funded rescue excavation before a developmental project (the purification), entailing first, the excavation of tombs; second, their interpretation through the inference of their occupants' identities on the basis of the way in which they had been buried, and the material culture they had been buried with; and third, the curation of the remains in compliance with the moral code of the time, in this case their shipment to Rheneia for reburial. Apart from the obvious similarities with salvage archaeological projects, which should suffice to qualify this engagement as archaeology, when we revisit Thucydides' story in light of the historical and archaeological evidence, we see that there is more in common between this expedition and modern archaeology.

The 'purification' dictated by an unnamed oracle, which the Athenians consulted probably concerning the great plague that was at the time decimating the population of their city, only took place after the Spartans had already taken Delphi under their influence (cf. Hornblower 1992:185). If we consider the history of Delos, the seat and obvious symbol of the Delian League, a (crypto)imperial coalition led by the Athenians, we realise that this was not just any island. Its religious significance as birthplace of Apollo had been subjected to political exploitation for securing the protection of both the coalition and its treasury, which remained on the island until 454 BCE when Pericles moved it to Athens (perhaps, to the Acropolis itself [cf. Hurwit 1999:139]). The removal of the treasury from Delos, and the use of its funds for the rebuilding of the Acropolis, probably cost the Athenians their influence over their 'allies'. Thus, through the purification of the island – i.e., a major developmental operation funded by them – the Athenians consolidated their

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[2] cf. Hornblower 1992:194
[3] Thucydides I 8.1
[4] Thucydides III 104.2

power over the island and, consequentially, over their 'allies'. This hypothesis becomes even more convincing when we take into account the events that followed the purification. In 224 BCE, about a year and a half after the expedition, the Delphic oracle this time, demanded that the island be purified once more – this time through the expulsion of its inhabitants[5], who had in the meantime become 'polis-less' with no rights over the (sacred) island that bore the bones of their ancestors no more, and on which, by divine (but actually Athenian) order, no one might be born or die. The exile of the Delians lasted just over a year[6] but it was enough to constitute yet another display of Athenian imperialist power (cf. Constantakopoulou 2007:73).

Excavations conducted in Rheneia in the late nineteenth century under the direction of Greek archaeologist Dimitrios Stavropoulos revealed that the reburials were all Attic (Rhomaios 1929). This means that the bones of the "Carians" (who must, in fact, have been Mycenaeans [cf. Long 1958:305]) did not receive the same treatment. In light of this discovery, Thucydides' infusion of this incongruous anecdote in his account of the Peloponnesian War can be explained as little more than propaganda.

<center>* * *</center>

This is only one of numerous recorded examples of people's pre-modern engagements with the material remains of their past that challenge Thomas' argument that archaeology was made possible only through the development of 'a particular series of understandings of humanity, time, and materiality'. From the above incident and its analysis it becomes apparent that the Athenians involved in (the design of) the operation in question had a good enough understanding of the significance that these remains held for the present to mobilise and manipulate them to their benefit. The fact that their primary intention may not have been to construct knowledge about the past (which they, nevertheless, did), but rather to use its materiality for the legitimisation and promotion of their interests does not disqualify their actions from being called archaeology. The history of the discipline, with its notorious 'abuses,' reminds us that the construction of knowledge has not always been at the top of the list of archaeologists who were officially recognised as such. Nazi, Soviet, and Apartheid archaeologies, to name the usual suspects, are part of the history of the discipline and their evaluation and rightful condemnation as abuses occurred in retrospect on the basis of renewed and renegotiated ethical, political, and aesthetic sensibilities.

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[5] Thucydides V 1
[6] Thucydides V 32.1

Rather than being razored off from the history of the discipline, these dark pages are treasured as well-learnt lessons of immense significance for the shaping of our practice into what it is (and, perhaps more importantly, what it is *not*) today. For all intents and purposes of history, bad archaeology is still archaeology.

Either as *archaiologia* or as academic discipline, archaeology owes its existence more to the imbuement of the materiality of the past with significance and authority than to an innocent desire for the construction of knowledge about the past. The ways in which this authority is perceived and managed at different instances in its history (e.g., through the renegotiation of disciplinary deontological and epistemological protocols) is what determines what counts as archaeology at any given time. In the next paragraph of this section I aim to show that the same mutability applies to the concept of art, whose contemporary practitioners have been very open about it.

1.1.2 From *techne* to art

Discourses about art traditionally begin with the Athenian philosopher Plato, whose contribution with reference to this section is twofold: first, he provided a definition; second, he alerted us to art's political power. In his *Republic*, written around 360 BCE, he opined that art is *mimesis* – imitation of reality. This statement was made in reference to dramatic poetry, rather than our more familiar (and much later) concept of the institutionalised 'Fine Arts' ensemble. However, it clearly reflected the art paradigm of the time, whose criterion for measuring artistic competence appears to have been the achievement of verisimilitude[7]. Plato found this simulation of reality and its effect on citizens disturbing. The *Republic* is, in essence, a proposition of a model for a (e)utopian, ideal state whose citizens' rationality would get it ticking like a well-oiled machine. The harmony of this utopia was potentially threatened by poetry, which could provoke destabilising emotions to the citizens and cause chaos. Poetry, he contended, addresses the

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[7] Popular stories like the one about the contest between the 5th century BCE painters Parrhasius and Zeuxis are well-cited attestations to this: "[Parrhasius], it is recorded, entered into a competition with Zeuxis, who produced a picture of grapes so successfully represented that birds flew up to the stage-buildings [in the theatre where the pictures were hung]; whereupon Parrhasius himself produced such a realistic picture of a curtain that Zeuxis, proud of the verdict of the birds, requested that the curtain should now be drawn and the picture displayed; and when he realized his mistake, with a modesty that did him honour he yielded up the prize, saying that whereas he had deceived birds Parrhasius had deceived him, an artist. It is said that Zeuxis also subsequently painted a Child Carrying Grapes, and when birds flew to the fruit with the same frankness as before he strode up to the picture in anger with it and said, 'I have painted the grapes better than the child, as if I had made a success of that as well, the birds would inevitably have been afraid of it'" (Pliny the Elder, Natural History 35.65 translated from Latin by Harris Rackham).

emotions of a person, not their mind. Therefore, it is socially dangerous and, as such, it should be censored and poets banned from the ideal city. This acknowledgement of the power of poetry (and art), which is often overlooked by scholars, is of paramount importance to this thesis, because, rather than rendering art-works self-evident objects for aesthetic contemplation, it conceptualises art-making as a *cultural form*. It was precisely in this manner that Aristotle understood art when he wrote that the ultimate goal of mimetic dramatic poetry was to guide the audience through to *catharsis*[8]. For him, art was not only socially useful, but also necessary for the education of the citizen, as, through its simulation of an idealised reality, it cultivated empathy and sociability. The role of art, then, was to reflect, to hold a *mirror up to nature* – as Shakespeare would later put it[9] – in order to make sense of it.

The prolonged reign of the mimetic paradigm had a significant impact on how people think about art today on at least two levels. First and foremost, it defined what is and what is not to be called art by creating a system of acceptable art-forms. Plato and Aristotle wrote primarily about poetry, but their theories could be applied to other art-forms. As *techne* (Greek for art) was a very broad concept, meaning something that can be taught and learnt (hence the words technique, technology, and so on), Aristotle singled out five art-forms to which his theory was relevant – Painting, Sculpture, Poetry, Dance, and Music – without, however, excluding other possibilities. His only condition was that they were to be imitative. The looseness allowed by his definition permitted established art-forms to fall in and out of fashion and establish hierarchies, and new art-forms to emerge. This lack of solid boundaries and definition of art and art-forms continued until the eighteenth century when a consensus on a system was apparently reached. Instrumental in the modern systematisation of *the artistic* was Charles Batteux's book *Les Beaux-Arts Réduits à un Même Principe*[10] (1747). Using Aristotle's classification as a template, Batteux constructed an order of practices, the 'Fine Arts', membership to which was granted on the fulfilment of the same Aristotelian condition: the art-forms to be included had to be imitative. Whether Batteux's system constituted a breakthrough in current thinking or was merely reflective of a current tendency with a far-reaching genealogy is of no interest here.

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[8] In his famous definition of dramatic poetry Aristotle opines: "Tragedy, then, is an imitation of an action that is serious, complete, and of a certain magnitude; in language embellished with each kind of artistic ornament, the several kinds being found in separate parts of the play; in the form of action, not of narrative; through pity and fear effecting the proper purgation of these emotions" (Poetics 49^{b}24 translated from Greek by S. H. Butcher).

[9] Hamlet 3.2.1-23

[10] The Fine Arts Reduced to a Single Principle

What is important for the purposes of this thesis, however, is its impact on the way we think about art. The adoption and mainstreaming of the system by historians and philosophers of art, especially Paul Oskar Kristeller (1951-1952) and, more recently, Larry Shiner (2001), stabilised the hitherto loose concept of art by proclaiming it a modern construct.

Second, apart from establishing what was to be considered an art-form and what not, the system of the arts has also determined the public expectations from art-works: they should imitate a figure, a landscape, a narrative and so forth. In other words, it has, one might say, conditioned aesthetics to the extent that, if an art-work does not comply with this paradigm, it may automatically be dismissed as un-artistic or even provoke comments like "I/my child could make that!". According to art philosopher Nöel Carroll,

> views like this are presently regarded as philistine – the opinion of people uninformed about art and, unfortunately, unashamed by displaying their ignorance. But that ignorance does not come from nowhere. It is a residue of the imitation theory of art, which theory, until the nineteenth century had […] some empirical credibility. Several things, however, have happened since then to undermine the theory decisively.

(Carroll 1999:23)

The art-as-imitation paradigm indisputably set an aesthetic canon for the appreciation of art. Under its rubric, art had a function: to study and show the world through its aesthetically appealing replication. It should then come as no surprise that the decline of this paradigm coincides with the rise of science and the invention of recording devices. Through their considerably more accurate and easy reproduction of nature, these developments rendered art-as-recording redundant, and forced artists to renegotiate their practice. Thus, ironically, a century or so after its stabilisation and systematisation, art was once more in need of a definition. Different artists and art historians attempted to define it on the basis of an essence common to all art-works from prehistory to the present, or in aesthetic, institutional, and historical terms. The result was a tangle of theories and art-movements which stretched the concept of art beyond recognition and, with it, public aesthetics. For reasons of spatial economy, I shall not elaborate on these theories and movements here, as most of them will crop up occasionally in the course of this thesis. Rather, I wish to reveal a few aspects of the rhizomatic complexity that is art by way of a brief case-study – a contemporary art-work that instigated much of the discussion of which this thesis partakes: the integration of archaeological and arts practices.

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A massive double-sided mahogany chest in a spacious room. Each of its sides bears artefacts retrieved from the Millbank and Bankside foreshores of the river Thames, elaborately organised in groups for display. Visitors orbit around it; they open, close, and marvel at the contents of the numerous drawers; in each one a glass case with yet another assemblage – some tiny shards of an assortment of teapots in this, a few animal bones in that, a bunch of plastic cards in another; oddments...

We are in Tate Britain and this is a Mark Dion – the third and final instalment of the 1999 *Tate Thames Dig* project, a conceptual-cum-performative art-work, whose role has been instrumental in the development of an academic archaeological interest in contemporary art. The cabin of curiosities before us is undeniably a work of art. But why?

Two hundred years ago Dion's *Wunderkammern* would have made more sense as an archaeological endeavour than an artistic one. Regarded as a cabinet of curiosities of the Renaissance tradition, it would probably be considered a holder of natural curiosities and works of art rather than an art-work in its own right. This is because it would not comply with nineteenth-century ideas about art, which, as shown in various instances of this chapter, differed significantly from our contemporary ones. Yet the object in question *is* an art-work for two very simple reasons: first, it was created by a Fine Arts School graduate; second, it is hosted in an art gallery. In other words, it is a product of the art-world, recognised and embraced as such by its members and institutions. The fulfilment of these two conditions would suffice to call it an art-work, according to Arthur Danto's institutional theory of art (1964), which claims that art is whatever the art-world decides it is at any given time. However, this does not explain Dion's *Wunderkammern's* recognition as an art-work today as opposed to its certain rejection in the past. Rather, it defines an art-work on the condition that *it has already been recognised as one*. In order to understand the processes by which an object acquires arthood, a historical approach is required.

Dion's *Wunderkammern* is firstly and foremost a monument, a material reference to the intangible live art performance that constitutes its two thirds. As I shall elaborate on Dion's work with regard to its impact on archaeological discourse about contemporary art in the following chapter, I will for the time being limit myself to a very brief description. *Tate Thames Dig* is a tripartite project. In the first phase, Dion and his team excavated detritus and ephemera from the banks of the Thames. These were cleaned and classified during the second phase. Finally, the curated artefacts were arranged in assemblages and displayed in the purpose-built cabinet in question. This was the third phase (cf. Coles 1999). The first two parts of the art-work were live art performances, i.e., they were acted out theatrically

in the presence of an audience, the role of which was indispensable (hence performances). Live art, which is a branch of performance art, only became an acknowledged art-form in the last two decades or so. Its recognition was based on its affiliation with performance art and with the *happenings* of the 1950s and 1960s, which, in their turn, were essentially elaborations on Dada and Surrealist theatre. The latter were two of the most significant early twentieth-century reactions against the established order and aesthetics hitherto promoted by the system of the 'Fine Arts'. The novel ideas and practices of these artists not only inspired what we today call contemporary art, but also challenged the idea that art is a singular, perennial, and self-explanatory concept, by demonstrating and celebrating its flexibility and mutability.

In this light, it becomes clear that Dion's work constitutes an art-work on the basis of its genealogy, that it did not just happen into existence, and that, in fact, it is the product of a particular historicity. A different instant in which this historicity is manifested is the very content of the art-work and the context within which it was developed. Fuelled by a desire to comment on and play with the modern processes of scientific classification, Dion's oeuvre (and this work in particular), in conceptual art fashion, explores the boundaries between objectivity and subjectivity in the processes of knowledge production. Because of this dedication to the investigation of why and how we know the things we know, it is part of what has recently been termed as art's 'ethnographic turn' (cf. papers in Coles 2000). 'Ethnographic' art-works, i.e., art-works concerned with aspects of the human experience, were very popular during the 1990s and early 2000s, as attested by Hal Foster's ground-breaking essay 'The artist as ethnographer', published in 1996. Dion's proposal for *Tate Thames Dig*, which materialised in 1999, could not have found a better time to appeal to an institution that was at the time regrouping (preparing the opening of the Tate Modern) and was eager to fund a monumental, cutting-edge art-work that would bear its name and become part of its permanent collection.

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Contemporary art, the most recent incarnation of the concept of art, is also its most accurate expression. It quite deliberately evades definition by celebrating its ever-renewable pool of practices. In some cases, old art-forms are re-visited, rehabilitated and mainstreamed. The incorporation of embroidery (an art-form that never made it into the

pantheon of the 'Fine Arts') in the work of Tracy Emin[11] and Andrea Dezsö, for example, is a case in point. In others, new techniques and technologies are invented or imported. The depiction of the miniscule, such as one's own DNA in Pauline Pratt's *Faith*[12], or the vast, like the Hubble Space Telescope's[13] images, constitute an emergent current in contemporary art, while data visualisation is becoming the new cubism, re-training the eye to look at objects and associations in new ways. On the other hand, contemporary art is very honest about its contingence on social, historical, political, and economic developments. Rather than hiding these links, it makes them known, or even celebrates them (as Pop Art did through the appropriation of popular culture) often provoking strong reactions (e.g., see the Liberate Tate activist performance *Human Cost* demanding that Tate Britain discontinue its BP sponsorship). The above examples highlight at once the flexibility with which contemporary art adapts to its surroundings and the power that it yields over them, as it appropriates and reshapes contemporary visual culture and aesthetics. I do not understand flexibility and power as elements endemic in contemporary art, but as inherent in all artistic endeavours from prehistory to the present. Thus, in the section that follows, I wish to demonstrate how the power of art was mobilised alongside that of archaeology as an instrument of distinction and control by the emergent bourgeoisie of industrialised modernity.

1.2   The canonisation of aesthetics and the birth of the discipline

The systematisation of art and the enterprise of the *discipline* of archaeology were equally facilitated and necessitated by post-Renaissance philosophical, technological, and social changes in western society. These changes are pertinent to the project of modernity, of which the two institutions are equally instruments and products. In this section, I wish to elaborate on this interplay as it unravels in current discourse concerning particularly the origins, purpose, and future of archaeology. As it will become apparent, even as an institution, archaeology, like art, is greatly fragmented, for it encompasses diverse traditions that have evolved out of diverse contexts.

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[11] URL: http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/art/features/tracey-emin-craft-work-2004036.html?action=Gallery (Last accessed 11/01/17)
[12] URL: http://www.faithinteractive.co.uk/ (Last accessed 11/01/17)
[13] URL: http://hubblesite.org/gallery/album/ (Last accessed 11/01/17)

1.2.1   Changing perceptions of materiality and time

The term *modernity* is loosely used to refer to the chronological period succeeding the (equally loosely defined) Medieval period, and stretching over to the recent past or even the present. Nevertheless, it is not its problematic temporal boundaries that define modernity as a historical period, but rather a set of profound conceptual changes in people's perception of self, society, and the natural environment. Essential to all these changes was the challenging of fatalistic theocratic cosmovisions that had been of prevalence during the medieval period through the mainstreaming of humanist philosophical ideas. Since the Renaissance, Humanism had begun to question the theorisation of the world as a perfect, passive creation progressively disintegrating to an end by re-introducing humans into the historical process as active agents in charge of their own lives. This new, anthropocentric understanding of the world owed a great deal to ideas about selfhood, personhood, and individuality. At the same time, it was contingent on a more generalised social desire for order and structure, of which the aforementioned ideas were largely symptomatic. On the one hand, this is reflected in the political reorganisation of society and the transition from feudal to larger, national structures, which demanded a profound renegotiation of one's identity and place within society (cf. Thomas 2004:96-118). On the other, it is attested to by the emergence of scientific practices, whose purpose was to understand the natural world and its phenomena through classification and ordering.

Classificatory methodologies were themselves a by-product of humanist philosophy: if humans were active agents and not just passive observers of their gradual demise, then the same should apply to nature. In place of a passive entity in need of a divine puppeteer, nature was reconceptualised as the embodiment of God; "[t]hrough its capacity to unfold and take on form from within itself, nature [bore] the stamp of the divine" (Cassirer 1951:41). Thus, the study of nature at first became a means of understanding divine will, a *theology of things* that ran rival to the traditionalist word-for-word acceptance of scripture. Enhanced by Cartesian rationalism and Baconian empiricism, the emergent scientific paradigm contributed to the disenchantment of nature, and, slightly more indirectly, to the decline of religious conviction. Two ideas were particularly significant: first, the objectivist belief that things are in possession of particular qualities scientifically identifiable, replicable, and exploitable (*objects*); and second, human presence, either as active involvement or observation (*subjects*). It was these qualities of things and their varying ability to preserve the physical impact of human activity in particular that partly enabled the inception of the discipline of archaeology, whose objective would become the

retrieval of the actions of people's past through their (impact on) material leftovers. The Scandinavian, British, and French traditions of (mainly prehistoric) archaeology would be direct heirs of this new take on materiality (see Trigger 1989:73-109), and would constitute a break from the aestheticized antiquarianism that evolved out of a slightly different process, which I shall briefly discuss in the next paragraph.

1.2.2 Social change and the quest for (cultural) origins

Despite the importance of the aforementioned changes in the perception of materiality and time, the institutionalisation of archaeology would not have been possible without a conceptual shift concerning the remains of the past: from heaps of rubbish, the work of giants, and (re)building material, the ruins of the past became *heritage*. This shift was necessitated by the emergence of modernity's characteristic form of social organisation – the nation-state – and its ruling classes.

The nation-state was made possible by the same developments in humanist philosophy that allowed the emergence of scientific practices, i.e., the placing of human agency central stage. If humans possessed the agency to transform their surroundings and master their own destiny, they could effectively pursue to create an administrative system, much more ordered, structured, and precise than feudalism. The new system necessitated the stipulation of boundaries, and what better way to divide people than through the construction of *identity*? As Benedict Anderson reminds us, "no nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind" (2006[1991]:7). The very point of a nation is that it defines itself in its difference from others. For this reason, it presupposes the stipulation of physical and social boundaries operating as catalysts of inclusion and exclusion, or as reference points for self and other; it creates an imagined shared identity not on the basis of face-to-face relations, as was the case in smaller pre-modern structures, but according to fulfilment of certain criteria concerning similarity and difference, such as geography, language, or descent from a Golden Age. Thus, archaeology could assist the realisation of national projects through its ability to retrieve objects and construct knowledge which could provide the material backdrop for the national imaginary.

The rise of the nation as a centralised form of administration has a long causal chain tightly bound with the middle classes. As Jürgen Kocka has pointed out, the collapse of feudalism, either by revolution (as in France) or reforms (as in Germany), contributed to the foundation of an unrestricted, capital-based market economy, through the commoditisation

of land – a development that facilitated the rise of agriculture, commerce, and, later, industrialisation.

> What had been left from the old corporate order was now dissolved or at least severely weakened. Institutional developments differed, but nearly everywhere there was a trend toward more centralization and intensification of government power, toward some control of autocratic rule by bureaucracies or parliamentary institutions, toward constitutional government and due process of law. State building had started much earlier; now it quickly advanced. These fundamental changes were largely brought about by middle-class actors, and they had far-reaching consequences for the middle-class world.

> (Kocka 1995:797)

As wealth progressively became more important than title, the middle classes benefiting from industrialisation and commerce gained in power, and began populating the newly-founded administrative hierarchies. This power shift did not only have political and economic repercussions, but also aesthetic. The middle classes owed, at least in part, their existence to Renaissance humanism, which was in essence a revivalist movement that re-popularised not only individual ancient ideas but the very idea and materiality of antiquity altogether. During the nineteenth century, classical studies, which had in the meantime been imbued with a Winckelmannian historicity (cf. Potts 2000), became a must for the educated person, whose speech, like the art of the time, was replete with allusions to Greek and Roman literature (cf. Trigger 2006:63). Classical knowledge thus acquired the role of token of a necessary taste and status required for class membership (cf. Lowenthal 1985). As such, its control was high on the agenda of the members of the upper-middle classes, who rushed to its production and dissemination through the funding of educational and museum projects (*ibid.*). With particular reference to the middle classes of Britain, Bruce Trigger has argued that, through their philanthropic involvement in the practice of archaeology, their members proudly attached themselves as active participants to the prevailing 'Workshop of the World', thus reassuring themselves that their good fortune was the culmination of an evolutionary process with no foreseeable end (Trigger 1981:141-2). This they achieved through the construction of a worldwide cultural evolutionary chain which sought for origins in pre-industrial societies, by way of the emergent field of anthropology. The essentialist uniformity inherent in early anthropological discourse allowed the theorisation of different cultures as constitutive of different stages in a linear evolutionary paradigm – from 'primitive' and 'savage' to 'civilised' and 'cultured.' By this token, like archaeology, anthropology became at once product and instrument of the middle classes, whose interest in the 'primitives' differed very little from their interest in

antiquity. Both exotic people and artefacts, like ruins and antiquities before them, partook of a genealogy that western Europeans claimed as theirs, and constituted a currency in a shifting aesthetic (and therefore political) economy.

A key player in the formation of this aesthetic economy was art historian and (for German-influenced classicist archaeological traditions 'the father of archaeology') Johann Joachim Winckelmann. His seminal *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*[14], published in the second half of the eighteenth century, was the first attempt to historicise art, which, until that point, had been thought of in terms of its aesthetic qualities. Influenced by the Enlightenment obsession with ordering, Winckelmann organised ancient art-works in conceptual and stylistic clusters which he situated on a linear narrative of rise, acme, and decline. With classical Greek art representing the apogee of human creativity and everything from Roman art onwards standing for decline, Winckelmann set the canon for the appreciation of *all* art (cf. Potts 2000). Although somewhat confused in its oscillation between historicism and aestheticism, Winckelmann's classification in effect established classical Greece as a Golden Age, and the origin of all western European culture. At the same time, his introduction of a classificatory system of artefacts according to their age initiated a new archaeological tradition, complementary to the study of ancient texts: classicism. Now artefacts could be matched to the ancients texts of their time. This predominantly German tradition, with its strong affiliation with art-history, ran rival to the previously discussed traditions that sprouted out of the natural sciences and had an immense impact on the archaeology of the countries in which its subject-matter originated, namely Greece, Egypt, and Italy. Its influence on these traditions has been so strong that even today many archaeological departments operate within an art-historical framework. The Archaeology and Art History department at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, and most departments in United States universities where archaeology is not taught as a sub-discipline of anthropology (e.g., Columbia University, Princeton University), as well as in some institutions in the United Kingdom (e.g., until recently the University of Manchester), attest to the extent and prevalence of this paradigm. At the same time, seen in juxtaposition with the tradition originating in the natural sciences, they constitute an argument against the theorisation of archaeology as a uniform and singular discipline.

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[14] History of the Art of Antiquity

1.3   The mutual conditioning of art and archaeology

The peculiar interplay of natural sciences, anthropology, archaeology, and art-history described above constructed a cultural paradigm, which imagined a linear development of humankind from 'savagery' to 'civilisation'. At the top end of the line was western European bourgeois, who conceptualised themselves as the cultural heirs of antiquity and measured all aspects of their lives by its canons. This is something that is reflected in British and German art of the time, which sought to imitate classical art-works (see Lydakis 1994). This aesthetic-cum-political paradigm remained unchallenged until the mid-nineteenth century, when the fruits of anthropological research among non-western societies expanded Europe's concept of 'origins' to include non-European, 'primitive' art (Rampley 2000:148). The new artefacts brought home by anthropologists would soon be picked up by artists who had been discontent with classicism. Their work, collectively referred to as 'Primitivism' would not only shock the art-world, but also create a new aesthetics. In this section I am concerned with the interaction between art and archaeology and discuss their mutual conditioning by way of an example. I discuss the role played by the Primitivist art movement of the early twentieth century in the commoditisation of Cycladic figurines, their status upgrade from archaeological artefacts to works of art (Renfrew 2003:51-55), and their eventual incorporation into the Greek national narrative, through the renegotiation and expansion of its rigid classical aesthetic (Plantzos 2009).

1.3.1   "This repulsively ugly head..."

Athens, 13 August 2004: The Olympic Stadium has been flooded for the opening ceremony of the 28th Olympic Games, creating an artificial lake, a mediterranean *(in the literal sense of the word) sea. A woman stands at the water's edge cradling the head of a classical sculpture in her arms, while a female voice from the speakers recites a verse from Giorgos Seferis'* Mythistorema*: "I woke up with this marble head in my hands;/it exhausts my elbows and I don't know where to put it down./It was falling into the dream as I was coming out of the dream/so our life became one and it will be very difficult for it to disunite again[15]." Softly, the figure of a centaur archer fades in in the background. His arrow shot towards the centre of the lake meets the gigantic head of a Cycladic sculpture slowly emerging from the water. Hanging high over the water for all to see, the head becomes a surface for the projection of geometric shapes before exploding into eight irregular pieces*

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[15] Seferis, G. 'Mythistorema' 3 (translation by Keeley and Sherrard 1967)

nesting a kouros statue. The kouros, in its turn, will split in two to reveal a classicising headless and limbless statue alluding to Praxiteles' Hermes. This, too, will divide into four pieces, which, along with all the other fragments that had so far been hanging in the air, will feather their way down to the water to form the Aegean islands. As they touch the water, the woman slowly walks out of the scene.[16]

The allegory (unsurprisingly 'Allegory' is also the title of this part of the ceremony) is powerful: the stereotypical (and very orientalist) popular image of the Greek woman as a black-clad, dark-haired amalgam of ancient tragedy, rural idyll, and early twentieth-century bourgeois chic, is holding the head of a male sculpture in her arms. Although her gesture could initially be mistaken for maternal, the interjection of Seferis' verse allows a different reading: this woman is *Greece herself* (Greece, like most country names, is feminine in the Greek language) waking up to the exhausting burden of a heritage that she does not really know how to handle. In order to understand it, she needs to (re)dream her history (cf. Gourgouris 1996). The dream begins with the centaur – a symbol often understood as the embodiment of dualities (human:animal, mind:body, reality:myth, and so forth) – shooting an arrow to point at or even (pro)create a linear narrative of national origins told through an evolutionary paradigm of creativity. Cycladic simplicity marks the beginning of this *dream of marble*[17] which culminates with the revelation of the final, classicising sculpture, the explosion of which will *create* the very land of Greece – a conclusion that will satisfy Greece herself who, with a slow yet proud gait, will leave the scene suggesting not only that she has understood what this marble head is and why she is carrying it, but that she is contend (if not proud) to continue carrying it behind her, as an extension to her being (or even a physical appendix), while moving forward. Greece has redefined her identity and place for herself *and* the world (Seferis' verse was interestingly recited in English and not in the original Greek) through her heritage and can now step aside and let life (and the games) go on.

Although both the gender dynamics of the performance and its narrative of linearity could yield numerous and extensive analyses, I would like to focus here on a very particular aspect of this performance, namely the presence of the Cycladic head in a narrative about national continuity. As Dimitris Plantzos (2006; 2009) reminds us, the incorporation of Cycladic sculpture into this national narrative is contingent on the *creation* of Cycladic art

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[16] Video: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vzw8OQIVQAs (Last accessed 11/01/17)
[17] Hamilakis' (2007a:278) insightful conceptualisation of marble as the material metonymy for classical antiquity and, hence, Greekness, is key in this narrative.

as a twentieth-century cultural phenomenon pertaining both to developments within the art-world and a renegotiation of Greekness. Despite the fact that Cycladic figurines had already been known since the eighteenth century, and archaeologically studied since the end of the nineteenth century (by Bent and Tsountas among others), it was not until the 1920s that they ceased to be dismissed as barbarous curiosities and attracted the serious attention of scholars. Until that time, their oddness and failure to comply with classical aesthetics had rendered them 'B-class' finds for all but a few archaeologists. German archaeologist Paul Wolters' description of a life-sized marble head from Amorgos as "repulsively ugly" (1891: 47) is reflective of its contemporary archaeological aesthetics.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, a number of artists influenced by the anthropological discourse of origins discussed in the previous section, as much as by the objects brought back from exotic locations, set out to challenge the aesthetics of the West. Rather than continuing to create art-works in compliance with or reference to the classical canon, which had by then begun to constrict them within a stagnant eurocentrism, artists such as Henri Matisse, Constantin Brâncuşi, Pablo Picasso, Amedeo Modigliani, and Alberto Giacometti found in ethnographic objects a potential for the colour, formal, and perspective revolutions that they desired. Their ventures, collectively referred to as Primitivism, did not only give new breath to the art of the twentieth century and played a significant role in the development of the Modern and Contemporary Art traditions but, by starting new trends of creating and appreciating art, they transformed western aesthetics altogether. Cycladic sculptures bear witness to this aesthetic revolution through their collective cultural biography. Their appreciation for and appropriation of their simplicity and form by Brâncuşi, Giacometti, and, most famously, by Henry Moore popularised figurines by (re)establishing them as anything but repulsively ugly: if art was about beauty and these objects inspired the work of avant-garde artists, then they, too, *had* to be beautiful! What is more, they also had to be *art*.

In order to understand this last qualification, we need to consider the context within which it occurred. The emergence of industrialised modernity, whose devices worked towards the rationalisation and accurate representation of nature had from the mid-eighteenth century onwards forced artists to reconsider their practice not only in light of their contemporary technical and technological innovations but also in terms of the content and social function of their art-works. The technocratic spirit dominating the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century provoked a general feeling that humans had managed to control the environment, that the world was an engine ticking like clock-work and that

we, humans, were on the steering wheel, that nature had been tamed. Within these premises the art-as-imitation paradigm that had been prevalent since antiquity became problematic, for it bore a significant resemblance to science: art had been imitating the natural world largely to make sense of it but now, through experiments, so did science – but only better! Thus art had to become about something else. It needed to distinguish itself from science to make itself relevant once more. Since representing nature was no longer an option, artists started looking inwards and set out to express their subjective, personal thoughts, and emotions: "[i]f science held a mirror to nature; art turned a mirror at the self and its experiences" (Carroll 1999:61).

One of the most influential movements within the tradition of art as expression was Romanticism. For the Romantics, the expression of emotions and feelings was more important than the actual person, object or situation that had triggered them. The expression of emotion was a laborious act that required the artist to get in touch with their feelings and communicate them. Romanticism was so influential that it has been argued that the popular perception of art-works as the products of emotional struggle and of artists as *maudits* (i.e., reclusive, emotionally urgent geniuses) that has been inhibiting our understanding of the dynamics underlying art-making is reminiscent of this legacy. Although the imbuement of Cycladic figurines with arthood could be understood in this context, through their conception as products of laborious, reclusive prehistoric geniuses (a hypothesis that I consider very valid especially for what concerns their popular reception), it was the advent of another art theory that facilitated their admission into the art-world: formalism.

Unlike the Expression theory which was preoccupied with the concept and emotional processes underlying the production and consumption of an art-work, Formalism was interested in the actual art-object. The figurehead of the theory was the English art critic Clive Bell, who, in his book *Art* (1987[1914]), maintained that in order to constitute an art-work an object should possess *significant form*, i.e., successful arrangement of colours, lines, shapes, and space. Significant form was, according to Bell, responsible for arousing what he called the 'aesthetic emotion,' the feeling one gets from his encounter with a work of art, the precise emotion that *confirms* to one that something is indeed a work of art. If we find what provokes this emotion, he argued, that is, a quality common to all objects that provoke this emotion, we shall answer the question asking what distinguishes an art-work from all other things. Formalism, with its significant form criterion, was, as the American philosopher Robert Stecker (2005) observes, very well-suited for the abstract art of High

Modernism (1880-1960), as it tried to provide a framework for the understanding and appreciation of art-works. By becoming aware of how the significant form of an art-work appealed to our perception, Formalism claimed, we can appreciate art-works. In other words, the appreciation of art was a matter of education and training – we had to *learn* how to look or otherwise experience an art-work; we had to learn how to look at and experience new art-forms. In this respect Formalism was as much an attempt to define art, as a vehicle for Modern Art works to be admitted into the early twentieth century art-world. In light of Formalism, whose emergence was more or less coterminous with the Primitivist movement and the first uses of the *found object* in art, the admission of Cycladic sculpture into the art-world does not surprise: figurines possessed significant form, while, at the same time, they evoked the same aesthetic emotion as high art sculpture of the time. Quite interestingly, in the context of learning how to appreciate new art-forms, the Cycladic sculptures presented an opportunity for *unlearning* how to look at the material culture of the past.

The admission of Cycladic sculptures into the art-world as art-objects in themselves was, apart from the art theories and practices outlined above, facilitated by the work of the art critic Christian Zervos, whose oeuvre strives to establish a link between modernism and classical antiquity on account of the formal qualities of a diachronic 'Greek Spirit.' As a Greek expat in early twentieth-century Paris, Zervos was equally exposed to Western high art theories and practices and influenced by his compatriot intellectual contemporaries' struggle for the redefinition of Greekness in light of the great social changes at home. By the 1930s the tripartite model of Hellenism (ancient, medieval, and modern) promoted by the Greek historian Constantinos Paparrigopoulos in his influential multi-volume *History of the Greek Nation* (1860-1877) had already been digested by the Greek intelligentsia, who were now applying it unquestioningly in their respective fields of research, albeit somewhat modified. In place of the theorisation of Greekness in terms of a biological or cultural essentialism that linked the three phases of Hellenism, the social repercussions of the 1920s, which had not only changed the map of Greece but also its cultural makeup, had instigated an environmental essentialism. This new definition of the nation in terms of the Greek landscape, seascape, *ruinscape*, and light, constituted a turning point in recent Greek history, marking Greek identity and, of course, art. This unwritten manifesto would remain in history as the *Generation of the '30s*, whose legacy is still traceable in the 2004 performance that opened this section, where the celebrated sea- and islandscape of Greece are accompanied by the verse of Seferis, one of its key representatives.

Thus, unlike archaeologist Christos Tsountas who set out to explore the prehistory of the 'Greek race' (cf. Plantzos 2006) before him, Zervos subscribed to an idea which claimed that the landscape of Greece was the conditioner of Greekness. It was precisely because they were made under the same sun, of the same primary material, and according to the same abstract aesthetic canon that Cycladic sculptures deserved a place alongside classical ones. Their national importance was equal to that of fifth-century BCE art – an argument he used for the restitution of classical Greek art within an art-world that declared the aesthetics of classical Greece "the enemy".[18]

Their incorporation into the national narrative and the western art-world had serious ramifications for their commoditisation. Collectors the world over would pay ridiculous amounts of money for them, instigating an increase in looting activity with catastrophic results so much for their understanding (due to the lack of context), as for the archaeology of the Cyclades more broadly (cf. Renfrew 2003:55-58 for an overview of the phenomenon). The renewed Fever of the Marbles of the twentieth century has rendered Cycladic sculptures a mystery. Regardless, their once 'repulsively ugly' image still constitutes an important part of a national aesthetics shaped by an interplay of archaeology, anthropology, and history of art.

1.4   Conclusion

I have argued in this chapter that the modern institutions of Archaeology and Art are, essentially, systematisations of artistic and archaeological practices in an attempt to mobilise and control the power they yield. Due to their contextual diversity, these practices have actively resisted a uniform domestication, and resulted in great diversity within the institutions that enveloped them. This diversity is reflected so much in the plethora of art-movements and theories as in the different archaeological traditions, which I have quite crudely identified here with their countries of origin and prevalence. More detailed analyses of these traditions and movements are bound to show further fragmentation within them. This will become apparent in the next chapter, where I shall review the recent engagements of archaeologists with contemporary art and arts practice. The vast majority of these engagements were carried out by scholars influenced by or working within the prehistoric strand of the Anglo-American tradition. This tradition, like the Scandinavian,

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[18] After a quote by Henry Moore: "I thought that the Greek and Renaissance were the enemy, and that one had to throw all that over and start again from the beginnings of primitive art" (Becket and Russell 2003:10).

developed out of the natural sciences, independent of the German art-historical tradition. Although many of the pioneers of this tradition had a personal interest in art or an art background, the engagements that I will be discussing can be considered as the first attempt for an interdisciplinary contact of this tradition with art that is not ancient. This may explain the diversity of approaches taken by their initiators, who were not bound by classicist art historical and aesthetic paradigms. At the same time, the diversity of these approaches attests to an internal fragmentation that undermines the theorisation of traditions as uniform. It is for this reason that any attempt to understand these engagements requires a careful examination of the context within which they were developed and of their distinct individual and collective theoretical pedigrees. This will permit their encountering as both expressions of individual idiosyncrasies and of a small-scale, uncoordinated movement. As in the case of the Cycladic figurines, which were caught in a peculiar interplay of particular aesthetic, political, and national forces, each of the engagements that I shall review in the following chapter is caught in a dynamic relational web of interests, politics, and aesthetics, with which they comply or against which they react.

Chapter 2:   The art turn: the archaeologist as artist

The last three decades have witnessed the development of an archaeological interest in contemporary art-works and arts practice. As argued in Chapter 1, the projects that attest to this interest do not constitute a new phenomenon *per se*, but, rather, they are a new manifestation of a long-standing symbiotic relationship between archaeology and art. For this reason, their genealogies and causal chains are crucial in their collective understanding. In the twenty-eight years between Tilley's 'Excavation as Theatre' article (1989), which I consider to be the first publication to hint at an integration of archaeological and arts practices, and the writing of this thesis, a handful of archaeologists have published accounts of their art-inspired projects in diverse fora. In this chapter, these publications are gathered to be examined both individually and comparatively. On the one hand, I wish to understand the reasons for and purposes of each experiment described in these publications, by attempting to answer two questions: first, what instigated it; second what is it trying to do. On the other hand, considering said experiments to be attempts to articulate a discontent with current aspects of archaeological practice, I set out to infer the elements they are opposed to. Finally, through the critical and comparative overview of these publications, I aspire to assemble an epistemological and methodological toolkit for a theoretically and politically aware archaeological art approach to the Acropolis of Athens.

2.1   Why contemporary art?

Before asking *how* archaeologists have engaged with contemporary art-works and arts practice, I believe it is important to ask *why* they have done so by considering the constellation of events and processes that facilitated and necessitated their projects. It is important to state here that the publications discussed in this chapter do not constitute a disciplinary subfield, that is they are by no means independent 'archaeologies of contemporary art'. Rather, they employ art as an epistemological and methodological tool or strategy for the construction and dissemination of new knowledge within already established subfields. As such, they are better understood as eclectic products with distinct genealogies, diverse starting points, methodological takes, and objectives. For this reason I prefer to think of them as dots on the map of archaeological literature, which, if joined together, might reveal the current contours of a proposal for a new archaeological poetics. To put it differently, I consider them to be partially articulate or implicit expressions of a desire for a profound change in archaeological practice and for a reconnection of the latter

with the social. Despite their diversity, the publications examined here are academic presentations, articles, and books produced during the course of the last twenty-eight years. Thus, they are inevitably products of a particular socio-historical milieu, whose examination is crucial for their understanding.

2.1.1   Background

The engagements constituting the 'art turn' of archaeology all partake in one way or another in a generalised revisionist sentiment that permeated the discipline at the end of the previous century. This was an era marked by ground-breaking *self-reflective* publications critiquing existing and proposing new ways of excavating (e.g., Hodder 2003), producing (e.g., Hamilakis 1999), revisiting (e.g., Hamilakis 2002), teaching (papers in Dowson 2004; papers in Rainbird and Hamilakis 2001), and (re-)writing the past (e.g., Joyce 2002; Pluciennik 1999). Implicit in all these works was a need to redefine the discipline in light of the paradigmatic shift from Positivism to Interpretivism. The Interpretivists had as early as the 1970's called for the theorisation of the 'archaeological record' in linguistic terms, i.e., as equivalent to text. Like words which only became meaningful within *interpretable* syntactic structures, making sense of ruins and material leftovers required their consideration within their contexts of production, consumption, re-discovery, and interpretation. With its emphasis on the interpretive character of archaeological practice, the 'linguistic turn' constituted a break from the positivist theorisation of material culture as self-explanatorily meaningful. Moreover, by implication of the subjective dynamics underlying interpretation processes and the impossibility of objectivity, it liberated archaeologists from their anxiety to be recognised as 'truth-retrieving scientists'. This inevitably led to the reconceptualization of archaeology as a form of cultural production. By appropriating the material leftovers and rearranging them so as to subjectively synthesise one of many possible pasts, archaeological practice was effectively akin, and therefore comparable, to other forms of cultural production, such as literature and art.

The end of the twentieth century was characterised by a pressing need for the dissemination and popularisation of academic knowledge (cf. The Royal Society 1985). This, at least in part, contributed to the renewal of scholars' interest in public outreach (cf. Merriman 2004b). In compliance with this new disciplinary ethos some archaeologists already acquainted with aspects of linguistic and literary theory started questioning archaeological writing and engaged with other ways of writing and telling (see Fagan 2006; Joyce 2002; and Pluciennik 1999 for analyses and critiques of archaeological

writing; and also Bender 1998; Demou 2002; Praetzellis 2000; 2003; Shanks 2004; and papers in Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1998 for examples of experimental writing). In the summer of 1989, two seminal for the purposes of this thesis articles by two pioneers of the Interpretivist school were published back-to-back in the *Antiquity* journal. The first, Ian Hodder's 'Writing Archaeology', offered a critical overview of the changes in the writing of site-reports through history. Lamenting the transformation of site reports from almost intimate accounts to depersonalised, standardised, manneristic even, documents, Hodder proposed that future reports be more expressive and personal. Moreover, given that the production of a site-report is a collective practice, he argued for more multivocal and dialogical ways of archaeological writing. The second article, Christopher Tilley's 'Excavation as Theatre,' in a similar vein criticised the obsessive excavation of small, unconnected sites and excavators' lack of commitment to the publication of site reports. It suggested that archaeologists focus on large-scale excavations, which may provide a better picture of the past, and that they encounter interpretation as a social activity through the involvement of non-archaeologist interest groups. Moreover, it argued that

> [e]xcavation has a unique role to play as a theatre where people may be able to produce their own pasts, pasts which are meaningful to them, not as expressions of a mythical heritage. Especially in rural areas excavation provides, much more readily than museum displays or books, possibilities for enthusing an interest in and awareness of the past among non-archaeologists. Excavations need to become, much more so than they are today, nexuses of decoding and encoding processes by which people may create meaning from the past. This is to advocate a socially engaged rather than a scientifically detached practice of excavation.

> (Tilley 1989:280)

Tilley used the theatre metaphor in order to emphasise the physical, experiential, and performative aspects of excavation. Their absence from site reports turned the latter into authoritarian documents of little or no social relevance. Regardless of whether this was his intention or not, Tilley's paper constitutes a critique of the somewhat self-serving didacticism of what MacDonald (2002:49) has called 'the deficit model' of public archaeology, i.e., the notion that the role of archaeology is to teach the ignorant public how to appreciate the material traces of the past in *the correct way*. The circularity of this argument becomes apparent when we consider the fact that archaeologists *create* rather than *retrieve* 'the archaeological record' (cf. Hamilakis 1999a; Hodder 1999; Patrik 1985). Thus, by educating people to appreciate what they create, archaeologists reproduce an authoritarian vicious circle that not only prioritises disciplinary archaeology over other modes of engagement with the material traces of the past, but effectively establishes it as

the *only* acceptable mode of engagement with them. Tilley does not advocate an educational paradigm of public archaeology. Rather, he argues that if archaeologists really want to engage and involve other stakeholders in their work, they first need to challenge their own authority over the materiality of the past. This could be done by opening the excavation up to others, inviting them to experience the site in their own terms. This, he contends, would instigate a mutually beneficial dialogue between archaeologists and other interest parties.

Tilley's use of the term 'theatre' is metaphorical and there is nothing to suggest to me that at the time of writing he had envisioned an actual integration of performance and archaeological practices. Due to its direct juxtaposition of archaeology with another form of cultural production, however, I consider his article as the first of the archaeological engagements with contemporary arts practice. After all, if nothing else, it laid the foundations for Tilley's idiosyncratic phenomenology that would later on inform his own art project (see §2.2.2.a).

2.2   How have archaeologists engaged with contemporary art?

If we interpret the abovementioned socio-historical context as an 'identity crisis' for archaeology, the experiments of scholars with contemporary art and arts practice reflect a need to address a specific issue pertaining to that crisis: if it cannot dig up *the* past but only construct *a* version of it (or multiple) from the material leftovers of its inhabitants, then what is the relevance of archaeology to contemporary society? Some archaeologists have attempted to answer this by using the work of contemporary artists as a mirror; through the examination of art-works and the processes behind their production, they have sought to understand and critique their own practice. Others have followed a similar self-reflective procedure not so much to understand why they do what they do as to inform existing and devise new approaches to their subject-matter. Others yet have chosen to take this exercise in interpretation a step further and actively engaged in the production of original art-works with a twofold objective: first, to include other stakeholders in the interpretive process; and second, to communicate existing interpretations to their peers and the public. Finally, a considerably smaller number have encountered contemporary art-works as material culture to examine other, non-archaeological uses and constructions of the past. In this section I will discuss the relevant literature within four thematic clusters according to their authors' main incentive. These are: contemporary art as mirror, which discusses the use of art-works for self-reflection; site-specific archaeological art as interpretation, which is

concerned with on-site archaeological installations for interpretive purposes; contemporary art as public engagement, where I discuss the mobilisation of contemporary art-works and creation of art-inspired projects for communicating archaeological interpretations to the public; and, finally, art for archaeologists, which reviews the contribution of archaeological art to the creation and communication of archaeological theory within the discipline. This classification, it ought to be said, has not been made without caution, for, as it will become apparent, most of the projects cross and overlap around certain ideas, which will recurrently emerge in the course of this chapter and summarised in its conclusion.

2.2.1   Contemporary art as a mirror

2.2.1.a Figuring It Out

The first archaeology book to be exclusively dedicated to contemporary art is Colin Renfrew's *Figuring It Out* (2003). It consists of six chapters that correspond to an equal number of lectures the author delivered at the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 2001 under the overarching title 'Art as Archaeology and Archaeology as Art: the Construction of the World Through Material Culture'. As hinted by the title, Renfrew uses contemporary art-works as a means of illustrating his *material engagement* theory, according to which, it is humans' engagement with material culture that necessitates and facilitates the creation of concepts rather than the other way round (cf. Renfrew 2004). What this means is that the development of the human brain is contingent on encountering new 'things'. This is not the place for the evaluation of this cognitive neo-evolutionary theory, nor am I in a position to do so. However, the consideration of this particular theoretical framework is, I feel, necessary in order to fully appreciate Renfrew's intentions with this book. Apart from employing this neo-evolutionary paradigm as a scheme for the arrangement of its chapters on a linear progression from human origins to writing (as observed by Hamilakis 2007b:740), the book is an *embodiment* of the material engagement theory. Through his eclectic cataloguing of contemporary art-works, Renfrew wishes to expose archaeologists to new material encounters. The result from these material encounters, he contends, will be new ways of thinking about materiality. This, in its turn, will result in new, better ways of doing archaeology.

In order to establish a platform upon which the dialogue between archaeology and contemporary art could take place, Renfrew qualifies archaeology and art as two sides of the same coin. Taking as his starting point what others have recently termed the

'ethnographic turn' of contemporary art (cf. papers in Coles 2000; also Foster 1996), Renfrew argues that the visual arts, after their 'liberation from the tyranny of the Renaissance', have

> transformed themselves into what might be described as a vast, unco-ordinated yet somehow enormously effective research programme that looks critically at what we are and how we know what we are

> (2003:7).

This qualification of contemporary art as a loosely defined ethnographic project allows him to establish a link between contemporary artists and archaeologists: both practitioners work with materiality to tackle fundamental existential questions. In his view, whereas artists intervene upon materiality and transform it, archaeologists are preoccupied with the history of the transformations that material remains of the past have undergone, and the stories they can tell about their users. This association facilitates the twofold argument of the book which can be summarised as follows: first, looking at the ways artists have tried to answer questions pertaining to our existence could inform archaeologists' answers to these questions; and second, the juxtaposition of the two processes (making art and doing archaeology) could enhance archaeologists' perception of themselves and their work. Underlying both arguments is a belief that encountering art-works expands the experiential range or sensorium of archaeologists.

In order to illustrate his proposition, Renfrew follows a linear structure. Firstly, he defines art through an aestheticist prism as "any painting or sculpture or material object that is produced to be the focus of our visual contemplation or enjoyment" (2003:66), a definition for which he has been criticised that he stands by in a more recent interview with Ian Russell and Andrew Cochrane, where he maintains that art-works, both contemporary and ancient, are compelling because they are beautiful, and that recognising them as such is not degrading in any way (Renfrew 2014:15). Subsequently, he identifies three changes that art practice has undergone throughout the course of the last century: first, the break of modern artists with the paradigm of imitation, which had been prevalent since antiquity; second, the abandonment of established conventions and materials, and the experimentation with new ones; and third, the renegotiation of (the boundaries of) artistic traditions, which has given birth to new art-forms. These three changes have redefined art-works in two ways. First, they redirected attention from the represented object of the art-work to the art-work as object in itself. Whereas within the imitational paradigm art-works operated as a medium or recording mechanism of objects, persons, and events, in the late nineteenth and

early twentieth centuries they became objects in their own right. As such, their sensorial and expressive qualities were prioritised over their beauty. Material, texture, form, and emotion, were all qualities that started being considered alongside questions of meaning and style. Second, and as a result of the previous development, the concern with the materiality and concept of art-works led to the development of an interest in the physical, performative, processes of art-making.

Reflecting on these particular developments, Renfrew's book brings up two very important aspects of archaeological practice. First, with reference to the multi-sensorial appreciation of art-works, he discusses the sensory dynamics and experience of excavation, which are understated or simply omitted from archaeological discourses. Drawing parallels between archaeological practice and the work of British land-artist Richard Long, he argues that much of the experience of doing archaeology is lost in excavation reports. The work of artists such as Long, he proposes, whose oeuvre is all about experiencing the landscape and recording the impact of that experience, could alert archaeologists to the sensory dynamics of their practice. Despite the fact that he does not develop this argument to a great extent, Renfrew raises a very important issue that resonates with the projects of archaeologists Christopher Tilley, Michael Shanks, and Dragoş Gheorghiu which I shall be discussing in more detail later on in this chapter (§2.2.2.a, §2.2.2.b, and §2.2.2.c respectively). Second, having already traced the origins of the discipline of archaeology to the Renaissance cabinet of curiosities elsewhere (Renfrew 1999:17; see also Russell 2008; Thomas 2004), Renfrew discusses the politics of display in archaeology and contemporary art (see also Gosden 2004). Using Marcel Duchamp's ready-mades to very briefly brush on the procedure through which an object acquires arthood, he exposes the selective processes by which archaeologists put the past together. In a discussion which could be complimented by Interpretivist archaeological theory (e.g. Hodder 1999:15-17), he argues that material traces of the past are not self-evidently archaeological, but only become archaeological finds on account of their being discovered, curated, classified, and displayed by archaeologists. These two points illustrate a very important shortcoming of much archaeological practice outside academia today: although archaeologists evidently construct their subject-matter, they acknowledge neither the fact that they do so, nor the context within which this construction takes place. In other words, despite the fact that it is by virtue of their authority that an object becomes an archaeological artefact, they compromise their involvement and experience of this transformation for the sake of an impossible objectivity. This realisation resonates with the positions expressed in the

articles of Hodder and Tilley discussed previously, who called for a more personal and inclusive practice. Renfrew begins to deliberate on a possible solution to this problem with reference to the oeuvre of American artist Mark Dion, which he considers to be a mirror for archaeologists to reflect on their practices of identification, decontextualisation, isolation, classification, and display of objects. However, his take on Dion's work is very brief and does not do justice to it. In the following paragraph I will attempt to articulate his proposition with reference to the work of two other scholars who have elaborated on it.

2.2.1.b Mark Dion

The work of Dion could be characterised as 'mock archaeology'. The artist chooses a site which is disturbed and therefore archaeologically 'insignificant' (cf. Vilches 2005:147; 2007:213), and 'excavates' it with his assistants. The objects that he retrieves (predominantly urban detritus) are later cleaned, classified, and, finally, arranged in elaborate purpose-built displays which function as mementoes of the performative art-work itself. Akin though it might seem to archaeology, there are two important points that separate Dion's work from that of archaeologists. The first is that Dion is not an archaeologist and, therefore, he does not operate within the current ontological and epistemological ethos of the discipline (assuming, of course, that such a thing as an all-encompassing singular consensus on doing archaeology really exists). Nor is his intention to construct knowledge about the past through the retrieval and study of its material remains (which is the sole criterion by which Thomas identifies archaeology [cf. Thomas 2004:4; see also previous chapter]). What he is concerned with, however, is the exploration of the processes through which scientific knowledge is constructed, with a particular interest in classification. The second is that he is an artist acting out a site-specific performance, i.e., *an act out of the ordinary especially carried out to be witnessed and understood as such by an audience*. Therefore, his focus is placed on the *witnessed* acts of excavating, classifying, displaying, and so on, rather than on the end products of these acts, namely the excavation, catalogue, or display. In other words, his aim is to draw attention to the involvement of people in these processes. By emphasising the dependency of all these processes on the human factor, Dion ultimately exposes archaeologists (and scientists more generally) as producers and conditioners, rather than retrievers, of their subject-matter: rather than digging up the 'archaeological record,' they create it.

Flora Vilches' ground-breaking art-historically informed doctoral thesis juxtaposing archaeological practice with the work of three contemporary artists elaborates on this

reflection. Taking as her starting point Hodder's argument that analytical categories are not self-evident and self-explanatory, but actively and contingently constructed by archaeologists according to their needs, she argues with reference to Dion's work that

> [c]lassifications not only provide a platform for further interpretation, they also depart from and are in themselves interpretations. Being laboratory analysis a practice hidden from view and public scrutiny can only strengthen the archaeologist's difficulty to expose the arbitrariness of his/her classificatory methods. In the *Tate Thames Dig*, Mark Dion undermined the illusion of stability in archaeological analysis in two different ways. On the one hand, he literally turned the lab inside out by installing a field centre for everyone to see, and on the other hand, he classified many items that due to their recent origins tend not to be regarded under fixed categories, making their arbitrariness more evident.

(Vilches 2005:130)

Vilches' use of Dion's work highlights its potential as an illustration for Interpretivist archaeological theory concerning the analytical processes of archaeology. At the same time, it brings to the fore the importance of the art-work's performative aspects that simultaneously bring it closer to and differentiate it from the practice of archaeology. Dion's physical involvement in the excavation, classification, and display of objects is only institutionally different from that of archaeologists: he is an artist, not an archaeologist. As such, he operates within a different institutional sphere of engaging with materiality, one with more flexible (or even without) rules than those inherent in disciplinary archaeology. This allows him to encounter his subject-matter in more playful ways, employing irony, allegory, and humour – aspects which are normally to be avoided by scientists (but see Tilley's 'joke principle' in Tilley 1990:148), but which, in effect, as Vilches concludes, do not compromise the seriousness and impact of his work.

This distinction between the seriousness of archaeology and the playfulness of art is symptomatic of a more implicit, but equally important, distinction. As argued in chapter 1, archaeology has always, even before its institutionalisation, constituted a potential form of control over the materiality of the past and its interpretation. The right to this control, or power over, the past, is today assigned or passed on through very specific mechanisms, with academic institutions being among the most important of those. Because of the significance that modern societies (and individuals) attribute to the past as a conditioner or determinant of their identity, archaeology is rendered a serious political enterprise, exercisable only by authorised persons. Thus, the work of Dion, who operates within a different sphere of control over the past, the sphere of *seemingly harmless appropriation* of its material leftovers, is disqualified. Recognising Dion's work as archaeology proper

would mean that anyone's engagement with the past could be archaeology. Such opening of the term would endanger the existence of the discipline. Therefore, albeit implicitly, and, possibly, unconsciously so, it is frowned upon by scholars who are uncomfortable with Dion's objectification, appropriation, and mimicry of their practice. Doug Bailey attributes this unease of professional archaeologists toward Dion's work to the fact that it pretends to be archaeological while, in fact, it is not, and thus appears to be almost a prank (Bailey 2014:233). I believe that it is this unease that it provokes rather than its lack of stratigraphic methods and intentions for knowledge construction that, at some point, led Renfrew to reduce Dion's work to 'beachcombing' (Renfrew 1999:14).

Nevertheless, some archaeologists have been more positive to the opening up of archaeology to encompass artists and other non-archaeologists. One such scholar is Troy Lovata, who in his recent book *Inauthentic Archaeologies* (2007) features Dion's work alongside that of two other artists, Adam Horowitz[19] and Eric Shanower[20]. The book opens with the controversial statement "Inauthentic archaeologies are indeed archaeology" (2007:9). His definition of inauthentic archaeologies is wide and inclusive of academic hoaxes, the fabrication of sites for touristic purposes, the appropriations of archaeological structures as cultural icons, and, finally, artists' endeavours with the practice of archaeology and their products. His contention is that the study of inauthentic [and, I would also add, unauthorised or illicit (see Antoniadou 2009)] engagements of people with the past and its materiality may be revealing of the significance that the former have in contemporary society. By extension, they may lead to a new understanding of the role that archaeology plays today, the way in which it is perceived, and, consequently, of the expectations it has to live up to. It is with particular reference to the public perception of archaeology that Lovata discusses Dion, and, although his account of the artist's work is not very different from Renfrew or Vilches' self-reflecting take, his main contribution lies in the fact that he qualifies it as a form of archaeology.

Lovata's qualification of Dion's dig projects as a form of archaeology is significant for the purposes of this thesis for two reasons. First, it undermines the institutional monopolisation of the construction of the past by archaeology through its acceptance of other agents (in this case artists) as producers of versions of the past. Second, it not only renders art a

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[19] Adam Horowitz is an artist and filmmaker, most famous for this Stonefridge/Fridgehenge art-work. URL: http://www.taoruspoli.com/Movies/Tao-Ruspoli-Shorts/8444055_BYrba/1/531492123_2huP6#531492123_2huP6-A-LB (Last accessed 11/01/17)
[20] Eric Shanower is a professional illustrator, cartoonist, and graphic novel artist. He is most famous for his Age of Bronze comic-book series, which is a new take on Homer's Iliad.

legitimate field of archaeological enquiry (studied as material culture), but also clears the way for its recognition as a legitimate epistemological and methodological tool for archaeological research. The main implication of this two-fold branching out is that it undermines the normative theorisation of archaeology as retrieval of the (truth about the) past, which needs to be undertaken by authorised persons only. By approaching ruins and material leftovers with a creative attitude, through collaborations or by themselves, archaeologists may break free from their own 'tyranny of the Renaissance' (modern archaeology) which wants them detached observers of an abstract notion of human history. Their creative experimentations with the objects that they find could expand their own sensoria and offer new interpretive possibilities for their subject-matter and their work. This, in fact, has been precisely the aim of some archaeologists who have taken a hands-on approach, using arts practice specifically in order to open up the interpretive possibilities of their subject-matter. The following section discusses their labours.

2.2.2 Site-specific archaeological art

2.2.2.a Leskernick

As I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, Tilley was the first archaeologist to hint at an integration of archaeological and arts practice (1989). In his article 'Excavation as Theatre' he deemed archaeological practice authoritarian and socially exclusive, and proposed, as a remedy, the treatment of the excavated site as a theatrical stage for multi-agent cultural production. Through their active participation in the construction of *their* interpretations of the material remains archaeologists and other stakeholders could partake in the co-production of non-authoritarian, multivocal pasts and presents. Tilley's concern with multivocality was shared by Barbara Bender. Bender's influential book *Stonehenge: Making Space* (1998) is an anthology of the views and interests of various stakeholders of Stonehenge through the employment of unconventional, by academic standards, writing styles, cartoons, and conversation transcripts. In resonance to Hodder's (1989) call examined earlier, Bender's intention was to produce an interactive text that would prompt the readers to consider many possibilities and draw their own conclusions; the interactive character of this book is intended to encourage the reader to *experience* the various discourses concerning Stonehenge by means of the words and images of others. As such, it becomes an intended relational entity instigating polyphony, not unlike Tilley's proposed excavation, or indeed Leskernick Hill – the site where Tilley and Bender's research interests would meet with those of Sue Hamilton in one of the most significant

archaeological experiments with contemporary art (Tilley, Hamilton and Bender 2000; 2001; Bender, Hamilton and Tilley 2007).

Taking under consideration the dedication of Tilley and Bender to the task of opening up interpretation in order to create multivocality, and theirs and Hamilton's interest in the use of phenomenology to experience, interpret, and understand archaeological sites[21], the ways in which they chose to engage with and intervene on the site of Leskernick are not surprising. On the one hand they experimented with art to record and document the site, whereas on the other, they made use of it in a more creative way to *interpret* and *experience* the landscape. Having already experimented with different ways of writing about the site elsewhere (Bender, Hamilton and Tilley 1997) and found it an inadequate way of capturing and conveying the meaning and experience of *being there* (Tilley, Hamilton & Bender 2000:43), the three scholars set out to engage in what they called a dialectic between their creativity and that of the site's Bronze Age inhabitants. For this reason, and inspired by the work of prominent land artists, they made the following decisions: first, to incorporate art techniques (drawing, painting, photography and hybrids) in their recording, in order to produce a more "three-dimensional" (2000:60) report; second, to dress some of the stones with colourful wraps/throws at first and later with painted cling-film to draw attention to (or from) them, and, consequently, assess their significance in the landscape; third, to use a wooden doorframe in order to play with the concept of landscape (as an art genre) and comprehend the dynamics behind the siting of prehistoric buildings in the landscape (their relation to the horizon in particular); and fourth, to flag individual structures and itineraries in order to understand how people move(d) in space and what they can or could (not) see today or back in the Bronze Age.

Their experiment, although path-breaking for its introduction of new methodological tools into archaeology, is not without problems. The first point for which it has been criticised is its ocular-centrism (see Hamilakis 2001b). Despite their desire to communicate their own bodily experience of the site and instigate new ways of experiencing it, their engagements with the site and its materiality (both the actual ruins and their recordings) focused on the visual. Their employment of aspects of visual art for the recording of the site (drawings, paintings, photographs) and for its experiencing (colouring of the *in situ* stones, flagging of itineraries, and photographing the landscape) fail to transcend traditional visual tropes of

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[21] see Bender, Hamilton and Tilley 1997; Bender, Hamilton and Tilley 2007 for Leskernick; also Bender 1998; Hamilton et al 2006; Tilley 1994; 1999; 2004a; 2004b for other sites.

archaeological recording and presenting. In other words, although their art-informed methodologies set out to 're-present the past' (after their title) in new ways which could convey the archaeologists' experience of the site, they do not, in fact, constitute a break from already established ways of archaeological recording and presentation. Rather, they could be better understood as real-time three-dimensional illustrations of the site, which, however, upon their transcription for publication, become two-dimensional once more.

Nevertheless, the project has not been criticised so much for focusing on vision in the present, as for imposing a modern sensory hierarchy on a Bronze Age society by assuming that its members valued vision more than the other senses (*ibid*). This criticism is tied to a wider problem associated with phenomenological approaches to landscape in archaeology. More specifically, Tilley's idiosyncratic phenomenology which informs this project has been criticised on two key points, namely its take on the body as universal and its perception of the landscape as constant. The main criticism of this viewpoint is that there is great diversity in bodily experience within modern societies, conditioned not only by varying degrees of physical and mental ableness and constitution, but also by cultural factors, such as gender, ethnicity, and so forth. As such, it is inappropriately oversimplifying to suggest that the way one experiences a landscape today can be revealing of the way that it was experienced by another in the past (cf. Brück 2005). What is more, landscape itself is mutable and subjected to physical change with or without human intervention. Even the concept of landscape is a cultural construct rooted in a particular historical objectification of the natural world (cf. Fleming 2006). These two points are of relevance to both the Leskernick project and Hamilakis' critique of it. In their response to the latter, Tilley *et al.* (2001) explain that the aim of their paper was to explore the potential of visual imagery as an interpretive and communicational tool, and not to impose (or even discuss the issue of) a hierarchy of the senses on Bronze Age people. Their experience of the stones, they continue, engaged all their senses, but it was for lack of established conventions in print media capable of conveying the aural and tactile aspects of their experience that they decided to limit their article to the visual ones.

Although I do see the authors' point that a paper or project does not necessarily have to take a multi-sensory approach, their experiment appears to be failing to live up to its proposal from the outset. The interpretive incentive behind the project is inevitably affected by Tilley's take on phenomenology, and as such, it is subjected to the same criticisms. Despite its desire to instigate inclusive and collaborative multivocality, the project ultimately reproduces the very same aspects that it sets out to criticise.

Understanding the significance of Leskernick for either past or present people through on-site art installations informed by this particular phenomenological approach is inevitably didactic and perhaps even unwillingly condescending. By setting up a series of art-works privileging vision, Tilley *et al.* at once impose a western hierarchy of the senses upon the site's Bronze Age inhabitants *and* pre-condition the perception of those whom they wish to engage in the interpretive process today, be they visitors or other stakeholders. In my opinion, to intervene on a site with the installation of vivid, visual stimuli, is to draw attention to these interventions and away from the actual site. Although such appropriation of the site and its features would be meaningful as a comment on the impact archaeologists make on the landscape, and, by extension, of the subjective dynamics that underlie all archaeological work (issues which are touched upon by the authors in this paper and elsewhere), it does not live up to their expectations for creating a platform for collaborative interpretation between archaeologists and other stakeholders. On the contrary, it inhibits such a collaboration by being equally (if not more) authoritarian and didactic as any other archaeological product(ion).

The fact that the Leskernick project appears to fail to constitute a platform for the instigation of a collaborative relationship between archaeologists and the public does not render it futile. Rather, it addresses a series of issues concerning the use of contemporary art as a methodological tool, and, as such, it touches upon many important aspects of archaeological practice. More significantly, by implication of its phenomenology, it problematises the concept of representation, bringing to the fore questions such as '*Who represents whom/what, why, how and for whom?*' and '*Is it appropriate to talk about representation in archaeology?*' Through their artistic engagement with the materiality of the site Tilley *et al.* have tried to recreate the sense of being in and experiencing the Bronze Age landscape. As Bailey (2014:238-241) points out, this need of the authors to generate a clear representation of the past, for fear that their work might be characterised as non-archaeological, restrained the otherwise undoubtedly radical project's potential to transgress the boundaries of standard archaeological practice. In my opinion, had they decided to limit their experiment to the description of *their* experience (i.e., how *they* with *their* particular sensoria understood the site) and invited others to do the same, their project would have been much more fruitful, for it would have created (auto)ethnographic knowledge concerning the importance of the site and of archaeology for the present. Moreover, in order for their experiments to have had offered an insight concerning the

experience of the landscape in the Bronze Age they would need to have approached land art from a different vantage point than that suggested by their cited readings.

In order to better understand the problems of the Leskernick project, it is crucial that we consider the genre of land art that inspired it, and its fragmentation. As a movement, land art emerged in the 1960s from a desire to oppose the institutions of art, namely the museum and gallery, which over-commercialised art-works. The progressive globalisation of western culture and art, facilitated by mobility (in the form of migration or otherwise), as well as technological developments in communications, and the formation of an international art-scene attested to by major events around the world (e.g., Biennales), instigated the development of an artistic interest in travel and mobility through the landscape. As expected, not all artists engaged in land art for the same reasons and to the same ends. James Meyer identifies two major strands of this tentative genre that he calls nomadism:

> The first nomadism is lyrical – a mobility thematised as a random and poetic interaction with the objects and spaces of everyday life. Reconciling the Dada/Surrealist strategy of an arbitrary encounter with the real with a contemporary 'Slacker' feeling of aimlessness, this nomadism transfigures the most ephemeral and incidental contacts for aesthetic contemplation. The second nomadism is critical: it does not enact or record an action or movement for the spectator's delectation, so much as locate travel itself within historical and institutional frameworks. While the one nomadism is personalised, presenting the body's circulations as a series of phenomenological encounters occurring in real time, and tends to veil the material conditions in which this mobility occurs, the other nomadism locates the mobile self within a periodised, discursive schema: its subjects are the eighteenth century aristocratic tourist, the Romantic Bohemian, the Beatnick, and other archetypal travellers of cultural memory. Where the first activity enacts a nomadic structure in a kind of perpetual present, the second locates incidents of travel in *history*; and if it addresses present-day conditions it does so from the position of a historicising distance.
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> (Meyer 2000:11-12; original emphasis)

The work of Richard Long and Andy Goldsworthy that informs the installations in Leskernick falls under the first category. As the artists themselves admit, their art is about their own encounters with the environment and its features. In other words, they describe their own experience of it, without being interested in inferring or even commenting on anyone else's experience of it. Their work is situated in the present. By adopting their art, Tilley *et al.* essentially appropriate a technique that is unsuitable for what they aim to do, due to the fact that the resulting art-work is ahistorical and self-referential. Its only

contribution as an interpretive or communicative medium would be to convey the fact that archaeologists give shape to sites, i.e., they influence their subject-matter. Because of their inability to recreate the living conditions and experience of Leskernick's Bronze Age inhabitants, and because of their emphasis on the visual (and the aesthetically pleasing), their engagement is more akin to lyrical than critical nomadism.

One might argue that, since we cannot know the past, all artistic engagements of archaeologists with the landscape are bound to be lyrical and not critical. In order to be critical, an art/archaeological project would have to be concerned with the ways people in the past experienced what today are but the leftovers of their activity. The two scholars discussed in the following paragraph have attempted to do just that through the use of another art-form, performance art.

2.2.2.b Theatre/Archaeology

In 2001, Mike Pearson and Michael Shanks published the fruit of a long-standing experiment that they had been conducting for nearly a decade (cf. Pearson with Thomas 1994; Pearson and Shanks 1997; Pearson 1998). *Theatre/Archaeology* explores the potential that a hybrid genre informed by both archaeology and performance theory could have for the renegotiation of (the poetics and communication of) existing interpretations of the past and the construction of new knowledge in the present.

The main argument of this highly autobiographical book, the same argument that would later inform Shanks' and his Stanford Metamedia Lab associates' symmetrical archaeology[22], is inspired by Donna Haraway's cyborg theory (Haraway 1991) and Bruno Latour's Actor-Network theory (Latour 2005): like people, things have histories, biographies and lifecycles (cf. Kopytoff 1986); they are inseparable from society for they are relational entities around which society is constituted. For this reason, Pearson and Shanks argue, it is not enough to study the material traces of the past typologically and stylistically. Rather, they should be thought of as organisms, living *or* dead/decaying. This statement has some serious implications for the ways archaeology is practiced. Modern archaeology, they continue, by seeking to preserve the past for posterity, and influenced by modern aesthetics of purity and matter out of place (cf. Douglas 1966), has actively

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[22] See Shanks, M., 2007; Witmore, C.L. 2007; papers in González Ruibal, A. 2007.

avoided the processes of rot and decay. Despite the obvious associations of the discipline with death, scholars have dealt with these two elemental aspects of death *and* life as 'dust' which needs to be cleaned away in order for the past to become available. The sterilisation of material leftovers, Pearson and Shanks propose, is extended to all things archaeological, but is especially pronounced in the cases of restored ruins which become *simulacra*, monuments, and commodities. Instead of this clinical practice, they continue, archaeology should embrace *pathology* and start viewing decay and rot as evolutionary agents, useful for other, more contemporary, aspects of the social fabric. In essence, instead of creating simulacra, archaeology would be more useful both to the past *and* the present, if it approached and utilised material leftovers in ways that could highlight their performative potential. More specifically, Theatre/Archaeology is concerned with the uses that the materiality of the past can have for people today and with the evocative inference of acted out, ritualised behaviour in the past. Whereas the former concern constitutes an attack against the hegemony of the heritage industry over the material traces of the past, by seeking other uses for that materiality, the latter becomes an endeavour somewhat akin to the critical nomadism discussed earlier.

Taking as their point of departure the axiom that archaeology is a form of cultural production and not a quest for the retrieval of the past, Pearson and Shanks attempt to undermine the representational paradigm through the use of evocation. In the second part of their book, in particular, they attack the romantic notion of the 'real' past reproduced by archaeological theme parks, as well as the heritage industry's persistence in verisimilitude and authenticity. Building on their argument that archaeology produces 'regimes of truth' by arresting the life of things (through suspending their decay and restoring them), they articulate an argument for a different, less intrusive mode of engagement with materiality. Accepting that archaeological finds belong equally to the past and the present, by virtue of their physicality and presence, they propose a performative approach. Their contention is that performances informed by both archaeological and performance theory and practice can evoke multiple pasts at once, as they are simultaneously passively witnessed and actively interpreted.

Apart from operating as a medium for engaging the audience in the aforementioned manner, Pearson and Shanks argue, Theatre/Archaeology also holds a promise for new interpretive possibilities for the archaeologist. Through their hands-on performative engagement with materiality it might be possible for archaeologists to discern performed behaviours in the past, especially in ritual contexts. In this sense, Theatre/Archaeology is

used as an experimental project, whose purpose is to retrieve elements of the past that are archaeologically elusive due to their intangibility. The importance of ritualised behaviour in particular is necessary for understanding the material leftovers of such actions. In order to achieve an understanding of acted out behaviours in the past, Pearson and Shanks consider a wide range of parameters, such as the factors facilitating, hampering, or even dictating bodily movement within a (ritual) space, as well as the fact that within specific (ritual) contexts, everyday objects may become props, i.e., they may suspend their meanings and acquire new, temporary ones (see also Pearson 1998).

Despite its wide theoretical grounding, remarkably skilful integration of performance and archaeology, and its insightful commentary on the tensions between contemporary archaeological theory and modern practice, Theatre/Archaeology is not without problems. I start with an evaluation of the project's communicative and interpretive potential. As Pearson and Shanks clearly state in their book, their incentive is to undermine the modern paradigm of archaeology as retrieval of 'truths', and to involve other stakeholders in the interpretive process. Their way of opening up archaeology to non-archaeologists is by staging performances which are deliberately ambiguous, and therefore themselves in need of interpretation. However Theatre/Archaeology performances are not random encounters with objects and structures (as might be the case in makeshift improvised performances [e.g., flash mobs]), but informed by and alluding to (the archaeological interpretations of) the materiality of the past. This makes the interpretation of Theatre/Archaeology performances possible only under specific conditions. Only those already familiar with the materiality and its archaeology will be able to decipher the allusions and, by extension, the tensions between them that allow the multiple interpretations that the authors envision. Thus, a two-fold 'education' of the audience is prerequired for the performance to succeed.

First, the audience needs to understand that the performance is part of an archaeological project, and therefore archaeology proper. This means that the audience needs to be familiar with the idea of archaeology as cultural production. As discussed earlier in this chapter, despite their artificiality, disciplinary boundaries are sturdily defended by archaeologists (see the case of Dion). This may not be the case of Pearson and Shanks, who seek to establish Theatre/Archaeology as a hybrid, but it might be true for a large percentage of their audience, who might have been taught to expect archaeology to differ significantly from art and would be more comfortable with interpreting a performance in an archaeological site as an artistic rather than archaeological endeavour. The staging of a performance within an archaeological site may temporarily transform the latter in the same

manner that objects and spaces suspend their meanings in the ritual contexts that Pearson and Shanks discuss in their book. A case in point is the common practice of staging Greek drama today in ancient theatres, whose character as archaeological sites is altered (if not altogether suspended) for the duration of the performance.

Second, the audience needs to be already familiar with the materiality and interpretation of the site in order to grasp and react to the allusions of the performance and actively partake in the interpretative procedure. In lack of such familiarity, the experience of the audience might be limited to aesthetic contemplation. At the same time, if this 'education' of the public occurs beforehand, the performance will be conditioned and redefined as the presentation of yet another interpretation, by virtue of the performer:audience (instructor:instructed) dichotomy. It is for these reasons that, in my opinion, an integration of archaeological and performance practice either as outreach or involvement can only work for sites whose materiality and interpretation do not require explanation to the audience witnessing the performance. Practically, this means that both said site and the allusions of the performance must be part of the audience's everyday experience, that is, *lived (in)* rather than separated from the everyday and passively constructed by specialists. This may be easier in contexts where the archaeological sites and (the interpretations, uses, and appropriations of) their material remains are part of the everyday experience of people (as is the case of the Acropolis), or in excavations conducted in close collaboration with locals. One such Theatre/Archaeological performance recently took place at the Middle Neolithic settlement site of Koutroulou Magoula, Greece (Summer 2011), as part of the archaeological-ethnographical study conducted there by the 14th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and the University of Southampton. Before I proceed with my critique of Theatre/Archaeology, I would like to dedicate some space here to this particular project, which, by virtue of its (auto)ethnographic and inclusive character, overcomes the problems of Theatre/Archaeology discussed so far.

To Geuma (The Meal) was performed at the end of the field season. The setting was very simple: a wooden table and two chairs were installed in the excavation area and two performers, Efthimis Theou and Thanasis Deligiannis, read aloud a script that had been produced throughout the field season. The script, a verbal collage evoking the transcultural significance of food production, consumption, and sharing, comprised data obtained by the ethnographic team of the project, excerpts from the excavation diary, as well as the collective diary that (non-Greek) students participating in the excavation were asked to keep with emphasis on their culinary experience of Thessalian food, and allusions to the

last meals of US prisoners on death-row; what is more, it was inevitably (and consciously so) influenced and informed by the archaeological work carried out at the site and the experience thereof by the archaeologists/performers. As such, the script – and by extension the performance – was the product of a collective and collaborative effort, whereby all agents of the excavation were involved: archaeologists, workers, students, local community. The direct involvement of the latter, in particular, is of importance here. As Hamilakis and Theou describe in their paper, the locals who attended the event were no mere spectators, but 'spect-actors'; their contribution to the performance was not just the fact that they were there to passively witness it as such (although, without them, there would be no performance to speak of), but rather that they were involved in all aspects of it: as providers of the ethnographic data on which it was partly built, they were embedded in the performance as co-authors, whereas their active participation in the event through their recognition and cheering approval of the performers' use of that data (and the accurate employment of words in the local dialect) and through their preparation of the feast that concluded it, granted them a role in a performative process within a physical space that is normally out-of-bounds for them (an archaeological site in the process of excavation) as collaborators and as equals. In that, *To Geuma* succeeds to overcome the two main criticisms of Pearson and Shanks' Theatre/Archaeology that I articulated earlier: first, by staging a performance that is about and informed by the archaeology of the site and the experience of its practitioners, the archaeologists/performers prevent the site from suspending its meaning – throughout the performance, it remains an archaeological site in the process of excavation – and/because they present the performance not as a side-project for entertainment purposes but as archaeology proper; second, by virtue of the ethnographic character of the script and the familiarity of the local community with the archaeological site, the allusions of the performance are not only not lost to the audience, but recognised and reacted upon. These two elements of the performance, along with the feast that followed it, resulted in a performance event that is reminiscent of artworks adhering to Nicolas Bourriaud's *Relational Aesthetics* (1998). Bourriaud

> saw artists as facilitators rather than makers and regarded art as information exchanged between the artist and the viewers. The artist, in this sense, gives audiences access to power and the means to change the world.
>
> (Wilson and Lack 2008:183)

Relational artists often use the gallery space to create the conditions for their artwork to come to life. Rather than creating an artwork to be contemplated by the viewers, they create a setting (e.g., the laying out of a dinner table) in which viewers are asked to become

participants in a shared event and become the artwork (through interaction with the setting and each other). By giving the local community both physical/unmediated and mediated (through the incorporation of the ethnographic material) access to the archaeological site, the Koutroulou Magoula project members did something similar through their art: they allowed the initiation and unravelling of human relations and the creation of memory within a particular space, that is, a process of place-making. Their project was not only successful in its ends, but also managed to provide a good example of how the two criticisms of Theatre/Archaeology I articulated earlier can be overcome. I shall now return to Pearson and Shanks' book in order to make one last point.

Another problem with Theatre/Archaeology can be made out when it is employed as a form of experimental archaeology for the discernment of ritualised behaviours in the past. Pearson and Shanks use the example of the archaic Greek cyborg to illustrate the potential of their approach. Drawing on Haraway's cyborg theory (1991), archaeological research, and performance theory, they juxtapose contemporary war and sci-fi horror films with material and texts from/about archaic Greece to perform the warrior. The result is a captivating archaeological text which weaves the intangible presence of the warrior and its material leftovers into an expressive and thought-provoking narrative (for another example see also Shanks 2004). However, despite Pearson and Shanks' insistence on the annexation of the term, it is not performance. Texts might be performative, or even be considered performances in their own right ('second-order' performances) when they are documentations of performances *witnessed* by the author. This, obviously, cannot be the case for an archaeological text that refers to archaic Greece, or, as Pearson admits elsewhere, the past in general (see Pearson 1998). The reason being that 'performance' 'documented' by the scholar is made-up rather than remembered or otherwise re-visited. By the same token, the same can be said for a text dealing with the archaeology of the recent past or the present when the performance 'documented' was not somehow witnessed by the author (regardless of how much we stretch the meaning of 'witnessing' to encompass, for example, hearing oral history). Rather, the only way I can see an academic text constituting a performance on its own right is by being an autobiographical account of the personal experience of its researcher's involvement with their subject-matter, in other words, by constituting a political and psychoanalytical economy of one's research, an autoethnography (see Hamilakis and Theou in this section; also Sofaer and Sofaer in §2.2.4.c).

Still, even though as archaeological writing it cannot but only under very special occasions be considered as performance or documentation of performance, Theatre/Archaeology offers a different possibility. Just like traditional modes of experimental archaeology, it allows the archaeologist/performer to expand their sensorium, and as such, to optimise their interpretive potential. The same desire has triggered the project that follows. *Artchaeology*, as we shall see shortly, sets out to evoke embodied experience through a series of experimental projects. Moreover, it attempts to tackle a problem inherent in both experiments so far considered, namely, the limitations in publishing which necessitate the reduction of land art and performance to conventional text/image presentations.

2.2.2.c Artchaeology

Dragoş Gheorghiu's book *Artchaeology* (2009a) is an anthology of a series of experimental projects at the site of Vădastra, Romania. Despite the fact that most of these experiments have a different starting point than those of Tilley *et al.* or Pearson and Shanks, they constitute a similar engagement with the landscape and the materiality of the past. Setting out to explore aspects of traditional societies' life which are difficult to tackle scientifically (e.g., the concepts of space and landscape, and the elements of water and fire), Gheorghiu and his team embarked on a series of hands-on experiments. Soon they realised that the boundaries between experimental archaeology and contemporary art were more blurred than they had anticipated. What is more, they found that a purely scientific approach to the materiality of the past alone could not yield answers to their research questions. Thus, taking into account contemporary anthropological and archaeological literature on cultural phenomenology (e.g., Csordas 1999) and embodiment (e.g., Hamilakis *et al.* 2002), as well as literature comparing the practices of archaeology and art (e.g., Renfrew 2003), Gheorghiu and his multi-cultural and multi-disciplinary team found themselves involved in an overarching project (cf. Gheorghiu 2009a; 2009b).

The purpose of *Artchaeology*, whose roots stretch back to the mid 1970s, when its author experimented with avant-garde photographic and sculpting techniques to evoke the palimpsestic character of material culture (Gheorghiu personal communication), is twofold. On the one hand, it aims to expand the sensorium of archaeologists and open up new interpretive avenues. Through their engagement with the processes of production, construction, and destruction of material culture, archaeologists simultaneously become aware of the physical as well as the metaphorical aspects of their practice and of their impact on materiality more generally. This allows them to *critically* draw parallels between

their own embodied movements and actions and those of past people, and, eventually, to achieve a different (if not better) understanding of their subject-matter. On the other hand, *Artchaeology* becomes a facilitator of communication between archaeologists and other interest parties. By actively involving the local community in their hands-on experiments, archaeologists simultaneously disseminate the knowledge they have already constructed and renegotiate it through their collaboration with the locals. To illustrate this by an example, Gheorghiu asked the villagers of Vădastra to make bread in the traditional way inside a purpose-built mud-house that his team had just finished constructing. The movement and gestures of the villagers were recorded and replicated by actors and archaeologists, so as to understand the embodied perception of the domestic space of their mud-house.

One might argue that Gheorghiu's approach does not appear to differ significantly from that of Tilley *et al.* Both projects intervene in the landscape with the intention to open up and democratise the interpretive process through their inclusion of non-specialists. They also both take personal experience in the present as their starting point to approach experience in the past. Finally, due to the limitations of printing, both projects are reduced to standardised visual (text-image) publications. Consequentially, it might be expected that they should both be susceptible to the same criticism. The reason why I think that they are not, lies in two theoretical qualifications in Gheorghiu's project, namely cultural phenomenology and evocation.

As he explains in the introduction to his book, and following recent debates within visual anthropology which have problematised the concept of representation (cf. Pink 2006 for a review), Gheorghiu seeks to *evoke* rather than *represent* experientiality. Thus, in both instances of *Artchaeology* (the interpretive and the communicative), evocation takes centre stage. Unlike many experimental archaeological projects which are carried out in order to understand the processes behind the production and consumption of material culture, *Artchaeological* experiments are concerned with the embodied experience of these processes. In other words, whereas other projects would undertake the building and burning of a mud-house in order to observe (and later identify in other contexts) the techniques employed and the behaviour of the materials used, Gheorghiu is interested in observing the physical experience and psychological effects of building, dwelling in, and intentionally igniting and destroying a mud-house. It is precisely for this reason that he adopts a different kind of phenomenology, one that does not take as its central point the body and its perception of the world as such, but rather recognises the cultural constitution

of the body and focuses on embodied experience. The sketch for this phenomenology is articulated by Thomas Csordas (1999:143; original emphasis), in an article beginning with the following qualification:

> If embodiment is an existential condition in which the body is the subjective source or intersubjective ground of experience, then studies under the rubric of embodiment are not "about" the body per se. Instead, they are about culture and experience insofar as these can be understood from the standpoint of bodily being-in-the-world. They require what I would call a *cultural phenomenology* concerned with synthesizing the immediacy of embodied experience with the multiplicity of cultural meaning in which we are always and inevitably immersed.

Although Csordas does not offer a solid proposition for the integration of embodied experience and the multiplicity of cultural meaning, he offers as a starting point two concepts he has elaborated on elsewhere, namely 'somatic modes of attention' (Csordas 1993; 1994) and 'embodied imagery' (Csordas 1994). Csordas defines somatic modes of attention as "culturally elaborated ways of attending to and with one's body in surroundings that include the embodied presence of others" (1999:151). By virtue of its contingency on embodied presences within peopled cultural contexts, this concept discloses the relationality of embodiment and, by extension, of the body itself. Rather than treating the body as an immutable and mechanised sensory device, it situates it within or in relation to performed regimes of cultural conduct. Due to the fact that archaeologists have no access to the ways that past people attended to or with their own or other bodies, Gheorghiu's appropriation of cultural phenomenology would be futile had his project subscribed to representational paradigms (which cultural phenomenology was created to counter in the first place). It is precisely at this point that his choice to employ evocation as his interpretive and communicational strategy makes sense. By conducting collective, and collaborative, experiments on the experience of space, he attempts to evoke rather than represent or replicate the embodied presence of people in the past. It is for this reason that the involvement of non-archaeologists is significant for the archaeologists' education of the senses. At the heart of these experiments is Csordas' second concept, embodied imagery (Csordas 1994; 1999). This concept, which as its author points out becomes "quite redundant as soon as its meaning is grasped" (Csordas 1999:152) attempts a disassociation of imagery from its visual connotations, and its rehabilitation as something experienced with all sensory modalities. Texture or sound could be examples of embodied images. In the case of the bread-making experiment, kneading of the dough could be an embodied

image. In order to record these embodied images, Gheorghiu's team transferred them onto textiles evocative of possible habitual movements of people in the past.

Through his more interventional approach to landscape and the substitution of representation with evocation, Gheorghiu overcomes some of the problems discussed earlier in relation to Theatre/Archaeology and the Leskernick project. The proximity of his site to the village of Vădastra allows him an awareness of the project's impact on (the identity of) the local community. This gives him at once a more defined audience for his communication project and a community that he can actively involve ethnographically in the interpretive process. Because of the involvement of the community, which makes the production and experience of the site more collective, the project is not so much akin to the solitary lyrical nomadism of the Leskernick project but, rather, acquires a character of place-making. Moreover, the publication of the Vădastra experiments is intentionally laconic and heavily illustrated with colourful pictures, so as to operate as an evocative object in itself rather than a deictic or didactic text. In this way, it maintains the stunning effect of Theatre/Archaeology's archaic warrior account, and, although it makes no such claim, by virtue of its autobiographical elements, it is closer to a second order performance (documentation of performance). In this sense, I feel this publication is closer to the vision of an integration of archaeological and arts practice for interpretive purposes than the other two takes discussed in this section. Moreover, it presents a more plausible model of interaction between archaeologists and other interest parties. In the paragraph that follows, I wish to demonstrate two more proposals for enabling such interaction, namely exhibitions and mediation.

2.2.3   Contemporary art as engagement of the public

2.2.3.a Exhibitions

As Yannis Hamilakis, Mark Pluciennik and Sarah Tarlow point out in their article 'Academic Performances, Artistic Presentations' (2001), the boundaries between art and academia are not as clearly-defined as one might think. Nevertheless, they propose that this overlap may be beneficial for archaeologists for it could prompt them to experiment with other ways of telling and different ways of (thinking and talking about) experiencing the past. Academic presentation, they argue, is usually restricted to conference papers and written texts; but it does not always have to be. Archaeologists can draw inspiration from art to develop new ways of expression, suitable to communicate their positions to their

peers and 'the public'. This is particularly relevant in the cases where the meanings, interpretations and theories conveyed are of a radically different nature and need to *create* the space that they will occupy within mainstream discourses. At the same time, the authors are very explicit that this proposal does not mean that these 'alternative' styles should substitute the linear framework within which academic presentation occurs, but complement it, for without it the analytical character of archaeology – the very essence that keeps the different archaeological traditions glued together under the rubric of the same discipline – will be lost (2001: no pagination). After all,

> [a]cademic texts are also the products of creative process; they are not inevitable; they could be other than they are, and juxtaposing what are normally different forms of expression points this up.

> (*Ibid*)

As the authors point out in their conclusion, the thoughts and proposals in their article are a reflection on what appears to have been a happy accident: the organisation of an art exhibition that took place in Lampeter as a side-event to their *Thinking Through the Body workshop* (June 1998). The exhibition, although thematically linked to the workshop (at least loosely, as they were both concerned with the body), was not planned to be associated with it, but, rather, to constitute a completely different event. However, the attention it drew led the authors to comment on the potential benefits of a collaboration between art and archaeology for archaeological presentations. In their paper, they propose that archaeologists use elements of artistic expression or art-works (produced by either archaeologists themselves or by artists collaborating with them) as tools in order to communicate their positions to others.

The idea of exhibitions coupling contemporary art with archaeology is not new. Throughout the years there have been several exhibitions focusing on the ways in which artists have been drawing inspiration from either the practice of archaeologists or the material traces of the past that they have discovered (see, for example, chapter 4 in Holtorf 2005 for the 1974 *Spurensischerung* exhibition in Hamburg and Munich; Noble 1991 for the *From Art to Archaeology* touring exhibition; Putnam & Davies 1994 for the catalogue of a British Museum exhibition entitled *Time Machine: Ancient Egypt and Contemporary Art*; Andrés Ruiz & Ferrari Lozano 2007 for the fairly recent *Los Tiempos Fabulados: Arqueología y Vanguardia en el Arte Español 1900-2000* exhibition of the Museo Arqueológico Regional de Madrid; Russell 2008 for the *Ábhar agus Meon* exhibition; Horn, Winchester and Smith 2010 for the recent *Queering the Museum* exhibition).

However, Hamilakis *et al.*'s take is quite different, as they propose that a collaboration between archaeologists and artists could perhaps convey meanings of a different kind or trigger emotional responses; art could be used to show what conventional academic texts cannot. In the following section (§2.2.4), I shall examine the attempts of archaeologists to communicate with their peers through contemporary art. But first, I would like to very briefly look at how another archaeologist has made use of contemporary art as a medium for the communication of his work to the public.

2.2.3.b Peripatetic video as mediation

Influenced by Shanks' *Experiencing the Past* (Shanks 1992:178), which proposes that archaeology should be perceived as a craft (see also Shanks & McGuire 1996) and the archaeologist as a translator of past materiality, Christopher Witmore has argued that archaeology is about *mediation* (not representation) of bodily experience (Witmore 2004:57-8). His proposition is that this mediation may occur through the use of interactive digital media and especially what he calls 'peripatetic video' (*ibid*).

Inspired by Canadian media artist Janet Cardiff and her video walks[23] (*In Real Time* [1999] and *Telephone Call* [2001]), which are designed to enable the participant to experience the world through the artist's eyes and ears, Witmore conducted an experiment in four sites of cultural and archaeological significance on Crete (the chapel of Aghion Pneuma atop the Bronze Age peak sanctuary of Vrysinas, the site of ancient Eleutherna, Arkadi, and the Old Town of Rethymnon). He used pre-recorded audiovisual material to tour the participant around the site by means of a headset and a digital camera. The methodology bears great resemblance to standard site and museum audio-guides. Its difference to them, and the reason I consider peripatetic video alongside the other engagements with contemporary art, is that it did not communicate a set interpretation of the sites, but, rather, attempted to convey the archaeologist's experience of it. The participant was given a chance to walk in the archaeologist's shoes, so to speak. Moreover, the inclusion of other, 'found' sounds (such as those of canons evoking the battle of Arkadi) to the soundscape transcended the limits of mere story-telling. Narration, interpretation, and fiction merged in an evocative narrative. In this way, Witmore produced a different way of *chorography* or *deep mapping* (see Pearson & Shanks 2001:64; 2014:208-210), which deviated from the inherently

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[23] Janet Cardiff's video walks originate in her signature audio walks, where she urged her 'audience' to relive her experience of certain itineraries through pre-recorded sound-art and narratives that commented on the landscape and which the participants heard on their headphones. In videowalks, she used digital cameras, too.

archaeological (textual) linear narrative to convey the archaeologist's bodily experience of the itinerary. In effect, this *mediation* reintroduced the archaeologist into the interpretation by disclosing the embededness of humans in (the act of) interpretation. By way of his voice commenting on significant features in the itinerary and giving directional instructions through the headset, Witmore's presence was constantly manifested to the participant, who otherwise experienced the walk alone. As such, Witmore's experiment engaged participants in much the same way as it would if he and his participants were to walk side by side. In this sense, his project plays with the boundaries between immediate/unmediated and mediated experience, reflecting modern everyday life.

Witmore's peripatetic video appears very promising as a medium for the information and stimulation of the participant. Its major contribution lies in the fact that it re-establishes the presence of the archaeologist in the field. Archaeological sites are normally sown with boundaries, markers, signs, sign-posts, itinerary maps, guides, and many other de-personalised, disembodied, and impersonal narrative features. All these features are created by archaeologists (who are thus embedded in them). Yet the figure of the archaeologist is immediately absent. The only contact a visitor could have with an archaeologist is through personalised tours of the site, which, however, are not always possible due to budget limitations, heavy workload, or other factors. The absence of the archaeologist from the site may promote the idea of the narratives presented as objective or true. In other words, said narrative features and devices substitute the archaeologist-as-person with their authority. Witmore's peripatetic video undermines the objectivity of these narratives through the juxtaposition of the archaeologist's subjective voice.

However, by the same token, he could be accused of pre-conditioning the participant's experience of the archaeological site. The author attempts to prevent this criticism by arguing that his participants are adequately acquainted with the devices of modernity to be in a position to resist the instructions given to them through a machine. Just like someone who is watching a programme on television is free to change the channel or completely switch off the set, his participants can at any time remove the headphones and look away from the camera screen. Nevertheless, through the blurring of the boundaries between the participant's experience and that of the archaeologist, the former ends up suspending their own being-in-the-world. This occurs in two instances. First, the use of the headset limits the participant's aural experience to the played-back soundtrack. By wearing the headset, the participant loses sensory control (aural, but also synaesthetic) over their surroundings. In this sense, rather than constituting a multi-sensory experience, Witmore's experiment

resembles more experiments of sensory deprivation. The same applies to the camera screen, which might not block the participant's visual range, but dominates it, pushing all other visual experience to the peripheral zone. Second, the omnipresence of the archaeologist puts the participant under the 'archaeological gaze'. The actions of the participant, along with their very movement or the choice to remove the headset and switch off the camera, are conditioned by the voice of the expert that educates them on how to appreciate which features. Seen in this light, Witmore's experiment brings to mind the notion of the 'deficit model' discussed at the beginning of this chapter. The only way that I could see Witmore's peripatetic video suitable in a 'public archaeology' context would be for a public already familiar with the site and the allusions made by the archaeological commentary. Witmore's contribution would be very suitable for visitors' second visit at a site – so as not to precondition their experience of it, but rather enhance it with yet another perspective. After all, Cardiff's installations were targeted towards people who were familiar with the spaces she engaged with. In other words, she provided her participants with a new perspective on an environment they already knew well.

It becomes clear from the above discussion that Witmore's project is susceptible to the same criticisms as Theatre/Archaeology. On the one hand it requires 'educating' participants that what they are witnessing is indeed archaeology (and not a side-project of lesser importance). On the other hand, despite Witmore's intentions to accomplish the opposite, it subjects participants under the 'archaeological gaze' and potentially pre-conditions their experience. In relation to the latter, the project is also susceptible to the same criticism as most computational approaches to archaeology and their supposed interactivity. Participants may be presented with choices (in this case to remove the headset or stop looking at the camera screen). However, any impersonal narrative device handed to a participant by an archaeologist constitutes a physical embodiment of archaeological authority. As such, good intentions aside, an experiment that does not take into account its own positionality is largely self-defeating in an interactive context between archaeologists and other interest parties. At the same time, they might be more suitable if directed towards other scholars. In the following paragraph I examine the employment of art by some scholars for the communication of ideas to their peers.

2.2.4   Art for archaeologists

Apart from being used to communicate archaeology to the public, art has also been used as a communication tool to convey meanings *within* the discipline. In this section I review the

most significant hands-on contributions to the academic discussion of archaeology with contemporary art. My intention is to show how these engagements contribute to the production of new archaeological theory and its communication to other archaeologists.

2.2.4.a IRAC

As Andrew Cochrane and Ian Russell (IRAC) observe in their 'manifesto' (2007; 2008), archaeological theory has thus far been limited to text. Not everyone, however, feels comfortable *writing* or otherwise *expressing* themselves in *academic English*, they continue. For this reason, they felt the need to 'call for a development of a critically reflexive practice of visual archaeological expressionism, which seeks to contest traditional modes of thought and action' (2007:3). The argument bears a resemblance to that of Hamilakis *et al.* (2001b) discussed previously. Both articles call for the incorporation of other, art-inspired ways of telling into archaeological discourses for the communication of positions and concepts which cannot be sufficiently expressed through text. However, unlike Hamilakis *et al.*'s paper, which points out the limitations of the visual and calls for a multi-sensorial approach complementary to traditional archaeological media, the experiments of Cochrane and Russell that I will discuss here are exclusively concerned with the visual, and seem to be directed primarily towards academic audiences.

More precisely, inspired by Catalan artist Joan Fontcuberta's 2005 Googlegrams[24], Cochrane and Russell undertake the task to express conflict and partibility in archaeology

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[24] Fontcuberta wrote about this series "The basic idea consists in selecting images that have become icons of our time. For example, one of the widely disseminated photos of the torture scandal in the Abu Ghraib prison in Baghdad: Private Lynndie R. England holding a leash tied around the neck of a prisoner as if he were a dog. In one 'Googlegram' this photograph has been refashioned using a freeware photo mosaic programme. The photo mosaic is a technique used by graphic designers and photo enthusiasts that consists in composing an image out of a large number of tiny images, which function like the cells in a reticular structure. The programme selects each graphic sample from the bank of available images and places it according to chromatic value and density in the position that most closely coincides with a portion of the larger image being recreated, as if it were making a gigantic jigsaw puzzle. Logically, the greater the number of cells, the sharper the resulting image will be. For the Googlegrams, however, the programme was connected to the Internet and used the search engine Google to locate thousands of images on the basis of search criteria determined by the user, normally images associated with one or several words. In the Abu Ghraib photograph, for example, the search engine was given the names of top officials, civilian contractors and enlisted soldiers cited in the 'Final Report of the Independent Panel to Review DoD Detention Operations' (August 2004) of the Schlesinger Panel, set up by the United States Congress to investigate the alleged abuses".
URL: http://www.zabriskiegallery.com/artist.php?artist=5&page=45 [Link dead on 11/01/17].
In effect, Fontcuberta's art-work constitutes and ironic comment on the idea of internet users "sharing an exhaustive, universal, and democratic conscience" (Artist interviewed by Paul Laster for Artkrush 25 [February 2006]).
URL: http://www.artkrush.com/mailer/issue25/interview/index.html#continue
(Accessed 29/01/09. Link dead on 11/01/17).

through a series of photomosaics entitled *Reflexive Representations* (presented in detail in Cochrane and Russell 2007). Their photomosaics depict iconic artefacts and archaeologists made up by thousands of tiny photographs, which are, in fact, the unfiltered feedback of Google image searches. I choose to discuss only one of these art-works here, that of the Parthenon's *South Metope XXVII* [**Fig. 1**], mainly because it pertains to the relational biography of this thesis' case-study.

The main image of the photomosaic is that of a metope from the Parthenon, currently in the British Museum. The metope portrays a scene from the Centauromachy (battle between Lapiths and Centaurs). The theme, which is traditionally interpreted as a metaphor for the battle between civility and barbarism, was chosen by Cochrane and Russell as a metaphor for the dispute between Greece and the British Museum over the ownership of the Parthenon sculptures.
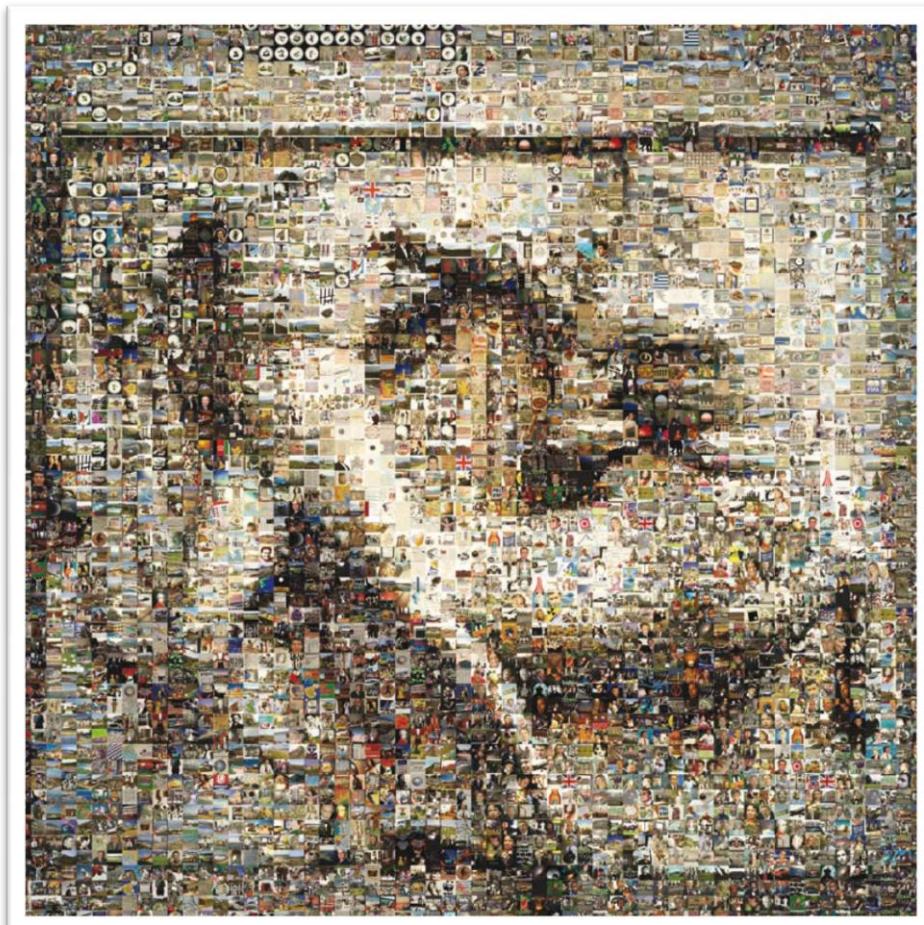
Figure 1 Metope XXVII by IRAC, 2006

(from Cochrane and Russell 2007, used by kind permission of A. Cochrane)

The 100x100 cm photomosaic is thus comprised of *unfiltered* images returned from the Google image search engine when the words 'Greece' and 'Britain' (in both English and Greek) were typed in. The thematic organisation of the pictures comprising the photomosaic (top left corner: Google Image results for the word 'Britain', bottom left corner for the word 'Greece', top right for 'Ελλάδα' and 'Ελλάς', and bottom right for 'Βρετανία') creates divisions between the two countries, which are cancelled out as the viewer moves their focus towards the centre, where the boundaries between the represented nations are blurred over the metope that unites and divides them.

Although conceptually clever, the art-work's execution is problematic. Cochrane and Russell acknowledge that archaeological interpretation (and practice in general) is contingent and expressive of specific subjectivities. The fact that they use the unfiltered (read: random) artefacts of their 'digital excavation' (2007:9) by simply dividing them into four predetermined categories and arranging them accordingly in space, makes one wonder why such inconsistency between their 'manifesto' and their practice. Despite its creators' good intentions, the art-work fails to *speak for itself*. As a matter of fact (and quite ironically for two scholars who argue for the dethronement of academic text and for a practice that does not distinguish between archaeology for academic or public consumption) the photomosaic had to be explained in *textual* form in an *academic* journal *in English* in order for its message to be conveyed. Moreover, even after reading the text, the very nature of the conflict over the Parthenon sculptures, which is much more complex and multidimensional than Cochrane and Russell's account of it (see Hamilakis 1999b; 2007a; Hitchens 1997), is oversimplified. As such, I see their installation as more suitable for a trigger for academic debate rather than an art-work that could engage non-archaeologists. Thus, quite rightly, Cochrane and Russell chose to exhibit it in the context of two academic conferences, namely the 2006 European Association of Archaeologists meeting at Cracow and the Sixth World Archaeological Congress meeting in Dublin.

Reflexive Representations, although primarily about the communication of archaeological issues and positions to peers, is, as its name reveals, also about reflexivity. As such, it partakes of the discussion on the use of contemporary art-works as self-reflexive tools which opened this chapter, albeit from a different perspective. Rather than simply looking at art-works for inspiration on theoretical issues, it actively contributes to this discourse from a practical perspective. At the same time it constitutes a proposition for a new way of communicating ideas to colleagues and makes for an example of what happens when the

social, political, and theoretical dimensions of an art-work are left out from its appropriation by archaeologists.

Fontcuberta's Googlegrams constitute a commentary on contemporary visual culture and its management. On the one hand, they raise questions related to the classification of digital imagery in a similar manner that Dion's *Wunderkammern* does with the material remains of the past. Images are grouped together on the basis of their *identified* thematic or stylistic similarities, and, as such, they articulate a critique of classification methodologies. At the same time, the art-works take the issue further by adding language to the equation. Unlike other, newer, image search engines which find pictures on the basis of visual similarities, the Google image search engine finds pictures by their name or tags. This complicates the issue of classification. For example, a search for the 'Acropolis' returns a plethora of images of the Greek monument and its associated materiality (e.g., the Parthenon sculptures), but also a substantial amount of *noise* (e.g., pictures of Greek restaurants, organisations, and products bearing the same name, and even other acropoleis.

Through his incorporation of said noise in his art-works, Fontcuberta problematises the digital classification of images by pointing at the overlap between different thematic categories which bear the same or similar tags or labels, while simultaneously "exploring the connections and disconnections between word and image" (Fontcuberta 2006). On the other hand, Googlegrams allude to the political dimensions of contemporary visual culture in hyperspace. Fontcuberta makes this absolutely clear in his artist's statement:

> We like to think of the Internet as a vast, open, democratic structure, but the channels of access to information are still mediated by political or corporate interests. The blocking of data, secrecy and censorship are technologically feasible options that the search engines exercise, freely or under compulsion, without informing the user. For example, when the Abu Ghraib affair hit the headlines, Google did not at first supply images of some of the people implicated (including Lynddie England and her boyfriend Charles Graner), although images of these were available from other search engines such as those[:] Altavista, Lycos or Yahoo. On its 'Remove Content' page, Google declares: 'Google views the quality of its search results as an extremely important priority. Therefore, Google stops indexing the pages on your site only at the request of the webmaster who is responsible for those pages or as required by law. This policy is necessary to ensure that pages are not inappropriately removed from our index. Since Google is committed to providing thorough and unbiased search results for our users, we cannot participate in the practice of censoring information on the world wide web.' Unfortunately, however, we have to wake from this 'noospheric' dream and keep a sharp eye on the latest Big Brother's decisions as to what is and is not politically desirable or potentially detrimental to 'national security'.

(Ibid)

As it becomes apparent from his statement, Fontcuberta is aware of and willing to actively comment on what Jacques Rancière has termed 'the distribution of the sensible', i.e., "the system of self-evident facts of sense perception that simultaneously discloses the existence of something in common and the delimitations that define the respective parts and positions within it" (Rancière 2004:12). The commentary on the implicit laws that govern how visual culture is produced and by whom that is at the heart of Fontcuberta's Googlegrams, in other words, their political and historical grounding that separates them from other photo-collages and qualifies them as contemporary conceptual art-works, is overlooked by Cochrane and Russell. With the images making up *South Metope XXVII* having a decorative, rather than conceptual, role, their vision for the expressive communication of theory through art is sabotaged. This lack of theoretical grounding of random, unfiltered results from a search engine may inhibit viewers to see the archaeologists/artists behind the installation. Since the art-as-expression paradigm is all about being able to make out the artist in the art-work, their call for an expressive theory of archaeology is compromised through the absence of their own positionality in this self-reflexive endeavour.

Despite its shortcomings (or perhaps thanks to them), Cochrane and Russell's article constitutes a significant contribution to the discourse concerning the integration of archaeological and arts practices. The authors exposed themselves in a way that is very unusual for academic archaeologists, arguing that art-making, provided that it is the product of conscious and situated scholarship, could indeed inform, instigate, and articulate theoretical discourse. Their contribution is chronologically situated between two other very significant projects that effectively seek to expand the gamut of archaeological practices through the incorporation of original archaeological art. These will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

2.2.4.b Kalaureia photo-essay

Yannis Hamilakis, Aris Anagnostopoulos, and Fotis Ifantidis (2009) recently employed the medium of photo-essay to convey their own experience from the field. The photo-essay was a product of their archaeological ethnography project at the Sanctuary of Poseidon on the island of Poros, Greece, and its purpose was to bring together photography and creative writing into forming an evocative medium. The processes through which the photo-essay materialised are both related to the particularities of the site, and the authors' research interests.

The idiosyncrasy of the site is that its centrepiece, the Temple of Poseidon, is absent. Due to the fact that its remains were removed and reused as building material, today there is no temple as such to be seen. Or shown, for that matter. Tall pine trees growing within the empty rectangular space it once occupied are the only allusion to the temple that stood there, whereas the foundational remains of the surrounding structures fail to impress. The lack of standing monumental architecture has a significant impact on the public perception of the site and thus poses a challenge to the archaeologists setting out to communicate it. How do you encourage a Greek community (nurtured with the idea that archaeology is about structures like the Parthenon) to engage with the scanty ruins of their island (which, incidentally, prevent its tourist and economic development)? Rather than setting out to represent something that is not there in the first place, Hamilakis *et al.* decided to *evoke* their own sense of being-in-the-ethnographic-field.

The photo-essay in question is made up by two elements: photographs (some of which digitally processed) and creative writing. Starting at the Temple of Poseidon and slowly moving towards the town of Poros, the article exposes at the same time the absence of monumentality and places significance on features that classicist aesthetics render unimportant. Pictures of the landscape, the remains of its latest inhabitants, of graffiti, modern-day garbage, and structures built by archaeologists feature alongside those of visitors to and neighbours of the site. The text accompanying the pictures in some cases provides a context, like the one referring to the picture of a rusty key nailed on a tree which informs that the site was inhabited until its expropriation by the Archaeological Service in 1978.

In others, it touches upon archaeological issues, like the one accompanying the pictures of visitors to the site, which comments on the relationship between archaeology and the local community:

> Us and them. Between us, a rope. For a good and sound reason. Still, a rope. Our sign, "visitors welcome", is attached to a metal fence door. And on the way out, we ask visitors to sign the notebook. Words abound at this site, words that are written or inscribed, hurled at each other or confined, loud or hushed. We catch and preserve some of these words. In this case, and under the obligatory congratulatory remark, the cryptic but wholly serious statement "History cannot be sliced into pieces".

<div align="right">(Hamilakis et al. 2009:304)</div>

Both in this particular example and the photo-essay as a whole, the pictures and text critically allude to the hegemonic practice of modern archaeology. The photographs depict two instances of visitors' behaviour within the site. In the first one they form an orderly line alongside a path demarcated with a rope fence. Some are reading the leaflets they picked up on their way in. Others are looking at a feature or person outside the picture. The low vantage point of the photographer allows the bottom half of the photograph to be dominated by small yellow wildflowers, making one wonder whether the photographer follows romantic tropes, mocks them or subjects the visitors to objectification by recording them as a species (in much the same way as Andreas Gursky does in his photographs). The second photograph shows a hand of someone writing in the visitors' book, probably on their way out. On the one hand, this image contradicts the previous one, by showing that visitors are not only 'managed', but also given a platform to express themselves by commenting, congratulating, criticising and even talking back to the archaeologists. On the other, given the history of visitor books as devices through which museums established and enhanced their influence (see Findlen 1994:136-146), one may opine that this image is not so much contrasting as complementary of the previous one, for it depicts yet another instance of conditioned behaviour. The ambiguity inherent in both pictures and in their combination is intensified by the text which hints at the complex dynamics that are in operation at the site, and discloses the counter-modern and counter-hegemonic positionality of the authors. Such ambiguity, which allows the re-conceptualisation of archaeology from mechanistic process to dialogic form of cultural production, could not have been as effectively expressed through simple textual conventions or photography alone. The combination of the two media holds a very promising reply to Hodder's (1989) call for multi-vocal site-reports, but is, again, not without problems.

The first problem I have identified with this photo-essay has to do with its exclusion of the ancient site's materiality and its production by the on-going excavation project. Apart from the 'footprint' of the temple and the stones that are discussed in relation to their modern graffiti, the ancient past, which is the predominant subject-matter of the on-going excavation project, is absent in this essay. That is not to say that Hamilakis *et al.* find the excavation to be irrelevant to their own Archaeological Ethnography project. After all, the latter, by virtue of its definition as a space where various archaeological and other interests meet and interact (see Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009; also Chapter 3 of this thesis), surely welcomes intra-archaeological diversity and dialogue. Rather, a plausible explanation for this exclusion must be sought in the desire of the authors to distance

themselves from established tropes of traditional archaeological photography and photographing of archaeological sites. As they argue in the text preceding the photo-essay, photography as an art-form has contributed towards the establishment (or, as I shall argue in Chapter 4 the consolidation) of an aesthetic canon by which archaeological sites were to be appreciated (*ibid*; see also Szegedy-Maszak 2001).

> This photographic canon contributed to a new way of seeing classical antiquity, one based on an autonomous and disembodied gaze, emphasizing classical monuments in splendid isolation, devoid of other material traces and of contemporary human presence (Hamilakis, 2001). Archaeologists and photographers in the 19th century worked in tandem: the first were producing staged themes, selected, cleansed and reconstituted classical edifices out of the material traces of the past; and photographers were framing these themes (in an equally selective manner) and they were reproducing them widely. They both thus contributed to a new simulacrum economy of classical antiquity. Rather than losing their magical aura, their 'unique apparition of a distance, however near [they] may be', as Benjamin would have wanted it (2008: 23), classical antiquities with their endless photographic reproductions, gained further in auratic and thus distancing value, and their already high esteem within the Western elite visual economy was strengthened even more, as they were now the originals of a myriad of reproduced images (see Hamilakis 2001).

> (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009:286)

In order to undermine the prioritisation of structures and monumentality over the human presence, Hamilakis *et al.* choose to 'decentre' (2009:293), ancient buildings from their photographs and shift their attention to all those aspects that classicism-influenced/conditioned aesthetics render insignificant. This choice, however, essentially means that the authors propose a different theme, or a different aesthetics, and not necessarily a new way of looking at and photographing ruins; the photo-essay does not articulate a new proposition for looking at the leftovers of the ancient past or their retrieval by archaeologists, because it does not address them as its main focus, but almost as background. Thus, whereas is sets out to make an argument that all aspects of the landscape and peoplescape of a site are equally significant, it focuses on the absences, multi-temporality, and contingencies of structures (i.e., on a new archaeological aesthetics) rather than on the artefacts retrieved and interpreted by the excavating team (i.e., the traditional archaeological poetics that are in operation on the site). Because of its shifted focus, it situates the site within its wider, peopled, context, but, at the same time, it also creates a void. The negative of the temple is seen and discussed and so are the graffitied ancient stones and the building work of the archaeological team, but nothing is said about the actual temple, the sanctuary during antiquity, or the processes and results of the excavation. I realise that this is a very short photo-essay that tests the waters for the more

extensive follow-up project: a photo-book (Hamilakis, personal communication). At the same time, I am aware that the main purpose of the photo-essay is to convey the being-in-the-field experience of its authors through an evocation of the site's landscape and taskscape; in other words, that the authors try to include the collective ethnographic experience of the archaeologist, the social anthropologist, and the photographer in the site's archaeological literature. Due to the technical, canonised, and monophonic nature of site-report writing, I can imagine that it is very tempting to omit all those elements that are particular to it, such as dating, descriptions, interpretations, and so forth. However, doing so, inevitably raises a number of questions that are left unanswered: '*What is it about this site that has drawn the attention of archaeologists?*', '*Why did they expropriate the site?*', '*What do they actually do there?*', '*What have they found?*', and so on. Since the photo-essay does not offer answers to these questions, anyone interested in them is forced to seek them in traditional academic accounts and technical or monumentalising representations of it – the very same ones Hamilakis *et al.* set out to counter.

The second problem that I see with the photo-essay concerns its role as an evocative device. Unlike Gheorghiu, who seeks to evoke past *embodied images* (see above) through an experimental cultural phenomenology-inspired archaeology, Hamilakis *et al.* use the word more loosely. In their critique of photography, the authors propose a role for photography that is beyond representation. Instead of using pictures as illustrations to academic texts, they encounter them as triggers of emotional responses and memory. In light of this, their choice to focus on the recent history of the site and the multi-temporality of its materiality (i.e., the significance of the ancient traces of the past for the present) would make perfect sense had the photo-essay been addressed to the people of Poros, as was the case with the two exhibitions that the archaeological ethnography group organised in Poros and the nearby town of Galatas (Anagnostopoulos, personal communication), and as is clearly the case with their photo-blog, *Kalaureia in the Present* (URL: www.kalaureiainthepresent.org). The Poriotes have first-hand experiences of the sanctuary, through their living there before it was expropriated and declared an archaeological site, through oral historical accounts of its recent past, through their guided tours by the archaeologists, or even simply through driving by it on their way to work. For them, the key nailed on the bark of the tree may be evocative of the door that it once opened and the household to which that belonged. A picture of the resin bleeding from another tree may bring to their memory not only the aromas of resin and pine mixed with those of thyme and oregano, but also the process of resin-collection, and of the hands that

undertook it. Yet, as there is no such thing as a universal sensorium, in my opinion the photo-essay cannot appeal equally to others, who have not been there. For the academic reader towards whom the photo-essay is directed (by virtue of its appearance in an academic journal in English), Hamilakis *et al.*'s art-work, it seems to me, operates mainly as a personal, albeit much more theoretically-informed, memoir, not unlike those of romantic travellers and their contemporary counterparts, UrbEx and *haikyo* enthusiasts[25].

These two problems do not undermine the value of Hamilakis *et al.*'s photo-essay as an archaeological publication or as archaeology proper. On the contrary, their art-work is a much-needed contribution to the debate concerning what constitutes legitimate archaeological practice and what does not. As it is concerned with all those aspects of the site that are normally lost in archaeological site reports (landscape, recent history, interest parties, personal involvement), it is a contemporary incarnation of the first site reports whose demise Hodder laments (1989), while, at the same time it proposes a new way of manifesting one's negotiation of positionality within a specific archaeological project. In light of this, it is a self-reflexive endeavour that simultaneously recognises and exposes the complex dynamics underlying archaeological practice. This self-reflexive experiment, however, at least in its incarnations that are meant for dissemination within the academic community, could benefit from the inclusion of the on-going archaeological project and from Gheorghiu's cultural-phenomenological take on evocation, which allows for (the communication of) a more intimate encounter with materiality. After all, it was the lack of such intimacy in the archaeological literature that gave birth to Hamilakis *et al.*'s project, as well as to the one that follows.

2.2.4.c The Disinter/est project

In the summer of 2000 siblings Joanna and Joshua Sofaer (archaeologist and artist, respectively) attempted to access their early childhood, their very own prehistory, through the combination of archaeological and arts practice; and failed. Their failure, which, to date, has been celebrated in a performance lecture at Cambridge University, an installation at The Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge, and two academic

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[25] The Japanese word haikyo, meaning abandoned place, has in recent years become synonymous with urban exploration (UrbEx), a new trend that entails entering often off-limits, abandoned structures in order to investigate them. The recording and blogging of haikyo enthusiasts' experience bears great similarities to Hamilakis et al.'s photo-essay. The neo-romanticism inherent in the haikyo endeavours, along with the amateurism of its practitioners is evocative of both antiquarianism and romanticism. For one of the best examples of haikyo see Gakuranman's outstanding blog: http://gakuranman.com/ (Last accessed 11/01/17).

publications (Sofaer and Sofaer-Derevenski 2002; Sofaer and Sofaer 2008), was not due to scholarly ineptitude or lack of theoretical and/or methodological grounding, but due to the inadequacy of current archaeological and artistic means to retrieve past experience.

Sofaer and Sofaer entered the project with different agendas. Joanna Sofaer's incentive was the exploration of the boundaries of archaeological practice with particular reference to the role that material culture plays in the shaping and archaeological inference of identity. Joshua Sofaer's interest was in the investigation of the potential of archaeology as a methodological approach for the negotiation of subjectivity and objectivity in art-making and writing. As in the case of Hamilakis *et al.* discussed earlier, their work is collaborative. However, while Hamilakis *et al.*'s involvement with the Sanctuary of Poseidon is an ethnographic one, Sofaer and Sofaer's project, due to its subject-matter and approach is (auto)biographical and (auto)ethnographic. It is these two qualities of the project that have not been developed by the other projects discussed so far that qualify it as a suitable conclusion to this chapter.

First, the material culture which Sofaer and Sofaer examined was part of their personal biography, as it consisted of the city and house in which they lived as infants, their toy trunk, and photographs from their childhood. In the same manner that these spaces and things contribute to the authors' own biography, as relational entities, the authors are themselves embedded in these spaces and things' cultural biographies. As such, by putting together the cultural biography of each of those, the authors were automatically piecing together their own autobiography. However, as the things pertained to their infant selves and to a time of which Sofaer and Sofaer have no personal memory, their endeavour was not only autobiographical, but also *heterobiographical* (I prefer this term to their own 'biographical' for reasons of clarity). As they explain, an autobiography is essentially the narration of events imprinted on conscious memory. Because there is no such thing as conscious memory in infancy and early childhood, an archaeological approach of the material culture of their childhood, although pertinent to and consciously initiated by themselves, is an autobiographical attempt for the production of a heterobiography of their infant selves. In other words, as the subject and the object of their research is the same, their work is inherently autobiographical, but, due to the lack of first-hand conscious memory, they have to deal with their infant selves as though these were others. It was in this light that they chose archaeology as the methodological strategy that would provide them with all those elements necessary for the piecing-together of their own heterobiography. Archaeology, as they define it, with obvious reference to prehistoric

archaeology, which is Joanna Sofaer's primary academic specialisation and which they identify as akin to their project, 'studies what is no longer remembered' (Sofaer and Sofaer 2008:171). Thus, the employment of archaeology as a methodology could simultaneously enhance their understanding of themselves and put to the test archaeological practice.

Second, and pertinent to this last point, because of the fact that they were fully aware of their own personal and professional incentives and methodological/epistemological points of departure, their work could be characterised as autoethnographic (cf. Reed-Danahay 1997). Through their exploration of their respective practices, their boundaries, epistemologies, and methodologies, they themselves became at once the subject and object of their ethnographic endeavour. This allowed them a double perspective, one personal and one professional, which, however, often intersected and collided. Thus, for example, upon encountering an aerial photograph of the outskirts of Cambridge depicting the Sofaer house on 20 October 1971, two months after Joanna's first birthday and forty weeks before Joshua's birth, the latter felt the need to view it as a 'quasi-record of [his] conception' (Sofaer and Sofaer 2008:174), or a point of origin of sorts.

Despite the precise spatio-temporal information that it holds, however, the photograph does not contribute much to the (auto)biography of the authors, who have no experiential (read: conscious) connection to that which is depicted. The discovery of the artefact, however, was not without archaeological value.

> Instead of offering meaning to the notion of origin, the aerial photograph highlights the tension between a need to find a single origin point (the place to which we belong), the contemporary reality of dislocation, and the fragmentation of the life course as highlighted by Harré; if the life course has three separate strands then there can be no single origin point so it is fruitless to search for it. Here, as throughout our 'excavations', archaeology had not offered an answer but had rather provoked a tension between material evidence and the auto/biographical. We had, in Perec's words, 'marked' and 'designated' the space but it had failed to speak to us of our infancy. *We had uncovered a psychological need but failed to provide a psychological answer.*

> (*ibid*; my emphasis)

The above statement has a two-fold significance for archaeological practice. First, it illustrates something that has been commonplace in archaeological theory since the paradigmatic shift from Positivism to Interpretivism, namely that no object is inherently archaeological or self-evidently meaningful. The aerial photograph, just like any product of prospection is inadequate by itself to say something about the past. Although it depicted the house in which the two infants and their parents resided at the time under study, it did

not provide a point of origin or a beginning of a story. This leads to the second contribution of the experiment. Despite its failure to say anything about the past on itself, the aerial photograph instigated a desire to interpret it as meaningful. As such, it uncovered a psychological need of the authors for a point of origin, a need that, as we have seen earlier on in this thesis (Chapter 1) is inherent in modern perceptions of self. Sofaer and Sofaer's admission of this desire is important for archaeology for two reasons. First, because it alludes to the very drive behind all archaeology. The systematisation of archaeology into a discipline was owed, as discussed in the previous chapter, to the capitalisation of this very same desire by the bourgeoning classes, who had severed themselves from their immediate origins and were in need of new, deeper ones. Second, this psychological desire not necessarily for origins, but for the identification of something meaningful in the past, which is at the heart of all archaeological practice, is often ignored. Regardless of how well-informed theoretically and ontologically, most archaeologists have so far appeared unwilling to engage with the psychoanalytic economy of the discipline, i.e., the personal and societal motives behind the desire to uncover the past and the psychological impact of archaeology on society. By admitting to their own psychological desire exposed by archaeology, Sofaer and Sofaer alert us to the significance of the inclusion of the archaeologist-as-person in the interpretive process (as opposed to the inclusion of the archaeologist-as-professional, which most of the previous engagements discussed in this chapter propose). The archaeologist-as-person, just like any other person, is caught in a relational web involving more than professional and ideological affiliations. This positionality holds a promise for another way of thinking about personal involvement and subjectivity in archaeological work. As Sofaer and Sofaer argue in their concluding paragraph:

> An archaeological approach highlights the difficulties of accessing specific subjectivities or ambiguities and brings the impossibility of knowing the personal to the fore. On the one hand this can be viewed as a failure of archaeology: by choosing archaeology as the method by which we chose to approach the project we simply picked an inappropriate model. On the other hand, however, highlighting sociality and the ambiguity of the personal may be a more authentic model for human lives. In recognizing and actively seeking out intersubjectivity and fragmentation the auto/biographical project might become richer, more complex, and more, rather than less, real.

(Sofaer and Sofaer 2008:189)

Although Sofaer and Sofaer's project highlights the inadequacy of archaeology as a method for the retrieval of the (forgotten) past, it does not render it a futile practice. The mere fact of the publication of their project, which is essentially a brave celebration of a failed attempt to access the past, attests to that. The publication of a failed project is the ultimate expression of reflexivity, not only because it honestly admits to (and warns against) the shortcomings of a specific theoretical, methodological, and epistemological stance, but also because it produces fortunate by-products concerning the practice. In this particular case, the project raised questions concerning the psychological factors that instigate and influence archaeological practice, which were not present from the outset. Thus, it exposed the need for a psychoanalytic economy of archaeological practice and raised a question that should be on top of every archaeologist's agenda: *Why does the past matter?*

2.3   Conclusion

In this long and complicated chapter I have tried to critically show the diversity of archaeologists' engagements with contemporary art and arts practice, their motives, purposes, and theoretical pedigrees. Rather than providing an exhaustive study of all experiments, I have chosen to focus on the ones that, in my opinion, contribute to the on-going and long-lasting discourse concerning the role of archaeology in contemporary society. The remaining publications that I have not discussed in the sections above could easily be classified in one of the main clusters of publications, to whose criticism they are also susceptible. Thus, for instance, Aaron Watson's work that focuses on transcending established representational methodologies in various British prehistoric sites (as well as the critique thereof) is akin to that of Tilley *et al.*'s engagement with Leskernick (Watson 2004). Another example is Cornelius Holtorf's *Incavation* project in Berlin, which can be characterised as reversed archaeology, for Holtorf and his partners in this project elaborately buried the leftovers of their unusually big breakfast in the small back yard of a house. Holtorf's project raises issues concerning the relationality and multitemporality of material culture, as well as the social contingencies of archaeological practice in the same manner that Hamilakis *et al.*'s photo-essay and Sofaer and Sofaer's project do (Holtorf 2004). The fact that these projects were not included in the analysis above does not mean that I consider them of lesser importance. Due to the fact that these publications are shorter and more condensed than the ones discussed, their contributions and criticisms are included in those of the bigger projects. The purpose of this chapter was to critically

present the latter individually and comparatively in order to understand whether they, in fact, share anything that could allow their systematisation into a disciplinary movement. The contributions of projects such as those of Watson and Holtorf, by virtue of their ontological similarities to other projects discussed here, should be considered included. Excluded from this chapter is, also, a very important edited volume with collaborative projects published after the completion of my fieldwork – Russell and Cochrane's *Art and Archaeology: collaborations, conversations, criticisms* (2014). Its exclusion is owed to the fact that its insightful content, which moves away from the experimental and very consciously explores the practical and theoretical implications of interdisciplinary and collaborative practice for art, archaeology, and heritage, is very different in character to the publications discussed so far. Moreover, and more importantly, it did not inform the theoretical and methodological context of my work, and as such I thought that it would be more useful to discuss it in the Conclusion to this thesis in order to simultaneously articulate a critique of my own work at the Acropolis and incorporate the latter within the context of the broader definition of archaeology that it proposes.

As shown throughout the chapter, despite their diversity in incentive and methodology, the engagements of archaeologists with arts practice have certain similarities. First, they all seem to partake of a critique of the archaeology-as-retrieval-of-the-past paradigm, by pointing to the relational character of material culture and the inter-subjective nature of its interpretation. From Renfrew's brief discussion of the active construction of the material record to Sofaer and Sofaer's exposure of the psychological motives behind the transformation of an object into an archaeological find, these publications are replete with the sentiment that archaeologists actively construct the past that they study. Although this notion is not new to those acquainted with Interpretivist archaeological theory (and all of the authors discussed above have very strong theoretical backgrounds), experimentation with other cultural forms allows its rediscovery through new pathways. This might at first look like an experiment in self-indulgence, but, in fact, it is anything but. In the case of Sofaer and Sofaer, the integration of archaeological and arts practices raised more questions for both practices and the incentives behind them than it answered about the past, questions which archaeology itself perhaps would never have raised alone. Second, despite the fact that it is commonplace within archaeological circles that archaeology is a cultural form, it is still very much perceived by outsiders as a mechanism for the retrieval of 'the one true past'. Thus, these engagements, by virtue of their involvement with other cultural forms, can be interpreted as an attempt to undermine established public perceptions of the

discipline. Seen in light of the realisation of the power that archaeology holds over the present through its control over the material leftovers of the past, the desire of certain archaeologists to openly experiment with other cultural forms may be interpreted as a way to save archaeology from possible abuses for purposes that run counter to the current disciplinary and social ethics. Third, undermining the monopoly of institutional archaeology over the construction of the past presupposes the involvement of other interest parties and their own archaeological practices. One of the elements that kept surfacing throughout this chapter was the aspiration of many archaeologists to open up their practice to others. While Vilches and Lovata sought to establish artists as honorary archaeologists, Tilley *et al*. and Gheorghiu attempted to give visitors and local communities an active role in the interpretive process. Fourth, the process of opening up archaeological practice to include other interest parties brought to the fore issues of social relevance and instigated the incorporation of ethnographic methodologies into archaeological work. Pearson and Shanks', Hamilakis and Theou's, and Hamilakis *et al.*'s site-specific projects have attempted to bring to the fore aspects of the archaeological sites for which they were developed that were detached from the specialised procedures of archaeology and of interest to the local communities they addressed and wished to involve. Evidently, these engagements put the positionality of the researchers centre stage, making them question their own role in the complex tangle of relations that the existence of an archaeological site always creates. Finally, fifth, as positionality and reflexivity always go hand-in-hand, some of the engagements inevitably transformed into autoethnographic endeavours. As it has been discussed with particular reference to Sofaer and Sofaer's project, the incorporation of archaeological and arts practices may, due to the long-standing affiliation of the latter with psychology, raise the issue of the need for a psychoanalytical economy of archaeology, i.e., an examination of the psychological reasons why archaeologists and the societies we inhabit concern ourselves with the past, as well as of the psychological impact that our practice has on us and our societies.

As this last point feeds back to the use of contemporary art as a mirror for archaeological practice, and Renfrew's work, I feel that the connections between these engagements make it clear that these are in fact different expressions of a movement wishing for a new role for archaeology in contemporary society. I have very briefly summarised above the positive aspects of the engagements examined in this chapter. However, as I argued from the outset, equally important are their shortcomings, for they alert us to problems and issues that we

would otherwise not realise they were there. In the following paragraph, I wish to summarise these in order to appreciate the contribution of these projects as a whole.

Despite their good intentions and elaborate theoretical and methodological support, the projects discussed in this chapter are not without problems. First, as it has become apparent so much through the work of Renfrew as that of Cochrane and Russell, artworks are contingent on their historical contexts, and contemporary art-works, due to their reflective and reflexive character, even more so. By ignoring their historical and political dimensions when they appropriate their techniques, archaeologists essentially compromise and sabotage the social relevance of their own art-works. Second, as Tilley *et al.*'s work warns, the appropriation of an art-form presupposes a thorough knowledge of the possibilities offered by said art-form. Drawing inspiration on the inappropriate strand of an art-form, as Tilley *et al*. did with lyrical nomadism, can impair the archaeological uses of it. Third, as demonstrated by Pearson and Shanks', as well as Witmore's engagements, good art-works do not necessarily make successful *archaeological art-works*. Archaeology may be a cultural form akin to art-making, but it is not about art-making. For better or worse, archaeology investigates the materiality of the past and (the processes of) its assemblage in the present. This burdens archaeologists with a responsibility yielded by the power of their subject-matter. By virtue of the authority that archaeologists hold, it is very easy to condition others' experience of the materiality of the past or subject them to what I have called 'the archaeological gaze'; this is not true for artists, whose work the public is accustomed to appreciate, criticise, and reject more freely. Finally, fourth, it is very important to always bear in mind that art-making is a cultural form just like archaeology, with its theories, epistemologies, methodologies, and mechanisms of critique and evaluation. It is neither self-explanatory, nor ahistorical and simple. As such, it should be approached with the same respect and commitment that a scholar seeking to conduct interdisciplinary work would approach another discipline.

Armed with the valuable lessons learnt from the contributions, shortcomings, and by-products of the engagements that I sought to organise in a movement, I shall next attempt an archaeological art approach to the Acropolis of Athens. However, before I proceed to the second part of the thesis, where I will undertake this task, I wish to make explicit my own theoretical and methodological choices. In the very brief chapter that follows, I shall attempt to situate what I have systematised here as a movement within contemporary archaeological theory, in order to provide my own art-making with the theoretical backup it requires.

Chapter 3:   Contemporary archaeologies: contextualising the engagements

3.1   Introduction

In the first chapter I defined archaeology as a diachronic (re)negotiation of the propriety of modes of engagement with the material leftovers of the past on the basis of current politics, ethics, and aesthetics. I demonstrated how the emergence of the modern discipline of archaeology was facilitated by certain social, technological, political, ethical, and aesthetic paradigm-shifts to accommodate the needs and desires of the emergent nation-states and their bourgeoning classes. Finally, I showed that the relationship of archaeology with art is a long-standing, symbiotic one, whereby both practices are mutually conditioned. In the second chapter, I elaborated on what I perceive as a new manifestation of this relationship, namely the recent engagements of certain archaeologists with contemporary art and arts practice. By means of a close comparative examination of these engagements, I argued that, despite their diverse points of departure and theoretical and methodological inclinations, these engagements can be seen as constituents of a radical movement calling for a profound change in the way archaeology is practiced. In this chapter, as suggested by its title, my aim is two-fold: first, to situate the critique articulated by this movement within contemporary archaeological theory and practice; and second, to position my own engagement with the case-study of this thesis in relation to this movement and contemporary practice. I shall begin by examining the recent criticism of archaeology as a modern, colonial enterprise, and proceed by reviewing the attempts of archaeologists to decolonise it. I have chosen to focus in particular on the propositions that have emerged out of the so-called 'ethnographic turn' (cf. Castañeda 2009) of archaeology for two reasons. First, because archaeological ethnography resonates with the archaeological engagements with contemporary art discussed in the previous chapter; second, because, as it will become clear at the end of this chapter, an archaeological ethnographic methodology is the most fitting approach to my case study. In terms of organisation, this chapter is divided into three parts. The first re-visits the relationship of archaeology with power; in the second, I very briefly touch upon the issue of relevance of modern archaeology to contemporary society and also present the counter-modern alternatives that have been proposed in the last few years, with particular reference to the 'ethnographic turn'; finally,

in the third, I try to describe the relevance of archaeological ethnography to the engagements of archaeologists with contemporary art and my own work on the Acropolis.

3.2   Archaeology and power

As argued in the first chapter, the discipline of archaeology has since its inception been anything but monolithic and singular. As such, it is particularly difficult to define it on the basis of a sole principle. Its practice is an ever-changing amalgam of engagements with the materiality of the past, which, however, are neither exclusive to archaeology nor constitutive of a criterion for its definition. For example, the physical act of excavation, perhaps the most iconic procedure of archaeological research, not only is not practiced by *all* archaeologists, but is also employed by practitioners of other disciplines (e.g., geologists, palaeontologists, medical doctors [where the site is substituted by the human body], and, of course, by psychoanalysts [as a metaphor]). Moreover, it is not necessarily practiced for academic purposes, or the construction of knowledge. Renfrew, for instance, defines looting as the "illicit, unrecorded and unpublished *excavation* of ancient sites to provide antiquities for commercial profit" (2000:15: my emphasis). The only criterion by which an excavation can be characterised as archaeological is by virtue of its being carried out by archaeologists. Even if we ignore or surpass the circularity of this argument, which, essentially disqualifies excavation from constituting a criterion for the definition of archaeology, we are faced with an even more complicated situation. The practice of archaeological excavation is subjected to cultural as well as regional, temporal, and functional conditioning – a rescue excavation in London carried out by a commercial archaeological unit today, for example, shares very little in terms of purpose, team make-up, budget, techniques, ethics, and so on, with an academic excavation carried out by one of the foreign archaeological schools in late nineteenth-century Athens. Yet they are both considered archaeological excavations. The issue gets more complicated when practitioners and agents of different traditions/disciplines collaborate on the same project, whereby the development of translation mechanisms is required, and even more so when the term is stretched to encompass other archaeological practices, such as archival or bibliographic research. As it becomes apparent from this brief discussion, the concept of excavation is under constant renegotiation. In that, it does not differ from all other practices of archaeology, which, rather than being fixed in time, are historical and, therefore, better understood as fluid and contingent on current ethics, politics, and aesthetics. Histories of archaeology attest to practices falling in and out of favour with

different traditions active in different regions at different times, with some of them re-emerging revived and revisited (e.g., the reconsideration and redefinition of public archaeology in the 1980s has a genealogy stretching back to, at least, Mortimer Wheeler), others completely transformed (e.g., the change in the ways ethnography informs archaeological research), and others as completely new manifestations of old phenomena (e.g., the resurfacing of archaeology's relationship with art through its practicioners' engagements with contemporary art that I discussed in the previous chapter). Adding the constant introduction of new technologies and methodologies into the mix, we end up with numerous clusters of archaeological practices which, nevertheless, fail to enlighten us as for what archaeology really *is* or *does*. An answer must be sought elsewhere.

The view that the discipline of archaeology is a product of modernity (see Chapter 1), created in modernity's own image and likeness, permits its theorisation as a *process*, or "a fluid set of negotiated interactions" between its practitioners and their contemporary society (Hodder 1999:19). As such, what archaeology is (and does) is determined by the needs and desires of the society by which it is carried out. As Hodder (*ibid*) reminds us, archaeologists have been no strangers to this dialectic between their practice and its contemporary context. On the contrary, from Grahame Clark's interest in the relationship between archaeology and the State to Vere Gordon Childe's disclosed Marxism, and from the New Archaeologists' positivist belief that the establishment of universal laws directing human behaviour in the past could help us better understand the present and predict the future to the most recent developments in public- and community-sensitive archaeology, the concern of archaeologists with the social relevance of their work could not have been more evident. In this light, it becomes clear that the discipline of archaeology has always been about the construction of knowledge of the past *for the present*.

However, the incentives behind the construction of knowledge have not always been innocent, but contingent on personal and collective desires for recognition and distinction in (and/or control over) the present. As discussed earlier, the emergent middle classes of the West found in the then infant discipline a reassuring legitimator of their socio-economic condition as the culmination of cultural evolution. At the same time, and by the same token, the infant nation-states were provided with the 'material proofs' necessary for their claim to land, unity, and existence. Even if we accept that archaeology was 'manipulated' and 'abused' (both words in quotes for they constitute retrospective projections of a *current* archaeological ethics) for the promotion of interests other than the construction of knowledge, we cannot but recognise that the (right to this) construction of

knowledge *itself* presupposes a level of control over the materiality of the past (cf. Rancière's 'distribution of the sensible' discussed in §2.2.4.a). The modern notion that archaeology is operating in the interest of all humanity (through regurgitation of the very vague concept of 'posterity') itself constitutes an exercise of power at the expense of other cosmovisions, and, as such, renders much of archaeology patronising and colonial. Considering power over the materiality of the past as the foundation of the modern discipline of archaeology, by virtue of its production of cultural capital, allows the theorisation of archaeology within a wider frame that transcends the conceptual and chronological boundaries of modernity, a frame that allows the Delian purification campaign I discussed in Chapter 1 (§1.1.1) to stand side by side with Interpretivism.

3.3   Counter-modern archaeologies

The late twentieth-century paradigmatic shift in archaeological theory, along with the changing scholarly ethos it instigated, revealed a disciplinary crisis: in a globalising world that had supposedly once and for all rid itself of all things national and colonial, archaeology continued to serve the same modernist purposes it had been created to accommodate, but which, in the meantime, had become irrelevant. In 1999 Hodder wrote:

> It can be argued that archaeology is in crisis in three respects: (a) The rise of archaeology as a discipline was intimately linked to nationalism (Diaz-Andreu and Champion 1996). People used to *inherit* culture, and archaeology and heritage were part of that inheritance. Now, increasingly, some people can *choose* their culture. they increasingly choose how they wish to relate to and interpret the past. The past is part of the 'performativity' of fluid identities (Butler 1990; 1993). This trend is parallel to but different from the emergence of new ethnicities in a postcolonial world, but again the diversity undermines a coherent and unified scientific approach. Thus (b) archaeology is losing its role in finding universal origins and human-ness, since the 'other' is talking back and giving different perspectives on these views. (c) Commodification and commercialization of the past have increased, partly as a result of withdrawal of the state support in some countries, but also as a result of the nostalgic fascination with exotic otherness which is so much a part of global society. How can standards be maintained within the discipline in the face of the market? And how can the past be used both to create local identities and global play?

> (Hodder 1999:179; original emphases)

The answer to this crisis, Hodder argues further on in the same text, is "to open up the discipline to reflexivity, contextuality, interactivity and multivocality and so to create a continual process of interpretation and re-interpretation" (*ibid*). His propositions do not only mirror the self-reflexivity permeating the publications of its time (see §2.1.1), where

the origins of the archaeological engagements with contemporary arts practice discussed in the previous chapter are to be sought, but also with those articulated by those advocating a need for counter-modern archaeologies.

In the concluding chapter of his book *Archaeology and Modernity*, having already established his view that archaeology's "very existence is tied to a set of historical conditions that are presently vanishing" (Thomas 2004:223), Thomas makes a series of propositions for the restoration of the discipline's social relevance. The suggestions that he makes under the rubric of a counter-modern archaeology emphasise the relationality of materiality and the contingencies of meaning. First, he proposes that archaeologists embrace the political and ethical contingencies of knowledge construction; that they realise and acknowledge their own positionality within their discipline and projects. Second, he argues that traditional, inherently modern, analytical and disembodied approaches to the materiality of the past are insufficient for understanding intangible aspects of past people's lives. In this context he views experimental forms of writing, image- and art-making as holding a promise for a more socially and personally engaged archaeology. Third, he makes a case against the singularisation of humanity, i.e., the imposition of modern human experience, ethics, aesthetics, and so forth on past people. In his view, archaeology is concerned with difference from/in the past and, as such, it should promote diversity rather than trying to abolish it. Fourth, Thomas argues for an ethnographically-aware and informed archaeological practice. Finally, fifth, he argues for more dialogic and inclusive ways of conducting fieldwork. The five proposals that he sees as necessary constituents of a potential counter-modern archaeology make up the core of what Quetzil Castañeda has identified as the 'ethnographic turn' of archaeology (2009), and which I shall try to summarise in the paragraph that follows.

3.3.1   Archaeological ethnography

In many parts of the world, archaeology is currently taught either as part of anthropology (e.g., the Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia in Mexico City, and the Department of Anthropology at the University of California, Berkley) or alongside it (e.g., the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of Cambridge, and the Department of History, Archaeology, and Social Anthropology at the University of Thessaly). This institutional arrangement reflects a long-standing, albeit somewhat asymmetrical relationship (cf. Hamilakis 2011b) between the two disciplines, largely owed to their common preoccupation with materiality. Another expression of this relationship is

the introduction and incorporation of anthropological writings and methodologies into archaeology (e.g., osteoarchaeology, ethnoarchaeology). However, in the last five years, on account of archaeologists' self-reflexive take on their practice, which could be characterised as a form of autoethnography, a more reciprocal rapprochement of the two disciplines has been sought.

In 2005, Lynn Meskell proposed a new mode of archaeological engagement with local communities living in close proximity to archaeological sites under study. In place of examining the site as a ruin, in isolation from its contemporary contingencies, Meskell proposed a *hybrid practice* at the interface of social archaeology and social anthropology, which she named *archaeological ethnography*. Her aspiration was to populate the site with its contemporary 'inhabitants', their takes on (the materiality of) the past, and the political economies of archaeological fieldwork. She set out to achieve this through the employment of archaeological and anthropological methodologies which took extra care not to privilege or disenfranchise any of the interest parties involved. Moreover, with particular reference to her work in the Kruger National Park (2005; 2007) Meskell hinted at the potential of archaeology as a form of social activism, capable of "perform[ing] a remedial and therapeutic service that actively counteracts the centuries of colonial oppression and apartheid erasures that have deeply affected the production of the past and thus future possibilities" (Meskell 2007:383).

Meskell's proposition for this branching out of archaeology was very much contingent on the aforementioned crisis that archaeology underwent at the end of the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first century (see also §2.1.1). The realisation of the limitations of archaeology as retrieval of the past and its reconceptualisation as a cultural form were of particular significance. Quetzil Castañeda and Christopher Matthews have recently pointed out:

> As archaeologists have increasingly grappled with the social and political construction of archaeology, an idea forcefully expressed by a variety of postprocessualists, the ethics of the discipline that had been formulated by the values and a vision of science as a transcendent, objectivist good have eroded. The scientific ethos and morality of universal heritage that must be known and preserved in the name of generalized humanity has dissolved as archaeologists recognize the legitimacy of the specific claims of particular groups over their material past and intangible archaeological heritage. New ethical frameworks have emerged that prioritize and value the public meanings, interpretations, and rights of ownership that descendent communities and stakeholders assert over the archaeological record. In these changing relationships between archaeology, the past, and stakeholders, many archaeologists have turned to ethnography as a means and method for addressing the political, ethical, epistemological, and social issues

> that researchers must today confront as they reassess and reshape archaeological practices of making the past and engaging with interested publics.

<div align="right">(Castañeda and Matthews 2008:2)</div>

Seen in this light, Meskell's archaeological ethnography can be interpreted as an attempt to make archaeological practice socially relevant and useful, as it was built on the belief that the new hybrid practice constituted a strategy for the correction of the wrongs done by archaeology in the past.

Four years later, Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos revisited the concept of archaeological ethnography and argued that its theorisation as a hybrid practice limits its potential. They went on to redefine archaeological ethnography as a transcultural and transdisciplinary *space*, a platform for archaeologists and other interest parties to meet and interact constructively over the material remains of the past (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009). Their annexation of the term has had significant implications for the liberation of archaeological ethnography from the disciplinary and institutional boundaries of its parent disciplines. Rather than reducing archaeological ethnography to a new methodological framework for the practice of archaeology, Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos proposed a new take on archaeology, providing a framework for a practice that encompassed all of Thomas' suggestions (Thomas 2004) for a counter-modern archaeology.

Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos define seven key properties of the space of archaeological ethnography. First, they emphasise its reflexive nature: archaeological ethnography is about the realisation and disclosure of the archaeologists' positionality within their projects, but also, and perhaps more importantly, about the situation of the project within its broader social context. Second, they clarify that archaeological ethnography is total ethnography, i.e., it is not limited to a sole question concerning the perception of the materiality of the past by local communities, but, rather, sets to investigate all possible ways in which the (active retrieval of the materiality and construction of the) past is interwoven with the social fabric. Third, in light of standard archaeological practices of decontextualisation, storage, and display, which effectively scatter the materiality of a site, and new communication technologies, which allow the multiple reproduction and reconstitution of a site in multiple domains, they advocate multi-sited ethnography. Fourth, in contrast to traditional modern, disembodied and pseudo-positivist approaches to the materiality of the past, they attempt a sensuous engagement with it. This effectively means that they are open to a type of scholarship that transcends disciplinary conventions and flirts with the experimental. The authors' collaboration with Fotis Ifantidis discussed in the

previous chapter (§2.2.4b) is an example of such an alternative mode of encountering materiality. Fifth, still on the same note, they seek to counter the conventional fragmentation of the past into periods by emphasising the multi-temporality of spaces and artefacts. Sixth, they pursue a type of scholarship that is sensitive to the political implications of archaeology and archaeological practice. Finally, seventh, they propose a dialogical, collective approach that transcends disciplinary and cultural boundaries (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009; see also Hamilakis 2011b).

The seven characteristics of Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos' archaeological ethnography that I just outlined correspond to Thomas' five suggestions for a counter-modern archaeology. More specifically, Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos' first and sixth points can be seen as corresponding to Thomas' call for the embrace of the political and ethical dimensions of archaeological work. Similarly, their second point appears to be giving a practical dimension to Thomas' proposition for the use of ethnography as an archaeological methodology. Their third and fifth points can be seen as strategies for restraining the habit of projecting modern, western, middle-class, heteronormative or otherwise normative notions onto the past (thus resisting its singularisation and normalisation). Their fourth point, which advocates a more sensuous approach to materiality, reflects Thomas' annexation of archaeology to encompass alternative forms of archaeological production, such as creative writing, art-making, and poetry. Finally, their seventh point provides a practical answer to Thomas' call for a more collective and dialogic practice. These associations, along with Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos' explicit statement that they wish to counter modern archaeological tropes, qualify archaeological ethnography not so much as a new methodology, but rather as counter-modern archaeology proper. In the following, and final section of this chapter, I wish to show how archaeological ethnography relates to this thesis and to my work on the Acropolis in particular.

3.4   Towards an art-archaeology of the Acropolis

At the end of the previous chapter, I summarised the critique of modern archaeology articulated by the archaeological engagements with contemporary arts practice. After considering them in light of archaeological ethnography and Thomas' schema, however, it becomes clear that these engagements also articulate a proposition for a counter-modern archaeological practice. By attempting to undermine established public perceptions of the discipline as retrieval of the past, and to open up the practice of archaeology through the

involvement of other interest parties, but also by engaging with their subject-matter reflexively and (auto)ethnographically, many of the archaeologists behind these publications addressed aspects of Thomas' schema for a counter-modern archaeology. The most important contribution of these publications in relation to counter-modern archaeology was their *practical* attempt to renegotiate the power that is inherent in archaeological practice and to share it with other interest parties. As such, it can be said that they went a step further than Thomas' theoretical suggestions. Yet their contribution and potential, but for a few exceptions, such as the volume by Russell and Cochrane (2014) that I mentioned in the previous chapter and will review in my Conclusion, had gone almost unnoticed until now. The reasons for this have to do with the engagements' experimental and pioneering character, and the lack of interaction between their initiators. The scattering of the publications in diverse journals and book chapters not only made these engagements appear as idiosyncratic, one-off side-projects, but also hindered their further development and organisation within the same movement. Their gathering and comparative analysis here, within the space of archaeological ethnography, i.e., a space designated precisely for such a meeting of minds and practices, was thus necessary for the creation of a basis for the development of projects that could go beyond the experimental and renegotiate the definition of archaeology today. In this context, I saw the potential of developing an art/archaeological approach to the Acropolis of Athens with the intent to test a site-specific set of ethnographic tools designed to decolonise and denaturalise this exemplary specimen of modernist archaeological work through the simultaneous gathering and dissemination of archaeological knowledge concerning its social contingencies, past and present. In the chapter that follows I attempt to offer an account of the site's long and turbulent history in order to explain the reasons that led to its adoption as my case-study. However, before I do so, since my work on the Acropolis is not intented to result in a full ethnography of the site's perception by contemporary Greeks but rather to test a proposed methodology at the interface of archaeology, social anthropology, and contemporary arts practice, I would like to dedicate some space here to the discussion of two seminal publications that argue for and explore the potential of the integration of these practices.

3.4.1   The integration of antropological and contemporary art practices

The two books that I would like to discuss in this section are two edited volumes by Arnd Scneider and Christopher Wright: *Contemporary Art and Anthropology* (2006a) and *Between Art and Anthropology* (2010a). The main reason that I have decided to present

them together rather than separately is that I see them as two parts of the same endeavour, with the former constituting a call for the exploration and transgression of disciplinary barriers between contemporary art and anthropology and the latter showcasing some results of such a crossover of practices. More specifically, in their introductory chapter to *Contemporary Art and Anthropology* (2006b), Schneider and Wright state that their purpose is to stimulate dialogue between two distinct disciplinary practices concerned with a common subject-matter. Despite anthropology's long-standing interest in and study of art as cultural expression and contemporary art's 'ethnographic turn' (see §1.1.2), and the lack of rigid boundaries between them, the two practices have not often met with each other in common collaborative projects that could perhaps help them develop new methodologies in their approaches of their subject-matter; for artists this could mean a more profound understanding of ethnography's practice and purpose, whereas for anthropologists a better understanding of the materiality, agency, and cultural significance of artefacts, as an opportunity to develop new methodologies in order to bodily engage their participants. The authors argue that a possible explanation for this could be the defending of (the unclear) disciplinary boundaries by practitioners from both sides, but mainly by anthropologists. While artists have all the more in recent years used and adopted the theory and practice of anthropology, albeit often in idiosyncratic ways, anthropology's notorious iconophobia (cf. Taylor 1996) has prevented its practitioners from engaging more creatively with their object of study and its publicisation, for fear of compromising the discipline's integrity and perception as a legitimate science. As in the case of archaeology that I described in §2.1.1, anthropology's reflexive turn and interest in other ways of telling (cf. Marcus 2010) has somewhat loosened up this inhibition and prepared the ground for its practitioners' engagement with art practices. Driven by a desire to systematise and explore the potential of these engagements, the editors invited contributions by anthropologists commenting on the work of contemporary artists in an attempt to identify the benefits that that held for anthropology.

In their second edited volume, however, they took a step further, by inviting authors (both anthropologists and artists) to reflect on and actively explore the zones, the meeting ground, of archaeological and arts practices. The contributions to this volume deal with a wide range of issues, ranging from the practicalities involved in the undertaking and publicisation of more creative, artistic, methodologies by anthropologists (Marcus 2010), to the description of individual (Inagaki 2010; Ossman 2010) or collaborative (Feld and Ryan 2010; Grimshaw, Owen, and Ravetz 2010) art-anthropological methodologies

employed in fieldwork or art-making, to ethical concerns implicated in the integration of anthropological and arts practices (Lippard 2010; Walters 2010; Wynne 2010). I will proceed with a brief elaboration of some of the issues raised in this book, which I find of relevance to my work on the Acropolis.

In his contribution George Marcus situates experimental art-anthropological field practices within the historical event of the discipline's 'reflexive turn' that facilitated them, while questioning whether they can exist within the power dynamics of ethnography in the classical sense. More specifically, he argues for a redefinition of anthropological fieldwork in light of its enhancement with (or even transformation by) more involving and creative ethnographic methodologies that are used in it and destabilise its traditional role as the process by which a scholar obtains data to be used in the representation of a community. He proposes that such methodologies could give fieldwork a more activist character. His proposition seems to resonate with Lucy Lippard's theorisation of some artists who are involved in community projects as 'catalysts':

> Much art with anthropological affinities is not made for those *about whom* the art is made. There are admirable artists who enter a community primarily to take something out, to raise a civic dialogue *with* but not *within* the community. But I admire still more those who are catalysts, who don't just explore but hang ini, who stay and help expose and perhaps even help solve problems.

> (Lippard 2010:25)

To my inderstanding, Marcus' proposal for the renegotiation of fieldwork calls for an attitude by scholars that is closer to that of the catalyst artists that Lippard describes. As it will become apparent in the following chapters, where the design, performance, and assessment of my installation will be presented, my intention was for it to operate in this catalytic way, even after my departure from the field. In another contribution, artist Tatsuo Inagaki presents his inherently relational (see §2.2.2.b) work, whereby rather than beginning with the interview of the individual in order to create a monograph on a community as ethnography traditionally does, he starts with the individual and his work is returned to the individual by means of the public installation of souvenirs attesting to and reminding of his encounters with his participants. In my case, I did not intend to leave anything tangible in the field after the completion of my fieldwork (I could not even if I wanted to, due to restrictions concerning the management of archaeological sites in Greece by the state), but to create an, also relational, installation whose purpose and effect would outlive the sessions through my participants' communication of the experience to others. It was for this reason that I chose to devise a methodology that was not only politically aware

and sensitive, but also sensorially vivid and re-evocable. A very important aspect of art-ethnographic work that Schneider and Wright identify in their Introduction to the volume is the fact that through it ethnographers can engage sensorially with their informants/participants as well as with the environment. This is a liberty granted by the employment of creative and artistic methodologies that was not present in traditional approaches to fieldwork, but also by the recent emergence of 'anthropologies of the senses', a field of research which is concerned with the recording and conveying of sensory experience and affect and which has already found a place within archaeological literature (Hamilakis 2014). As I will explain in the following chapters, both the place that I chose to conduct the sessions with my participants and the installation itself were intended to offer a sensorial experience that would facilitate my research.

3.5   Conclusion

My intention with this chapter which concludes the first part of this thesis, was to situate the engagements of archaeologists with contemporary art (which I identified as an uncoordinated critique of contemporary archaeological practice that hints at a proposition for a different social role for the discipline) within the wider framework of current archaeological thught in order to lay the theoretical foundations of my own work at the Acropolis. This will be presented in the following part, which consists four chapters, the first of which attempts the narration of the site's history through a prism that will render clear the reasons that I have chosen it as a case-study, and the following three presenting the design, performance, and evaluation of my site-specific ethnographic art installation.

Chapter 4: The reusable past:

an illustrated biography of the Acropolis

4.1 Introduction

When I set out to write this chapter, I found myself bewildered by the vastness of my material: I wanted to narrate the story of the Acropolis in order to introduce the site and establish the reasons that had led me to choose it as my case-study. But which Acropolis was I to tell the story of: the geological formation that harboured neolithic families in its crevices, the Mycenaean citadel, the Byzantine pilgrimage centre, the Frankish fortress, the Ottoman garrison, the modern tourist attraction, or the most recognisable classical Greek monument? And if the latter, then which classical monument? The one that Pericles conceived and started building in the fifth century BCE, the one that Lykourgos refurbished some hundred years later, or the one that Leo von Klenze re-invented in the 1830s? None of the above Acropoleis survives but only in ruinous fragments and ghostly absences inhabiting and haunting the contemporary site and its structures; and these, in turn, will inevitably dissolve into other, future Acropoleis. What is more, was I to narrate the story of a (sacred) town confined within the walls of the citadel or the story of the iconic centrepiece of Athens? And, if so, which Athens? And, at the end of the day, with the physical space marked with the name 'Acropolis' being as small as the floor of the Parthenon for some and as vast as the contemporary Athenian ruinscape for others, which Acropolis of that Athens? Then, there was also the issue of its material culture: was I to stick to the description of what is *in situ* or should I also include in my account all those bits scattered in the museums of Athens and the world? And the photographs, the scholarly descriptions and interpretations, the artistic and literary renditions of that material culture? What about those? And how about artworks, poems, books, and music that were inspired by the Acropolis and its material culture throughout the years? Did they qualify as subject-matter? And, would I limit myself to the cultural products of an international elite of artists, writers, and scholars, or should I include the accounts of those that live and work around the Acropolis? If I were to investigate what the Acropolis means to contemporary inhabitants of Athens in order to find out what archaeology the times call for, should not I be aware of the various meanings that others imbued it with before? I was convinced eventually that the only way to include all this in a chapter that aspired to explain what the Acropolis is would be to write a history of the physical and conceptual appropriations of a

stipulated 'constant', something that has dominated its history and could therefore function as a point of reference: the material remains of the so-called High Classical Acropolis of the fifth century BCE. After all, the Acropolis one encounters today is nothing but the latest in a series of appropriations of these particular multi-temporal ruins, which, as I wish to show, have for centuries now been High Classical only in name.

In terms of organisation, this chapter is broken down into two parts, each examining the Acropolis in light of its physical and conceptual appropriations; that is, encountering it as physical space and as image and metaphor. In the first part, I shall employ two different narrative structures to account, first, the physical transformations of the site until the making of the High Classical Acropolis and, consequently, its physical appropriations thereafter. The incentive behind this is my wish to show that there is more to (and on) the Acropolis than the modern simulacrum of its classical self that most of us are familiar with, and that what we are familiar with today is not a natural entity, but the product of a modern/ist project at the interface of archaeology, architecture, and inter/national politics – a project which, however, has a genealogy that reaches back way beyond the particularities of nineteenth-century nation-building. In the second part, I will briefly examine the artistic appropriations of the Acropolis through the years. The two poles around which the section will be fleshed are: (a) the role of literary accounts and artistic and photographic renditions of the Acropolis in the creation of an aesthetic economy whose main currency was the image of the Acropolis as monument, and (b) the appropriations of this image by contemporary artists and the creation of new accounts and renditions and their employment within discourses that undermine the semantic singularity and hierarchy of the past that is demanded by the national imaginary. This last part aims to historicise this thesis and situate it within the discourse to which it is of relevance through a short overview of the political context of the last nine years that this research has been on-going. Bringing in the key arguments of both sections in the concluding paragraph of this chapter I wish to (a) infer the often conflicting meanings that the Acropolis acquires within contemporary Greek society and culture, and (b) demonstrate how these meanings are, albeit indirectly, suppressed through an implicit system of national aesthetics that dematerialises the Acropolis and turns it into an intangible ideal and a canon of conduct. The chapter will be illustrated with the images of the thirty magnetic pieces that were created for and used in my ethnographic art installation which will be described in detail in the following chapter.

Figure 2: *Micromeria acropolitana*, rare plant that grows on the Acropolis hills.

4.2   The place

The Acropolis of Athens, the illustrious feature that protrudes from the heart of the contemporary city and dominates its vistas, is the result of an idiosyncratic interplay between a geological formation and persistent human intervention. Its physical boundaries are not fixed but renegotiated throughout its history. From rocky protrusion to clearly demarcated space to archaeological monument to centrepiece of a developing ruinscape at the heart of the Greek capital the physical space that is implied in the name Acropolis has been stretched or shrunk to fit the needs, demands, and fashions of different times. In the first section of this chapter, drawing on archaeological, historical, and literary scholarship, I wish to describe the successive transformations that the site underwent between the Later Neolithic, when we think that it was first inhabited, and the fifth century BCE, when it became the emblem of the city-state of Athens. In the second, I wish to consider the nineteenth-century singling-out of the fifth-century BCE Acropolis ruins and their appropriation as the cornerstone in the edifice of the modern Greek nation, mainly due to its capability to evoke its stipulated golden age. At the same time, I wish to show that this particular appropriation was not the first in the history of the High Classical Acropolis and that, in fact, it was the latest in a long line of appropriations that began as early as the fourth century BCE – that is, just a century after the initiation of Pericles' building programme, which, incidentally, is the time when the High Classical Acropolis was first conceptualised as the symbol of an Athenian golden age. The two paragraphs employ two different narrative structures, one linear and the other disrupted. Where the disrupted narrative is employed, it is in order to highlight the similarities of the appropriations

discussed and reflect their connections as clearly as possible. This because, in my opinion, the multicultural character of the Acropolis and the disenfranchised (non-classical) phases that attest to it cannot be isolated from the hegemonic narrative and its physical application that compromised them in the first place. Choosing to narrate the history of the Acropolis from the fifth-century BCE onwards linearly, and to place equal weight onto its different historical periods, would equate the disenfranchised periods with the favoured classical one, thus creating the false impression that the decision to promote the classical past was simply a matter of choosing one of many equal Acropoleis. As I aim to show, there is but only one, living, Acropolis, which has, at different times, been conceptualised, appropriated, and modified according to the needs, desires, ethics, and aesthetics of those controlling or aiming to control its premises and symbolism. In fact, one might say that the history of the Acropolis, at least from the fifth-century BCE onwards, is the history of different ways of relating to the past and its materiality, or a history of different archaeologies.

4.2.1 From rock to monument

Despite the fact that Attica has been inhabited since the Upper Palaeolithic (30.000 – 10.000 BCE), the archaeological evidence available for the Acropolis suggests that it was not until the Later Neolithic (3000 – 2800 BCE) that this idiosyncratic hunch of earth started attracting people willing to nest in its shallow caves and overhangs. Yet the habitation role that the rock takes up at this time is more traceable archaeologically from the Late Helladic I (~1575-1500 BCE) onwards (cf. Mountjoy 1995:14), and especially in the years after 1400 BCE, when a small number of apparently wealthy settlements crop up at its foothills. By the thirteenth century, a citadel starts forming atop the Acropolis and massive fortifications, which will a lot later be thought of as the labour of giants and, even later, given the name 'Cyclopean', encircle a structure that might have been a palace. The fortification of the Acropolis at this time seems too sudden to have been an organic process. It was built in one go sometime in the later half of the Late Helladic IIIB (~1225-1190 BCE; cf. Iakovides 1961:205-6). As wall-building is noticeable in other Mycenaean centres of the time, it has been interpreted in terms of a coordinated Pan-Mycenaean reaction towards a common threat (cf. Shelmerdine 1997). On a more symbolic level, the erection of the walls for the first time ever severs the Acropolis from its surroundings and thus establishes it as a separate, semi-autonomous entity in the landscape.

Figure 3: The Parthenon seen through the Mycenaean walls

Whatever the threat that its Late Bronze Age inhabitants feared might have been, it did not affect the Acropolis in any way archaeologically traceable, unlike other Mycenaean centres which were destroyed or abandoned (Mountjoy 1995:71-2). What is manifested materially, however, is a slow yet generalised social transformation during the twelfth and eleventh centuries, when the Mycenaean world gradually declines. During these two centuries the Acropolis, along with the broader area of Athens, gradually changes from palatial centre to sizeable urban settlement, and, finally, to a cluster of small hamlets before slowly dissolving into the material obscurity of the so-called 'Dark Ages' (1065 – 760 BCE). The poor archaeological evidence for the Dark Age Acropolis suggests a gloomy ghost of a citadel overlooking the houses that made up Athens at the time. Yet, as Athens was at the time prospering with the production of ceramics decorated with elaborate geometric motifs, it is hard to imagine the Acropolis being just an empty retreat in case of emergency. Still, if it had another role to play at this time, that role is unknown to us. As the presence of votive bronze offerings attests, however, from 760 BCE onwards, and within a climate of increased cult activity, the Acropolis appears to be acquiring (assuming, of course, that it did not have it before) a religious-cum-political role alongside its military one – two roles which, as Jeffrey Hurwit observes, it will maintain throughout its history until its declaration as an archaeological site in 1834 (Hurwit 1999:98). At a time when habitation patterns start sketching the contours of the future polis-state, the now sacralised rock becomes the main sanctuary of Attica, while simultaneously functioning as a display of power for an (emergent?) elite.

This promising prosperity, nevertheless, will not last long and from 700 BCE onwards Athens will experience economic recession, as well as a drop in population, possibly on

account of drought and famine. The archaeological artefacts are suggestive of an isolation of Athens from the rest of the world. Yet, in its isolation, Athens seems to be experiencing two important breakthroughs concerning its administration, namely the establishment of an annual position for a chief executive (the *eponymos arkhon*) and the city's first law code (Drakon's). These developments are curiously accompanied by the appearance of writers such as Hesiod and a paradigmatic shift in the decorative arts, whose practitioners now abandon the austere geometric style that they had developed in the previous century in favour of new artforms which will come to be considered as the ancestors of classical sculpture.

The crisis that Athens underwent in the seventh century continued into the sixth century, when it evolved into a violent (literal) enslavement of the poor 'working classes' by a landowning elite minority (Hurwit 1999:100). The situation was partly resolved by Solon, an elected arkhon, whose reforms of the Drakonian law aimed towards the construction of a just, "inclusive state in which individual responsibility was fundamental to the sense of public continuity" (ibid.), but which did not, however, manage to establish Athens as an egalitarian utopia. Rivalry over power continued among the aristocratic families. In the second half of the century, Peisistratos, heir of one of said families, after two short-lived *coups d'état* – one of which involved the seizure of the Acropolis, and the other its involvement in a public performance replete with symbolism – becomes the tyrant of Athens. During his and his sons', Hippias and Hipparchos', reign, Athens will be turned into a vast construction site. Monumental structures will emerge throughout the city, and, on the summit of the Acropolis, among other buildings, the Hekatompedon, a brightly-coloured poros temple of the Doric order, will be erected and dedicated to the city's patron goddess, Athena. The tyranny, moreover, as we are reminded by numerous examples throughout history, required a shared ritual. Thus the reorganisation and mainstreaming of the hitherto small-scale celebration that had been the Panathenaic Festival at this time is hardly a surprise. Ironically, the festival procession would provide the backdrop for an incident that would trigger a series of events that would bring about the end of the tyranny and clear the way for *isonomia* and democracy: in 514 BCE, two citizens, Harmodios and his lover Aristogeiton, plotted a revolt against the tyrants on grounds that were more personal than political. The revolt was to take place on the one day that citizens were allowed to carry ceremonial weapons about their person, the day of the Panathenaia; it never really materialised, for Armodios and Aristogeiton, in a moment of paranoia that their accomplices had betrayed them, attacked Hipparchos and stabbed him to death.

Harmodios was killed on the spot by the tyrant's bodyguard and Aristogeiton was subsequently executed by Hippias. After his brother's murder, the latter became all the more isolated and his rule harsher. Nonetheless, it was probably his lack of a straightforward opposition towards Persian imperialism that caused the intervention of the Spartan king Kleomenis, who assisted the Athenians to exile Hippias, after briefly besieging the Acropolis where the latter had taken refuge. Although they were not the ones that brought down the tyranny, Harmodios and Aristogeiton would be venerated by the Athenians and remain in history as the tyrannicides, possibly in an attempt to belittle the role of the Spartans in the establishment of their democracy (?).

Figure 4: The Tyrannicides

The construction of the new buildings and the reorganised Panathenaic Festival both contributed to the transformation of the Acropolis, which would henceforth be used by both individuals and the state as a display of wealth and power to kith and other; the installation of a gigantic horse and chariot group in the aftermath of the newly established Athenian democracy's victory over its Boiotian and Chalchidian attackers, the construction of the new temple of Athena (*Archaios Neos*), and the landscaping of its plateaux into a forest of free-standing polychromous and perhaps even scented dedications (mainly statues and birdbaths) mark the Acropolis' entry into the fifth century as such. The prosperity that

the city-state appears to be relishing at the beginning of the fifth century, however, would soon become endangered, at first by a series of revolts in its colonies and later by the Persian threat. After a first campaign that failed in a storm in 492 BCE, the Persians, this time guided by none other than the exiled Hippias, land on Marathon in 490 BCE, where they are defeated by the Athenians in a battle that is often thought of as "a turning point in the history of Western civilization" (Camp 2001:47). The victory, which is considered a miracle due to the asymmetry between the enemy forces, will be commemorated in the caves of the Acropolis with the establishment of a cult of the god Pan and the construction of a shrine. According to Herodotos[26], the Athenians were just complying with the wishes of the hoofed god who had appeared to Pheidippides, the legendary courier who was sent to the Spartans with the news of the Persian landing in order to request their help (due to a ritual protocol, they did not arrive at Marathon on time for the battle). Yet it has been suggested that the renewed interest in this particular deity could be associated with an intensification of goat herding as a reaction to a possible over-population and food-shortage crisis faced by the people of Attica during the fifth century (see French 1956). Whatever the reasons, the establishment of the cult of Pan is reflective of a generalised sacralisation of the Acropolis, which is slowly divorced from everyday life by laws regulating conduct within its premises[27]. This sacralisation is sealed by an attempt to build a new temple to the goddess (possibly to *Athena Nike* [Victory]) in 489 BCE. The construction of this marble temple that would remain in (archaeological) history as the Old/er Parthenon is interrupted in 480 BCE, when the Persians, after their victory over the Spartans at Thermopylai, march into a hastily evacuated Athens and burn it to the ground[28]. Ironically, it was the Persian destruction of the Acropolis that would eventually make a monument of it.

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[26] "First of all, while they were still in the city, the generals sent off to Sparta a herald, namely Pheidippides an Athenian and for the rest a runner of long day-courses and one who practised this as his profession. With this man, as Pheidippides himself said and as he made report to the Athenians, Pan chanced to meet by mount Parthenion, which is above Tegea; and calling aloud the name of Pheidippides, Pan bade him report to the Athenians and ask for what reason they had no care of him, though he was well disposed to the Athenians and had been serviceable to them on many occasions before that time, and would be so also yet again. Believing that this tale was true, the Athenians, when their affairs had been now prosperously settled, established under the Acropolis a temple of Pan; and in consequence of this message they propitiate him with sacrifice offered every year and with a torch-race" (Herodotos 6.105 translated by G.C. Macaulay).

[27] An inscription from the Acropolis dating to 485/4 BCE bears regulations concerning the lighting of fires and the dumping of dung atop the rock, without forbidding them, and provides clear evidence for the existence of a treasure kept there (ref: *Inscriptiones Graecae* I³4).

[28] "In time however there appeared for the Barbarians a way of approach after their difficulties, since by the oracle it was destined that all of Attica which is on the mainland should come to be under the Persians. Thus then it happened that on the front side of the Acropolis behind the gates and the way up to the entrance, in a place where no one was keeping guard, nor would one have supposed that any man could ascend by this way, here men ascended by the temple of Aglauros the daughter of Kecrops, although indeed the place is

Figure 5: Hecate Epipyrgidia, one of the many deities worshipped on the Acropolis.

Shortly after the devastation of the Acropolis, a united Greek force defeats the Persian navy at the straits of Salamis, and, a year later, the Persian army at Plataia. Before the battle of Plataia, the Greeks allegedly swore an oath that, according to the orator Lykourgos, went like this:

> I will not hold life dearer than freedom nor will I abandon my leaders whether they are alive or dead. I will bury all allies killed in the battle. If I conquer the barbarians in war I will not destroy any of the cities which have fought for Greece but I will consecrate a tenth of all those which sided with the barbarian. I will not rebuild a single one of the shrines which the barbarians have burnt and razed but will allow them to remain for future generations as a memorial of the barbarians' impiety.

> (Lykourgos, *Against Leocrates* 81, translated by J.O. Burtt)

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precipitous: and when the Athenians saw that they had ascended up to the Acropolis, some of them threw themselves down from the wall and perished, while others took refuge in the sanctuary of the temple. Then those of the Persians who had ascended went first to the gates, and after opening these they proceeded to kill the suppliants; and when all had been slain by them, they plundered the temple and set fire to the whole of the Acropolis" (Herodotos 8.53 translated by G.C. Macaulay).

Despite the dispute over the existence of such an oath by scholars today, the Athenians appear to have left the Acropolis temples in ruins for three decades. During their course, a period which has conventionally been termed 'Early Classical,' Athens will grow from a devastated polis-state to an imperial power disguised as the leader of the Delian League, a quasi-religious panhellenic coalition whose purpose is to carry on the war against the Persians. The ruined temples of the Acropolis, along with the north wall of the damaged Mycenaean citadel that was reconstructed using debris from the destroyed Archaios Neos and the unfinished Old/er Parthenon, now constitute a war memorial, at once a reminder of a bitter past, a legitimator of revenge, and, somewhat more covertly still, the symbol of a nascent empire.

Figure 6: Yannis Gouras, War of Independence hero.

4.2.2   The High Classical Acropolis as found object for a designer nation

The year is 1833. The Greek War of Independence is over and the Kingdom of Greece officially recognised. The Acropolis, after years of consecutive bloody besiegement by Greeks (1821-22) and Turks (1826-27), is a mess of broken ruins, debris, and carcasses

overlooking a devastated, derelict city[29] (cf. Mackenzie 1992; Petrakos 1987: 56); nothing in its appearance foretells that in less than a year it will become the cornerstone of the national edifice and the heart of the nation-state's new capital. After all, Nafplion, the provisional capital, is a thriving city and, to many, it seems absurd for the government to abandon it for a ghost of a town of six thousand impoverished and sick inhabitants:

> those who would like to see the capital in Athens want […] to give us, instead of a wealthy, splendid and commercial capital, the worthless and barren Attica, which all the Greek world, educated by the long Revolution and not by archaeological phantoms, rejects unanimously[30].

<p align="center">* * *</p>

The above quote, taken from the liberal, Nafplion-based, newspaper *Athena*, provides an insight into the tensions and dynamics at play in early nineteenth-century Greece. Apart from describing the condition of the two towns, it also pertains to an intensified localism that was inherited from the Ottoman administrative system, and which the infant kingdom had to overcome in order to unify its subjects (cf. Bastéa 2000:7). At the same time, and perhaps more importantly, it attests to the persistence of a long-standing anti-archaist intellectual current, whose fears that a national unification based on the idealisation of the past might lead to a detachment from the present had been expressed as early as the 1760s by outstanding figures of the Greek Enlightenment like Evgenios Voulgaris (early life) and Iossipos Moisiodakas (cf. Dimaras 1977[1989]:16). Although seemingly unrelated, together these two aspects articulate an expression of resistance to the already on-going imposition on the country of an identity pre-constructed from the outside – what Michael Herzfeld has identified as the 'crypto-colonisation'[31] of Greece (Herzfeld 2002).

As I have already discussed in Chapter 1 (§1.2.2) the rise of the European nations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries necessitated the invention of glorious cultural pedigrees. Antiquity was brought to the fore. Its eclectic revival, especially towards the end

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[29] "With the end of the war, foreign visitors began to come again to Athens, though in small numbers. They found a gloomy, war-ravaged, dirty city: it had suffered appalling damage and most of its inhabitants had fled, leaving behind a small human population greatly outnumbered by owls. The streets were blocked by debris, and people walking through the town had to jump from hillock to hillock of stone and rubble. During the last siege, the Turks had torn down houses and churches for the sake of badly-needed wood, and the few remaining buildings were in ruins. Out of the two thousand houses inhabited at the beginning of the war, only about a hundred and fifty were still in reasonable condition" (Mackenzie 1992:124).

[30] *Athena* 2, no. ll6 (27 May 1833). Excerpt from Bastea 2000.

[31] Herzfeld defines crypto-colonialism as "the curious alchemy whereby certain countries, buffer zones between the colonized lands and those as yet untamed, were compelled to acquire their political independence at the expense of massive economic dependence, this relationship being articulated in the iconic guise of aggressively national culture fashioned to suit foreign models" (Herzfeld 2002:900-901).

of the eighteenth century, elevated Greece into a modern-day Arcadia, and thus was born the Hellenic Ideal, i.e., a canon concerning the place of the individual in relation to nature, society, and others. As the circumstances of the countries that claimed heritage to ancient Greece differed, their appropriations of it were adapted to accommodate their needs. The result was a multifaceted rather than singular Ideal that ranged from libertarianism and revolution to conservatism, and, later, to totalitarianism. Reaching that part of the Ottoman Empire that would become Greece by way of travellers and scholars on their Grand Tour (who, admittedly, cared more about the ancient ruins of the land than its current inhabitants), and 'Enlightened' diasporic Greeks, this burdened, confused, and somewhat tired Ideal would be resisted, adopted, romanticised, internalised and further modified by the Greeks. Eventually, its archaism would prevail and inform the national myth at the expense of rival, more pro-present, strategies of self-identification (cf. Voutsaki 2003:232-237; Hamilakis 2009). Put simpler, unlike other young nations, Greece would not (be allowed? the freedom to) construct its national myth itself, but would merely adopt the one that Europeans had already designed for it (Liakos 1994:176). On the one hand, this myth would facilitate the creation of favourable conditions for the War of Independence (1821-1832), namely the shaping of an ethnic and national awareness among the Orthodox populations of the Ottoman Empire, and the formation of an international 'philhellenic' support network with geopolitical, economic, and ideological interests in the region; on the other, the adoption and promotion by Greek elites of an antiquity-based national identity instead of a pro-present one would enhance their class power yet eventually subjugate Greece to a global cultural hierarchy: Greece was to become a fixed point of origin on a linear cultural evolutionary narrative, perpetually oscillating back and forth between being "the collective spiritual ancestor and a political pariah in […] 'fast-capitalist' Europe" (Herzfeld 2002:903), and archaeology a significant vehicle for this transformation.

* * *

The transfer of the capital from Nafplion to Athens, scheduled for 1/13 December 1834, was conducted almost overnight in spite of continuing protests like the one expressed in Athena and the lack of infrastructure to support it (Bastéa 2000:8-9). Instrumental in this decision was the attraction that the ancient city and its ruins held for Europeans and for the newly installed Bavarian government. The legendary city of philosophy and democracy, whose cultural significance in antiquity had come second to none, not even mighty Rome (the cultural ancestor of choice for the German states' primal political competition in Europe: France), was the ideal candidate for the fledgling state's capital; it

was also ideal for yet another reason: its Acropolis, at once material embodiment of said cultural significance and monument of western supremacy over the east.

* * *

Having left the Acropolis in ruins for thirty years to commemorate its destruction by the Persians, Athenians decide it is about time that mourning for the losses of war gave its place to celebration of their victory; this is a decision that has the name of their most influential political figure written all over it. Pericles succeeded his assassinated mentor, Ephialtes, in the leadership of the democratic party in 461 BCE and remained politically active until his death in the plague in 429 BCE. His main agenda throughout appears to have been the direct and indirect assertion of the Athenian dominance over the Greek world. The removal of the Delian League's treasury from the island of Delos to Athens (perhaps to the Acropolis itself[32]) in 454 BCE, followed by the setting up of a marble block listing the annual tribute the 'allies' had to pay Athens for their defence (Hurwit 1999:139) was one such direct assertion: as an act, it sealed the for years on-going transformation of the league from a voluntary alliance of autonomous states united against a common threat (the Persians) into an imperial arrangement or a glorified protection racket (*ibid*). A rather more indirect assertion – but by no means less eloquent – was refurbishing: being the most powerful among the polis-states was not enough; Athens had to look it. 'Under' Pericles (for, officially, he was not a ruler *per se*), the city experiences an explosion of literary and artistic creation, the culmination of which will be his grand building programme atop and around the Acropolis.

Shortly after the annulment of the Plataia Oath and the proposal of his building programme (449 BCE) the so-called High Classical Acropolis starts materialising. By the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, some twenty years later, the walls of the citadel will have been extensively repaired, the foundations for the Athena Nike laid, the Parthenon and the Propylaia just about finished, the Odeion nearly completed, and work on the Erechtheion will have commenced. Not even the war will put an end to this construction boom. While Athenians are killed in battle or consumed by the plague[33] (Pericles among them), the transformation of the Acropolis continues strong, as if its completion were a matter of life

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[32] Hurwit 1999:139
[33] It has recently been suggested that the plague was typhoid fever.
URL: http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1201971205001785 (Last accessed 11/01/17)

or death for Athens. And indeed, if one looks closely at what the building programme entailed, its execution during the war might have become crucial for the image of the suffering city and the morale of its struggling inhabitants.

> …the intent [of Pericles' building programme] was clearly to weave the past into the fabric of the Periklean age, to acknowledge precedents and reveal, almost everywhere, the history of the place. Now, to some degree every 'new' Acropolis had assimilated relics of past Acropolises, so that its long history was always in evidence. But the Periclean Acropolis especially acknowledged and revelled in its own *archaeology*, in its sense of its own past. It was a landscape of memory.
>
> (Hurwit 1999:159; my emphasis)

As suggested by the anecdote concerning the purification of Delos discussed earlier (§1.1.1), the past was very important for fifth-century Athenians, and the control of its material remains a powerful political tool in their hands: material remains could be used as proofs of lineages and ancestry by legitimising land and history claims; in short, they could be used as cultural capital. Seen in this context, the building of the High Classical Acropolis using older material to create new structures at this bleak time might (practicalities aside) be interpreted as the mobilisation of a mythical past to create hope or a promise for a glorious future.

Figure 7: Cecrops, the mythical king of Athens that had been born from its land.

Athens will lose the war and the Spartans will eventually take over the Acropolis, if only for a few months (404-3 BCE). By a cruel, ironic twist of fate, so much the sacred temples of Athena (the patron and defender of the city) as the Parthenon, whose every inch of architecture was designed to celebrate the pride Athenians have in their supposed synchronic and diachronic supremacy, will fall in the hands of their enemies while the paint on them is still fresh. Yet the point that the Periclean Acropolis intended to make will have been made: culturally speaking, come rain or shine, Athens prevails over the Greek world and the 'barbarian' oriental other.

<p style="text-align:center;">* * *</p>

Figure 8: Semni Karouzou, one of the first women archaeologists to hold high posts in Greece.
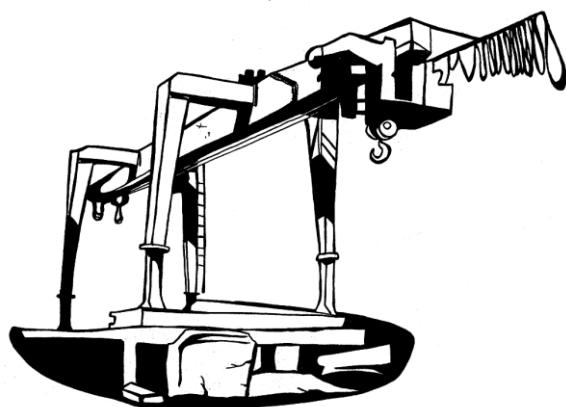
Figure 9: One of the Acropolis' cranes.

The synergy of two practices, architecture and archaeology (not so much in the sense of the modern discipline but rather as control over and transformation of the past's material remains into cultural capital [see Chapter 1]), created the Acropolis in the second half of the fifth century BCE; it was through the employment of the very same synergy that the nineteenth-century nation-state would re-create it anew in an attempt to expropriate its symbolism. The state aspired to establish Athens as an inherently modern capital abreast of European neoclassicism, that is, a capital that cared for and could adequately tend to its ruins; it also aimed to weave the past into the present – in a similar way that Pericles' building programme had done with its own past – and create an ancestral narrative of an interrupted yet unbroken continuity between ancient Athens and modern Greece that could unite the ethnically diverse populations of the new state; finally, and not unrelated to the previous goals, it wished to celebrate the newest victory of the nation over the new oriental other: the Ottomans. It aimed to achieve all this through the appropriation of the Acropolis as the centrepiece around which the new city was to be built as well as through the physical intervention upon its summit. The plan for the latter, which entailed the demilitarisation of the Acropolis, its declaration as an archaeological site, the demolition of most (but not all) of its post-classical structures and the restoration of the classical buildings, was publicly announced in an elaborate ceremony on the occasion of King Otto's arrival in Athens on 28 August 1834 by his chief architect, Leo von Klenze:

> *Your Majesty stepped today, after so many centuries of barbarism, for the first time on this celebrated Acropolis, proceeding on the road of civilization and glory, on the road passed by the likes of Themistocles, Aristeides, Kimon, and Pericles, and this is and should be in the eyes of your people the symbol of your glorious reign… All the remains of barbarity will be removed, here as in all of Greece, and the remains of the glorious past will be brought in new light, as the solid foundation of a glorious present and future. I dare request Your Majesty, in the name of Greece and of the whole world, to sanctify, as is customary, the first marble that is being restored in the reborn Parthenon, being the best assurance that this undertaking will proceed successfully.*

> (Meliarakes 1884, cited in and translated by Bastéa 2000:102)

Figure 10: Leo von Klenze

Work on the Acropolis started immediately under the direction of archaeologist Ludwig Ross, with the assistance of two young architects, Stamatios Kleanthes and Eduard Schaubert. It entailed the demolition of all post-classical buildings, apart from the medieval structures and the small mosque that had been built inside the Parthenon shortly after the latter's bombardment by the Venetian military and naval commander-in-chief Francisco Morosini in 1687 (for a detailed account of the incident see Hadjiaslani 1987). Apparently, Klenze advocated the preservation of these structures on account of their picturesque character (cf. Hamilakis 2007:89-90). His views were shared by the Regency, who issued a decree for the protection of recent buildings of picturesque, historical, or religious significance (ibid.). 'The remnants of barbarity' mainly referred to the Ottoman past as far as Klenze and the Regency were concerned.

Figure 11: View of the Propylaia before the demolition of the Frankish tower.

However, the Greek archaeologists, led by Kyriakos Pittakis, who would take over the project after Ross (in 1837) would be more inclusive in their definition of barbarity and proceed with the demolition of the medieval structures, which they saw as remnants of yet another foreign occupation (ibid.). Within a year from the commencement of the works on it, the Acropolis had already been turned into a visitable archaeological site with an entrance fee.
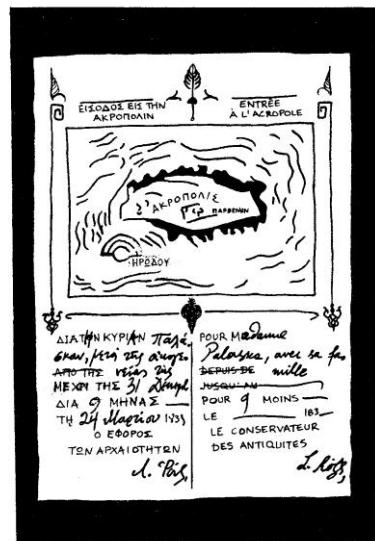
Figure 12: One of the first tickets to the Acropolis.

The monumentalisation of the Acropolis was not limited to its transformation into an archaeological site. Two years before the commencement of the works on its summit, Kleanthes and Schaubert had been commissioned by the provisional Greek government to provide the new plan for the city of Athens, "a new plan equal with the ancient fame and glory of the city and worthy of the century in which we live" *(Kleanthes 1836 cited in and translated by Bastéa 2000:70, emphasis in the original Greek). Their plan was met with public criticism and prohibiting expropriation costs, and was therefore modified by Klenze, who arrived in Greece in 1834 to supervise its materialisation (cf. Bastéa 2000:69-88). Needless to say, in both plans the city was webbed around the Acropolis, with all major roads and boulevards designed so as to make it visible from almost every part of the city. Almost two centuries and much rebuilding and restructuring on, the visual prevalence of the Acropolis is still largely noticeable.*

Figure 13: Yannis Arbilias, a marble mason that has worked on the Acropolis restoration.

This two-fold nineteenth-century project was by no means the first appropriation of the Periclean Acropolis, but, rather, the latest in a long line of consequent appropriations of different kinds and to different ends. It is through its comparison to these that its rationale can be better understood.

<div align="center">* * *</div>

Less than a century after Pericles' death, the people of (Late Classical) Athens already look upon the Acropolis with admiration and nostalgia, for it is all that is left from a time that they, first of all, will conceptualise as the Athenian golden age (cf. Hurwit 1999:249). After a long period of instability and warfare with rival forces, such as Sparta and Thebes, Athens is once more reinstated as the most important city in Greece. Yet it is a very different city. There are no public works to speak of, no great poetry, and the theatre, which was thriving before, is in decline. This could be interpreted as symptomatic of an intensified individualism that is encountered among fourth-century BCE Athenians, who now seem to be more concerned with personal wealth than with state politics – something that has yet another, more important, consequence: the state is now largely dominated by professional orators and economic bureaucrats instead of politicians in the traditional sense (cf. Hurwit 1999:248). One such bureaucrat of relevance here is the orator Lykourgos

(338-322 BCE), whose appropriation of the Acropolis I wish to consider in juxtaposition to that of his contemporary, Alexander III of Macedon.

On 4 August 338 BCE, Philip II of Macedon ends his imperialist campaign in Greece with the annihilation of the allied forces of Athens and Thebes in the battle of Khaironeia, and puts an end to the independent polis once and for all. Despite his victory over them, Philip treats Athenians with courtesy, and so does his son Alexander, when he succeeds him on the throne two years later. Until Alexander's death in 323 BCE, Athenians will be permitted to enjoy complete autonomy in their domestic affairs, but not allowed to pursue their imperial visions or to forget that they are under his rule. In asserting his authority, Alexander appropriates the Acropolis – which has by now become once more a display of power crawling with dedications by wealthy families and individuals – by ordering interventions upon it from afar. In 334 BCE, following his victory at Granikos, he sends and dedicates 300 suits of Persian armour to Athena and has fourteen large gilded shields installed on the eastern architrave of the Parthenon, directly under the Gigantomachy scene. All this to a two-fold effect: on the one hand he seeks to expropriate the Parthenon's symbolism of Athenian supremacy over the Persians, on the other hand to assert his rule over and issue a warning to the malcontent people of Athens (most of who rooted for the Persians at Granikos [Hurwit 1999:254]) by taking over the Parthenon and turning it "against the city that built it" (ibid). Yet his interventional appropriations of the Acropolis will not go unanswered.

Figure 14: Head of Alexander.

Complying with Alexander's dictates (partly because they could not possibly turn down offerings to Athena and partly for fear) and sycophantically dedicating a portrait of him on the Acropolis though they may, Athenians patiently prepare for the day that they will shake off his rule. In this context, they appropriate the Acropolis in a different manner to his: as a canon by which to re-build their city, and, once more, as a glorious point of reference by which to build a brighter future. Behind this initiative is the city's chief financial officer, Lykourgos, a man whose name will become synonymous with honesty, and who, in an attempt to involve the citizens in the affairs of the city once more, will mobilise the rich to finance his rebuilding programme. The programme entails a diverse array of works, from expansion of public spaces and re/construction of public buildings to the reparation of the city walls (destroyed by the Spartans at the end of the Peloponnesian War) to planting trees and landscaping. His interventions on the Acropolis (with the exception of the reconstruction of the new Theatre of Dionysos on the south slope) are mostly curatorial. As there is not much need (or space) for new structures on the summit, Lykourgos mainly renews, repairs, and restores the gold on the existing buildings and statues (the Acropolis had been robbed and vandalised during the war and earlier in the century deliberately damaged by corrupt officials in an attempt to cover the traces of their frauds). While restoring the High Classical Acropolis' glow, by stacking thirty thousand missiles, as well as shields, heavy arms, naval equipment, and catapult parts, he turns it into an arsenal, clearly in preparation for war against Macedon – a very brief war which will commence, along with the so-called Hellenistic period, shortly after his and Alexander's death and will cost Athens the lives of many citizens and its freedom.

These two forms of appropriation of the High Classical Acropolis (physically intervening on it and using it as an aesthetic canon), along with a third one – the looting and the removal of its gold and works of art – mark the history of the site throughout the Hellenistic (322 – 200 BCE) and the Roman period up until its destruction by the Heruli in 267 CE (cf. Hurwit 1999:283-7), after which the Acropolis will become more of a fortress than a monument until more or less its demilitarisation and official declaration as an archaeological site in 1834. Under the Macedonians the Acropolis serves more as a trophy for the respective rulers and is even defiled at some stage in the late fourth/early third century with Demetrios the Besieger's wild orgies in the Parthenon, where he had taken residence (sexual activity on the Acropolis having hitherto been taboo). With the passing of time, however, it will come to be considered and treated all the more as a sacrosanct archaeological site and a tourist attraction. So much so, in fact, that when some four

hundred and fifty years after Lykourgos, Hadrian (the emperor who loved Athens so much that he became its citizen and was elected arkhon in 112 CE, the very same that the Athenians honoured by erecting his statue inside the Parthenon, next to that of Athena) will redesign and rebuild the city in a building programme comparable to that of Pericles' and Lykourgos', he will leave the summit of the Acropolis virtually untouched, as if reluctant to interfere with its *already* classical form (Hurwit 1999:275).

Figure 15: Hadrian

Even before Hadrian, however, partly thanks to the Acropolis and partly on account of its schools, under Rome, Athens will become something of the empire's cultural centre and its classical architecture will serve as a prototype as much for Augustan Rome (the city the Athenians now worshiped in the Romaia festival and atop the Acropolis) as for other cities, like Pergamon, which fancy themselves as the 'new Athens' (Hurwit 1999:264-269). The rulers of these cities (Augustus and Attalos I in particular) do not only reference the Acropolis' monuments in their own building programmes at home, but also seek to establish the connection between their city and Athens through interventions on and around the Acropolis (Hurwit 1999:269-276). These interventions were often inspired by the Acropolis buildings themselves, reimagining and paying homage to their narratives and themes. The rock that had for many decades, if not centuries, of its life functioned as a

display of Athenian individual, family, and state wealth, had become at once a blueprint for the wannabe heirs to its glory and a display of their reverence and ambition.

* * *

Figure 16: Fifth-century Athenian coin

As it becomes apparent, the appropriation of the Acropolis as a point of origins and an aesthetic canon in the nineteenth-century nation-state did not come out of thin air, but was symptomatic of an ancient motif. Yet this was not a motif that had persisted continuously since antiquity, but was more of a by-product of the (post-) Renaissance revival of antiquity. In the late third century BCE, Athens was devastated by the Heruli and, in the wake of their attack, the Acropolis started becoming more of a fort than a monument as such. This would be a role that it would maintain until more or less the nineteenth century, when archaeologists and architects would once more turn it into a monument. The reasons for the nineteenth-century transformation were very much influenced by a specific neoclassicist ethics, constructed and promoted by travellers' writings and pictorial renditions – in short, by the *image* that the Acropolis had maintained since Antiquity, even though its significance as a place had weakened. The image of the Acropolis, its shaping, origins, perpetuation, and challenging, is the topic of the next section.

Figure 17: Poster for the film 'Mimikos and Mary'

4.3   Image and Spectre

No history can do justice to the Acropolis without taking into account its artistic, photographic, and literary renditions and their contribution to the shaping of both its modern physical form and image – I need to clarify here that by image I refer to the dominant perception of the Acropolis as a High Classical monument and not merely to its iconography throughout the years. As I tried to show in the previous section, the Acropolis that most are familiar with today is to a great extent the product of a nineteenth-century project at the interface of archaeology and architecture, which, however, as an idea, appears to have a long genealogy that stretches back to the fourth century BCE, when the High Classical Acropolis was first conceptualised by the Athenians as the symbol of their city-state's golden age. Adopting a non-linear narrative, I accounted the various types of appropriations that the Acropolis was subsequently subjected to by both Athenians and others who desired to lay claim to Periclean Athens. My narration stopped at the third century CE, with the Herulian attack which triggered the fortification of the Acropolis and the emphasising of the military role thereof at the expense of its religious one. This was, in part, due to a common scholarly trope that tends to see the subsequent phases of the Acropolis as insignificant, as a time when nothing important really happened to it; even monumental works, such as Jeffrey Hurwit's *The Athenian Acropolis: History, Mythology, and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present*, despite their authors' desire to

provide a more inclusive history of the Acropolis, leave a gap between the third century and the seventeenth, when the site suffered the greatest destruction in its history, that is, its bombardment by Morosini. The consideration of these phases as of lesser importance, in part justified due to lack of relevant scholarship and evidence (but see Kaldellis 2009), has created a gap in the literature which perpetuates their invisibility. As such, it creates the false impression that the Acropolis was nearly forgotten until its rediscovery by the early European travellers, even by the very people who inhabited it or lived under its shade for more than a millennium.

Figure 18: 18th-century Ottoman women
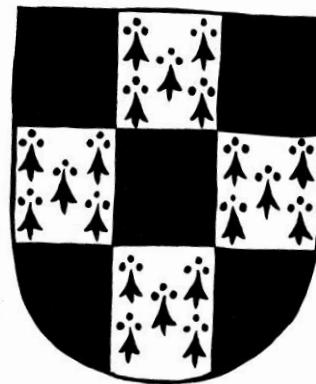
Figure 19: Arms of the Duchy of Athens under the de la Roche family

Apart from very Eurocentric, due to its neglect of indigenous attitudes towards the site, this approach is deceitful for it ignores the dynamics which not only maintained the materiality and significance of the Acropolis for centuries, but in fact rendered it relevant in modernity. It is my intention in the first paragraph of this section to show that the Acropolis was not 'rediscovered' through a servile and mimetic revival of its ancient

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perceptions, but was rather re-constituted from the outside as a High Classical monument through the reproduction of tropes developed by indigenous attitudes towards it during its seemingly dark period. As it will hopefully become apparent, so much the persistent perception of the Acropolis as a liminal entity (that is, as a site of pilgrimage or a 'Sacred Rock') as the modern hierarchy of its structures have their origins in indigenous attitudes towards it established in the Byzantine era. In the second part of this section I wish to show how within modern Greek society the dominant image that this re-constitution resulted in has not only been embraced, celebrated, and (ab)used, but also regarded along the lines of a burdensome spectre and resisted by writers and artists. The culmination of this long-standing 'resistance' is a recent movement within contemporary Greek art, one that Dimitris Papanikolaou has recently conceptualised as a form of 'archive trouble', and whose boundaries he has identified as more-or-less coincident with the so-called Greek 'crisis'. My intention with this last paragraph is twofold: a) to briefly touch upon the politics of aesthetics by discussing what Jacques Rancière has called dissensual approaches to the image and significance of the Acropolis and b) to introduce the art context within which my own work, which will be presented in the following three chapters, is of relevance.
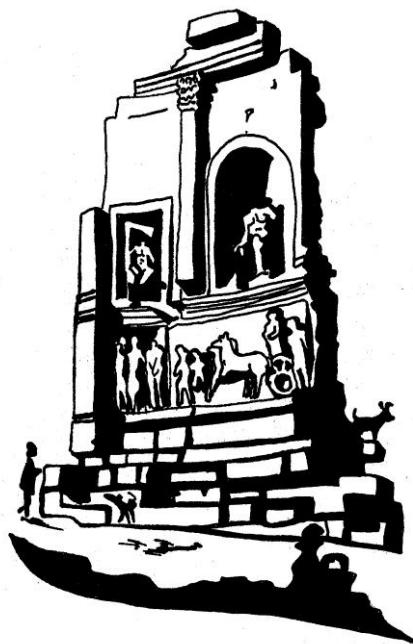

Figure 20: The Philopappos monument

4.3.1   The ruins of Athens

In 1811, Ludwig van Beethoven wrote incidental music for August von Kotzebue's play *The Ruins of Athens.* The play, tailor-made for the inauguration of an imperial theatre in Pesth, begins with Athena (called 'Minerva' in the play) waking up from a twenty-century slumber to an Ottoman Athens that survives the city she fell asleep in only in unkempt ruins. Devastated that the classical spirit does not reside there anymore, she packs up and goes west to meet it in its new home, Austria-Hungary. Athena's 'westering' is an allegory for yet another appropriation of the Hellenic Ideal (and by extension of the High Classical Acropolis' buildings whereupon the Ideal was largely founded), one very akin to those of Augustus and Attalos I: like Rome and Pergamon, Austria-Hungary tried to establish itself as a 'new Athens'; unlike them, however, it did not seek to establish a physical connection with Athens and the Acropolis in order to share its symbolism (for nothing material was taken away from Athens and nothing was planted on it) but, rather, an altogether different association. As musicologist Lawrence Kramer argues with reference to the Overture piece, which is often reduced by critics to a confused and haphazard specimen of minor music, Beethoven does not seem to have written it to celebrate so much the arrival of Athena in Pesth, as her journey there. For this reason, his music is not exultant with climactic crescendos and culminations, but complicated and echoing of unfinished phrases or acoustic 'ruins', as though critically reflecting on its own positionality in the triumphalism that it was created to serve (cf. Kramer 2005). Put simpler, the work is not so much concerned with its contemporary buildings in Hungary or with those on the Acropolis that the former directly imitate or allude to, as with the perpetual westward migration of the ideas behind their construction: the classical spirit emanates from the ruins of Athens and, by way of its selective and transformative westering, by the time it reaches Hungary (and Europe more generally), it has already become a foundation upon which new ideas and structures can take form. As such, the play both reflects and fuels its contemporary neoclassicism, whose main aim was to return to the materiality of a time that was currently thought of as the peak of human achievement and attempt to develop it further in order to lead humanity to another, supposedly higher level in the cultural evolution paradigm proposed by Winckelmann. Effectively, by presenting the ruins as a kind of spiritual fountain whence the classical spirit springs inexhaustibly, the play renders Athens a holy land of some sort.

At the time when the play was written and performed, Athens was only just beginning to acquire some importance on its own right in European imagination. Until that point,

knowledge of Greece in Europe had been predominantly constructed indirectly and from afar through the study of Roman artefacts, Roman and Greek literature, and the accounts and renditions of a small number of travellers in search of the antiquities described in ancient texts, as well as those of merchants and pilgrims to the so-called Holy Land (cf. Tsigakou 1981:14). Thus, the ruins of classical Greece were relatively unknown and generally considered of inferior quality to those of Rome until the first two decades of the nineteenth century, when they slowly started being established as the canon for a new aesthetic paradigm. This shift is reflected very well in the history of the acquisition of the Parthenon sculptures (or 'Elgin marbles') by the British Museum.

Figure 21: Melina Merkouri, actress and former Greek minister of culture, famous for her struggle for the restitution of the Parthenon Sculptures.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century, Thomas Bruce, 7th Earl of Elgin removed about half of the sculptures that embellished the Parthenon, as well as some architectural features from the Erechtheion and the Propylaea, and shipped them back to England. In 1816, after nearly six years of negotiations and heated debate over their price and the ethics of their acquisition, they were bought by the British Museum, where they have since been exhibited. Central to the debate was aesthetics. At first the sculptures were dismissed as relatively worthless, for they were thought to be Roman restorations. By the time they

came into the possession of the British Museum, however, thanks to the intervention of British and foreign artists and connoisseurs who opined that they could be used to inspire and inseminate the art and culture of the time, they had come to be thought of as the apogee of ancient art (cf. Collins 2003[1965]: 87; for the debate see Hitchens 1997:36-45): they were meticulously studied and variously copied for years, yet their perceived perfection and authority put them up on a pedestal and rendered them untouchable; as such, they had no real impact on nineteenth-century European sculpture and their main influence was on neoclassical architecture by evocation of their original context, the Parthenon and the other Acropolis structures (cf. Lydakis 1994). Crucial to this shift was timing. The sculptures arrived at the British Museum at a time when classicism was being outmoded by the movement of romanticism. Instead of wholeness, perfection and monumentality, which were the traits of classicism, romanticism was more concerned with the futility of existence and with the death and decay of beauty. The Parthenon sculptures, weathered and damaged as they were, fitted almost perfectly this new aesthetic paradigm and their exhibition at the British Museum at a time when museums were beginning to be popularised and redefined as spaces of public indoctrination instead of areas for the privileged significantly assisted the establishment and dissemination of this new aesthetic (see Hamilakis 2007:252-3). As such, one might say, they became a symbol of romanticism. At the same time, due to the fact that they had been acquired by Elgin before Napoleon had a chance to 'salvage' them first from the Ottomans, they also became a symbol of British imperial might and nationhood, standing for yet another victory of the civilised west over the barbarian east (ibid.). This new expropriation of the Parthenon's symbolism of western supremacy was, in essence, another appropriation of the Acropolis through a trope not dissimilar to that described in the opening of this section: the classical spirit had migrated to the west in order to escape the current, 'uncivilised', occupants of its land (Ottomans and modern Greeks) and to inseminate western art and culture. This time the spirit had a physical form that rendered it more accessible to a wider public: the sculptures. Yet these were fragmented and only part of a greater whole located in their land of origin, a land which was rapidly being shaped in European imagination as one of ruins and relics, a ghostly ancestral place with somewhat 'exotic' and 'savage' inhabitants, and, for that matter, a must-see.
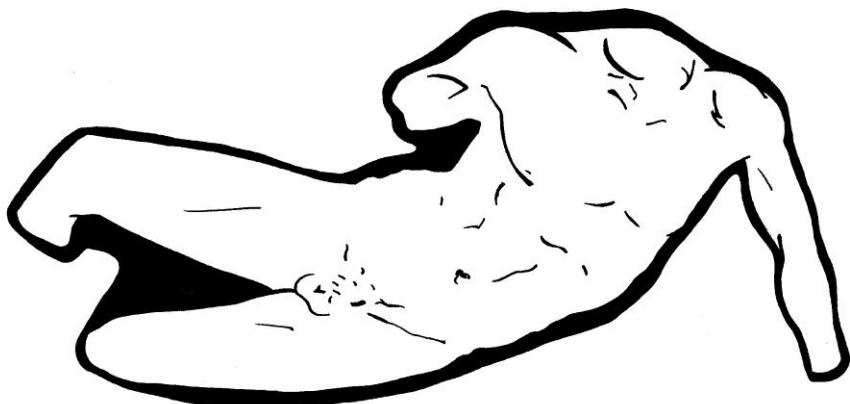
Figure 22: Kifissos, one of the Parthenon Sculptures at the British Museum

At the dawn of the nineteenth century, Greece was already rapidly becoming a popular destination for European travellers and its ruins the star attraction for them. The ruins of Athens were no exception. Their literary and pictorial renditions in travellers' journals and publications, along with the mass circulation of their photographic ones, would not only attract more travellers and tourists, but also further enhance the image of the Acropolis as a site of origins and quasi-religious cultural pilgrimage, an image that survived more or less intact until the 1950s and aspects of which persist today. Yet, this image did not come out of thin air, but its origins stretch back much further than the nineteenth century.

The last paragraph of this chapter's previous section dealt with the physical appropriations of the High-Classical Acropolis throughout its history, particularly emphasising the latest of those. That last, nineteenth-century appropriation (and its stipulation as the last one here has to do with the fact that its agenda persists to this day pretty much uncha(lle)nged) set the ideological foundations for the production of the physical image of the Acropolis as we know it today through the employment of a synergy of two disciplines, architecture and archaeology; the Acropolis was to be 'purified' of all signs of post-classical use and 'restored' to resemble its High-Classical self in order to become the symbolic and physical cornerstone of the modern Greek national edifice. This image, however, might not have been as prevalent as it is and, in fact, might have been a different one, had its dissemination not been facilitated by photography. As Hamilakis puts it,

> [t]he process of the production of the materiality of classical antiquity [...] involved excavation, demolition of non-classical monuments, and extensive rebuilding. Nationalism, as the dominant ideology of modernity that was imported into Greece, led to the creation of the material manifestations of Europeanism, which was celebrating its victory over the oriental Other. The sacred sites of the European imagination much adored by the Western travellers, which had also now become the sacred sites of the Hellenic national imagination, had to be rebuilt in their

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idealized form; they became a past that never was. These practices, which resulted in a sanitized classical material past, were quite convenient for the new industry of visual commodities. [...] Clients were demanding the idealized, isolated, stereotypical views of classical Athens. Archaeologists on the ground were in a sense staging the themes, while the photographers were reproducing them visually and circulating them widely. So in some ways both devices, the photographic and the archaeological, were part of the same process and were operating within the same framework: the Western idealized perceptions of classical antiquity constructed a monumentalized view of modern Greek society. This perception was adopted as a path to modernity for the new nation-state. This monumentalization involved amongst other things the construction of the material reality of classical monuments according to the idealized and sanitized view of history and antiquity. These monuments then became the stereotypical visual presentations that the Western audiences dreamed of and demanded. The whole process involving classicism, national imagination, archaeology and photography had come full circle.

(Hamilakis 2001a:10)

The first photographic image of the Parthenon was taken in the autumn of 1839, just months after the invention of photography (Szegedy-Maszak 1987:128). The photograph, which was taken three years after the commencement of the archaeological 'purification' of the Acropolis would, along with all of those that followed it, contribute towards the normalisation and establishment of the latter as the modern uninhabited monumental site that most of us know (but it had never been) through the stereotyping of its structures' image. In this paragraph, I would like to attempt a very brief presentation of this process by looking at three identifiable phases of nineteenth- and early/mid-twentieth-century photography.

The first of these phases was partial to a neoclassical aesthetic and view of antiquities. Interested predominantly in classical architecture, photographers shot monuments from specific angles reminiscent of iconographic tropes established as early as the seventeenth century, and in isolation from their modern surroundings and inhabitants (cf. Szegedy-Maszak 1987); the establishment of this consensus among them can be attributed on three factors: first, the prioritisation (and reverence) of fifth-century BCE ruins, which were considered truly Greek, over those constructed in other periods, second, the demand for standardised images of (ideal) Athens by the photographers' clients abroad, and third, the fact that the modern Greek inhabitants were not considered 'exotic enough' (cf. Szegedy-Maszak 1987:129-130; 2001:14). At the same time, they recorded the modern interventions on said monuments by archaeologists and architects, thus contributing to the formation of an archive or a visual chronicle of the modernisation of Athens (cf. Hamilakis 2001a: 8). As a result, these photographs ultimately created a heterotopia: an ideal,

monumental, reconstructed, and de-populated Acropolis (and Athens) that belonged neither in the past, nor the present, nor the future.

During the second phase, at the end of the nineteenth century (notably after 1888, when Kodak produced portable cameras and even more people could take pictures), there was a shift towards a different thematic, more concerned with the monuments in their contemporary context. On a first level, one may interpret this as a quasi-ethnographic shift of interest from isolated monuments to their relationship with the people of Greece and their lives (cf. Tsirgialou 2004); on a second level, it has been interpreted as symptomatic of the aesthetic shift from neoclassicism to romanticism. Concerned more with emotive effect than monumentality, photographers operating within this new aesthetic paradigm shot ruins neither as timeless tangible testimonies of human achievement, nor as objects of modern scientific practice, but, rather, as relics of the past, decaying within a situation of generalised decline, i.e., as a type of *Memento Mori*; in that, not only were they more inclusive of people, who now featured in photographs, but also of 'Other' pasts, as they chose to shoot non-classical sites and aspects of monuments, too. Indicative of this phase, among others, are the photographs by Fred Boissonas, who used the Acropolis as a backdrop to rural, pastoral scenes.

Figure 23: The dancer Nikolska photographed naked on the Acropolis by Nelly in 1929

The beginning of the third phase coincides with the break with Romanticism in the 1920s. The end of World War I necessitated the rethinking of Hellenism in the broader terms of an environmental essentialism required to accommodate for the incorporation of refugees from Asia Minor into the national body at a rather difficult time with no room for Romanticism's inherent gloom. This new neoclassical take, a modernist endeavour in many respects, reduced the image of Greece to white columns, rocks, and sea.

> Now, thanks too to the work of archaeologists, who have cleared away their surroundings to allow them to be more properly viewed, cleaned them up and started systematic 'restoration', the ruins figure as emblems of a kind of eternal perfection. There are stark contrasts, not subtle tints, and human onlookers are not wanted. [...] In this idealized and rarified landscape, there are no cities or villages. [...] The ethnographic and the picturesque are banished, perhaps because they would provide too painful reminders of the struggles and violence of the present. The worse things get, the more Greece is stripped of its history. Thus the apotheosis of this approach emerges during the German occupation with the publication of works like the 1943 *Hellas*, or the prolific Martin Huerlimann's 1944 photo-album *Ewiges Griechenland* published in Zurich.

(Mazower 2008:38)

Figure 24: Tourists

Mass tourism augmented the further canonisation of this new neoclassical aesthetic, which would not only be adopted and elaborated on by EOT (Greek National Tourism Organisation) after its reformation in the 1950s, but also become *the* national aesthetic paradigm which, as attested by the Athens 2004 Olympic Games opening ceremony discussed in Chapter 1 (§1.3.1), is still quite influential.

Figure 25: The UNESCO logo featuring the Parthenon

Despite their different points of departure, the three aforementioned phases of photography collectively chipped in towards the shaping of the dominant image of the Acropolis as a modern archaeological site, an Athenian landmark, and an internationally recognised emblem of the Greek state. While the first phase contributed to the concretisation and dissemination of the new image of the Acropolis as an ancient site deserving of modern scientific attention and attendance, the second phase presented it as a mystical relic of an unworthy present's glorious past and the third, through an abstractive combination of the previous two, established it as a self-evident icon (in all senses of the word) of (inter)national and (di)achronic significance. In photographs of all three phases, like in the paintings, drawings, and sketches of earlier travellers that preceded them, the Parthenon features prominently and often at the expense of the other structures.

Figure 26: Choniates' seal depicting the Virgin of Athens

Figure 27: Coin bearing the image of Empress Irene the Athenian

As Kaldellis (2009) points out in his *The Christian Parthenon*, despite the recognition of its impressive architecture and significance, it was not until its conversion into a church dedicated to the Virgin in the early to mid-sixth century CE, that the Parthenon became the 'face' of the Acropolis. Travellers and tourists have been visiting Athens since Roman times yet the Parthenon was never on the top of their to-see lists. During the Byzantine period, however, the church curiously enough became a site of religious pilgrimage and people from all over would travel to Athens exclusively to visit it and to witness its 'miraculous light' (cf. Kaldellis 2009:196-206). Therefore, when European travellers 'rediscovered' the Acropolis, they did not just re-evaluate the ruins in light of their significance in antiquity but also re-produced in their accounts their contemporary (long-standing) indigenous perceptions of and attitudes towards said ruins. As these accounts functioned as introduction to and advertisement of the ruins of Athens in Europe and the West, more generally, they inevitably laid the foundations for the modern image of the Acropolis by establishing iconographic and conceptual tropes concerning them; the more importance the Periclean ruins acquired in European imagination and politics, the more these tropes became vehicles for their 'domestication' and appropriation as material attestations of Western cultural origins, thus regulating the *distribution of the sensible* (Rancière 2006; see also §2.2.4.a); in other words, their normalisation by means of the standardisation of their image not only imbued the Acropolis structures with particular meanings, but also dictated the proper ways in which they should be approached, used, experienced, and embodied, and by whom. It is not surprising, then, that in the nineteenth century the Parthenon, a structure which, as we saw earlier, in antiquity was more of a monument to the defeat of the East by the West than a temple, stripped of its medieval and religious (Christian and Islamic) heritage yet maintaining its status as a site of, now,

cultural pilgrimage (as the source of the classical spirit), did not only become coincident with the Acropolis and Greece altogether, but also elevated to the status of a sacred national relic that should be experienced, embodied, and treated as such; it was precisely this image of the legendary ruins of Athens that the devices of the nation (archaeology and architecture) described in the previous paragraph sought to live up to, using it as a blueprint for their appropriation of and interventions upon the Acropolis. Thus the familiar image of the 'Sacred Rock' was, quite literally, set in stone.
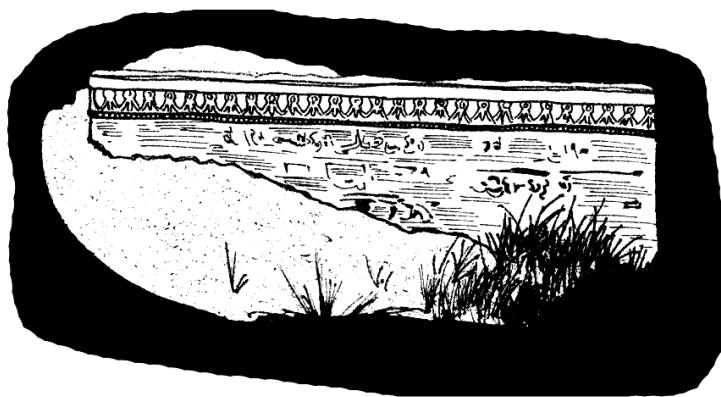

Figure 28: A fragment from the Erechtheion bearing an ottoman inscription

Figure 29: Lyssistrata by the Greek cartoonist Bost

4.3.2   Athens in ruins

In August 2007 the 1ˢᵗ Athens Biennale took place. Under the provocative title 'Destroy Athens', it aimed to tell a story that its organisers "felt that it was the story that had been missing" (Kalpaktsoglou et al. 2007:15; translation mine). Acknowledging the fact that the process of self-identification of a subject is contingent on the way that they are seen, perceived, and identified by others, but not one whereby the subject is a passive entity, the exhibition set out to tell the story of what might happen should said subject decide to reject this process altogether and assert their right *not* to be who they are (*ibid.*). In other words, it set out to tell a story of what might happen should a subject dare attempt to break (with) the *consensus*, that is, the dominant sensible paradigm dictating how to perceive and experience the world sensorially in terms of (im)propriety (cf. Rancière 2004; 2010). Thus, in seeking to undermine the stereotypical theorisation of Athens as a sterile contemporary European capital, secure in its identification exclusively in terms of its history, the exhibition comprised a series of *dissensual* artworks, that is, artworks that deviated or opposed the dominant sensible order. All of those are of interest to anyone engrossed in the politics of quotidian experience of the Greek capital yet here I have chosen to briefly make reference to two which are of particular relevance to this thesis: Eva Stefaní's *Akropolis* (2004), and Pablo Picasso's *Le Parthénon* (1959).

In her twenty-five-minute video collage, Stefaní

> deconstructs the Parthenon's national and ideological bedrock juxtaposing super 8 pornographic material and aspects of the monument. Attempting the parallelisation of the Acropolis with the female body, as marketable commodities, she appears, as the artist herself notes, "to be giving the monument the voice of a woman asking the visitor 'what would I say if I had a voice?'"
>
> (Stathopoulos 2007:62; translation mine)

Akropolis is a feminist comment on (if not critique of) the exploitation of the site for national and financial profit, as well as on its management and modification. Employing the common trope of the personification of antiquities, Stefaní presents the Acropolis pretty much as a victim of trafficking, compelled to receive endless visitors and unable to escape. The flashing images of Greek political figures and insignia allude, on the one hand, to the detainment of the site throughout the ages, and, on the other, to its successive appropriations: the patrons change, the Acropolis remains. Adding to this last point are the sequences depicting medical examinations of and operations on female bodies: the

Acropolis modified and canonised on the operating table by professionals (archaeologists and architects, presumably) to suit the needs and desires of the patrons of the time. By giving it a voice, Stefaní disrupts the consensual identity of the Acropolis as a sacred national body (cf. Yalouri 2001:65-75), for she dares to associate it with that of an unhappy, passive, imperfect and perhaps sick (hence the operations) female prostitute. In the process, she produces a political criticism of sexist and patriarchal elements of modern Greek social and political life.

The second exhibit that I would like to dwell on for a little while here is a 1959 sketch by Picasso. It depicts Manolis Glezos on the roof of the Parthenon raising a blue flag with a white dove. It was made in 1959 in solidarity towards Glezos who had recently been captured by the Greek state on the accusation of espionage. The sketch was intended to be printed on post-cards, all the profits from the sale of which would go towards the financing of Glezos' struggle. Eventually, it featured on the front cover of the *Humanité* (Tramboulis 2007:78).

Figure 30: Lakis Santas and Manolis Glezos removing the swastika from the Acropolis

As the employment of the Parthenon (or other antiquities for that matter) in political posters and pamphlets has been common practice ever since at least World War II, what interests me here is not so much the sketch itself, as its inclusion in this particular exhibition. The sketch belongs to a private collection and this was the first time that it was being exhibited in Greece. Its inclusion, I feel, has to do with the fact that the organisers wanted to oppose the de- or a-politicisation of the Acropolis by reminding that, apart from

being a tourist attraction, it has also been the stage of recent political action (that is, the removal of the Nazi flag by Lakis Santas and Manolis Glezos [see also §5.2.2]). As it will become apparent in Chapters 6 and 7, had the exhibition taken place today the sketch would probably not be shown, but at the time, a couple of years before the commencement of the so-called 'crisis' and about five years before the entry of the Extreme Right into the Greek Parliament, its inclusion was a dissensual political act. What is more it was pertinent to a forming movement in contemporary Greek art, of which Stefaní's work also partakes. Dimitris Papanikolaou would, four years later, insightfully write:

> It seems to me that there is an interesting trend of cultural expression produced in Greece at the moment, which, even though not always related to the crisis directly, can assume, in the current climate, a radical political position. This is a trend characterized by its effort to critique, undermine and performatively disturb the very logics through which the story of Greece – the narrative of its national, political, sociocultural cohesion in synchrony and diachrony – has until now been told. If I were to give a title to this tendency, I would call it the 'poetics of disturbed archival logics' or the 'disturbed archive.'

> (Papanikolaou 2011: no pagination)

As Papanikolaou admits, the trend of cultural expression that he describes is by no means new, as Greek artists and writers have been resisting or even actively undermining the dominant version of the national narrative for many years. This is attested by the fact that the image of the Acropolis (and, by way of the latter's iconicity, of Greece) described in the previous paragraph, although adopted and elaborated on by many intellectuals and the state, was by no means catholically accepted, but directly rejected in many of its manifestations by artists, authors, and poets (an early expression of this rejection, in relation to the transfer of the capital, was noted earlier in §4.2.2). For example, while the image of Greece was more and more minimalised by photographers and the State (EOT) and all the more reduced to the Acropolis itself, poets and writers started to ignore the Acropolis in their work; in the rare occasions where it was not ignored, instead of evoking greatness, it was under peril (cf. Giannakopoulou 2002; Lambropoulos 2010). What is new about this trend, however, according to Papanikolaou, is the fact that

> this type of undermining now has the potential to become a dominant political and cultural critique, a full-blown genealogical attack that takes the current state not as a symptom of things that went wrong in the past, but as the very point from which the past should be reviewed, revisited, re-collated, reassembled and reassessed, both in political and in identitarian terms. I am also saying that, through this larger logic of archival disturbance, an array of cultural texts are bound to take on a political importance that perhaps would have been unthinkable some years earlier.

> (*ibid.*)

Indeed, the art trend that Papanikolaou describes is reflective of a current, more generalised, desire for the renegotiation of contemporary Greek identity from within, a desire evident so much in public discourses (e.g., articles in the Press or the Internet) as in the more private sphere of interaction (e.g., conversations among friends either in person or via the Social Media). A thorough research of what Greeks write, post, and upload on the Internet in the last nine years would reveal, I believe, not only an attempt for the redefinition of Greekness in terms of fragments of the country's hitherto disenfranchised recent history, but also (and more importantly) a, post-modern almost, desire to creatively and playfully reuse and recompile these fragments in order not so much to produce a new collective national identity as to challenge the very foundations of the current one by establishing new connections to its components. This might be, among others, a reflex towards the appropriation of the national narrative and the language thereof by the Greek Extreme Right or a (re)active attempt to remedy the inconsistency between Greeks' designed and adopted national identity as unworthy heirs of the classical past and Europe's living ancestors and the real experience of being Greek in the twenty-first century. Obviously this is not a phenomenon that can be assessed and evaluated while it is still in progress, and it might just prove to be a new, more contemporary, version of nationalism in the making. However, in my experience, the irreverence and even audacity with which ruins, heroes, historical events, and meta-narratives are currently approached is without precedence. This is not to say that the rhetoric of the national narrative has been abandoned or dethroned, but only that there is also a rival attitude concerning the reclaiming of the past and its material remains from it. And this is an attitude that has no place for sacred cows. Or 'Sacred Rocks', for that matter.

As expected, the Acropolis, as the *par excellence* point of Greek origins, is attracting all the more attention from both adherents of the consensus concerning its perception and sensorial experience as the national monument and those who seek to challenge that consensus. Thus, faithful to its history, it continues to constitute a contested space between rival appropriations of it, and as such it has claimed the attention of archaeologists (e.g., Hamilakis 2007), and social anthropologists (e.g., Caftanzoglou 2001; Yalouri 2001) wishing to tease out its current social contingencies. Although these studies reveal aspects of the site that are of outmost importance towards the understanding of its contemporary roles in Greek society and culture, they are mostly directed towards (and perhaps even contained within) the academic community. In conclusion to this paragraph, however, I would like to present an on-going endeavour at the interface of archaeology and

photography, which is not only directed towards the public, but is also pertinent to the trend that I have been discussing and to my own work that will be presented in the following three chapters. It is for this reason that I have chosen to present it here rather than in Chapter 2 alongside the other engagements of archaeologists with contemporary arts practice.

The Other Acropolis project (www.theotheracropolis.com) is mainly an Acropolis-themed photo-blog which, as the people behind it explain

> emerged out of both critical work on the archaeological and photographic monumentalisation of the site since the nineteenth century, and the frustration that such monumentalisation is largely still being perpetuated and actively encouraged by institutions and official discourses and practices into the twenty-first century. [...] That frustration is compounded by the observation that judging by contemporary popular photographic production as seen on internet file sharing sites such as *Flickr*, for example, far too many photographs of the Acropolis follow the established photographic canon. It is as if visitors feel the need, almost the impulse, to produce their own iconic and stereotypical postcard-like imagery, and exhibit it side by side with the professional ones.

<div align="right">(Hamilakis and Ifantidis 2015:143)</div>

Featuring photographs of artefacts of the Acropolis' disenfranchised periods as well as aspects of the site and its contingencies that state archaeology overlooks or even actively suppresses, *The Other Acropolis* photo-blog aspires to evoke rather than represent the polysemy of the site and the richness of its history. The photographs, in their vast majority taken by archaeologist and photographer Fotis Ifantidis, therefore, purposefully avoid the reproduction of tropes that have prevailed in the iconography of the site's structures (specific angles, monumentality, and so forth) and, instead, attempt to convey the sensorial experience of visiting the Acropolis by focusing on the rock's textures, or by focusing on contemporary tourists, as well as the traces left by those who travelled to or inhabited the place in the past (e.g., graffiti). At the same time, they comment on the current management of the site by official state archaeology, on the one hand by casting light on (assemblages of) artefacts that the latter has deemed unimportant due to their not belonging to the classical period, and for this reason has left out of its itineraries, and on the other alluding to the authority by which both classical and non-classical artefacts are handled, stored, managed, or rendered (in)visible and untouchable. In that, the photo-blog at once articulates a comment on or critique of the poetics of archaeological management in Greece today and, more importantly, attempts to rehabilitate the site's multi-temporal and multi-cultural history, in order to liberate it from the supremacist connotations inherent in

the national narrative, and to allow it to become more relevant to the contemporary, progressively more diverse and more multi-cultural, peoplescape of Athens.

As the authors themselves admit in the conclusion to one of their papers, their aim through their dissensual work is not only to counter the consensus concerning the experience and interpretation of the site, but also to encourage its experience and interpretation in other, new, dissensual ways (Hamilakis and Ifantidis 2015:153). As such, their work, like the other dissensual approaches that I have discussed in the course of this section, is, in essence, a political act pertinent to the same logic of the 'disturbed archive', i.e., a political act that seeks to unlearn and un-teach the consensual image of the Acropolis in order to see it anew and imbue it with new meanings. And another example of art influencing archaeology (see §1.3).

4.4   Conclusion

Every age has had the Acropolis that it needed and desired. These needs and desires that we are able to infer now were not, however, necessarily those of everyone. Throughout its documented life the Acropolis has been the apple of discord between conflicting notions concerning its management and development, and the appropriations and interventions that we are now able to identify are reflective of the respective side that won the argument, so to speak. In this chapter I have tried to provide a synopsis of the appropriations of the Acropolis throughout the years while allowing space, where possible, for the visions of the Acropolis that were not meant to be. The most significant, for the purposes of this thesis, appropriation, as I hope will have been made clear from the first section of this chapter, was its latest, that of its nineteenth-century transformation into a national archaeological site/cornerstone upon which the myth of the national edifice would be erected. By demolishing and removing almost all traces of post-classical habitation, archaeologists and artists did not just shape the image of the Acropolis that we are familiar with today, but rather concretised an image that had been organically and syncretically forming for centuries: an iconic quasi-religious point of origins for the West, a site of pilgrimage, a 'Sacred Rock'. This is, arguably, what nineteenth-century Europe and the newborn Greek state needed. This is also largely how the Acropolis is still perceived, managed, and marketed. Seventeen years into the twenty-first century, however, with Greece plunged into a financial and humanitarian crisis with no foreseeable end and Athens becoming all the more multi-cultural, the image that Europeans created for the Acropolis, as attested by both the art trend and the as yet uncharted desire to disturb the archive I described earlier,

appears to be failing to function as an identity anchor for the contemporary inhabitants of the capital, who, as we shall see in the following chapters, are looking to establish new, and perhaps more intimate, connections with the material leftovers of the past and with history. With official archaeology's fixation on the national narrative, which allows little interaction with the materials of the past, the establishment of such connections is rendered impossible and the Acropolis irrelevant. Thus, despite is omnipresence (or perhaps because of it), it is progressively reduced to background. This is clearly not an Acropolis that people want today. Nor the archaeology they desire. With the conviction that another archaeology of the Acropolis is possible, and inspired by the dissensual artworks of the 'disturbed archive', I set out to investigate whether I could interest people in the site through a tripartite ethnographic art installation that might also reveal what kind of archaeology we need today; its design and results are the topics of the following three chapters.
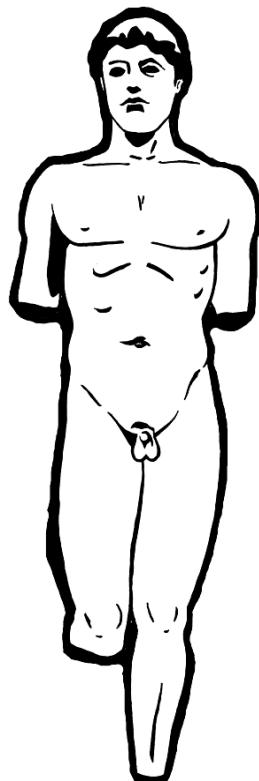

Figure 31: Kritios' Boy, one of the exhibits of the New Acropolis Museum

Chapter 5:   Tending to the mess:

the ethnographic art installation

> One can only speak of what is in front of him, and that now is simply the mess. [. . .] [I]t invades our experience at every moment. It is there and it must be allowed in[to art]. [. . .] To find a form that accommodates the mess, that is the task of the artist now.
>
> – Samuel Beckett[34]

> I've never been on the Acropolis, and I've no desire to do so. I have this feeling that, should I ever go up there, I'll find out that it's nothing but a flat, you know, a cardboard backdrop!
>
> – G.

5.1   Introduction

In the previous chapter I took an analytic approach to introduce my case study, the Athenian Acropolis, and explain why I think that it could benefit from an art archaeological intervention. In this chapter my approach will be more pragmatic, as it is dedicated to the presentation of the ethnographic tools I have designed so as to together constitute such an intervention: a site-specific ethnographic art installation triptych. In it I will present the constituents of this triptych one-by-one, explaining the thought-process behind them, their relation to the theoretical gains from the first part of the thesis, and the ways in which they tend to the particularities of the Acropolis. Their results will be presented collectively in the following chapter and analysed in Chapter 7.

The ethnographic tools that I have devised for this thesis pick up from where the last chapter left off: the acknowledgement of the multiple and complex roles that the Acropolis plays in contemporary Greek society. Unlike the previous chapter, however, this one does not seek to disentangle the threads of the Acropolis' history from those of its artistic and political appropriations, but, rather, to further the site's deconstruction through the

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[34] Beckett interviewed by Tom Driver for Columbia University Forum IV (Summer 1961).

celebration of their ambiguities, pluralities, overlaps, and intersections. This I have chosen to do by employing what (for reasons that will shortly become apparent) seems to be the best art medium for conveying material, formal, and conceptual pluralities and intersections: collage. All three ethnographic tools are pertinent to the logic of this art-form: the first one is a photo-collage made by me; the second one is an assemblage of original magnets intended to be used by participants in order to make their own collages; in the third one, participants freely create their own original constituents of a second collage put together by me. My two collages will be presented in this chapter (and in Appendix C), while the forty collages made by the participants can be found in Appendix B. In terms of spatial economy, this chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part, I shall attempt a condensed account of the history of collage from its introduction into the art-world by Picasso and Braque to its contemporary branching-out to music, sound, and video art. My intention is to highlight the key theoretical and practical aspects of collage that render it an appropriate art-form for an ethnographic art installation. In the second part, I will, first, consider collage within the context of contemporary archaeological practice and, later, explain the thought-process behind my own work.

5.2   A very brief history of collage

Collage, from the French verb *coller* (= to glue), is a modern name for the age-old technique of gluing or otherwise attaching objects onto a surface. As a decorative technique, collage has a long genealogy that spans from, at least, ninth-century Byzantine icon making to tenth-century Japanese calligraphy to the construction of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century gold-leaf cathedral panels to nineteenth-century scrapbooks and collections. Unlike many other decorative techniques which did not make it into the art-world but only very recently (see §1.1.2), the case of collage is different: not only was it introduced into the art-world much earlier, but this introduction, as I wish to subsequently demonstrate, actually created the conditions for the further erosion of the already somewhat tired system of the 'Fine Arts' and rendered collage the matrix for much of modern and contemporary art.

5.2.1   Inventing collage

One hundred years ago, two giants of twentieth-century art, Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque, introduced *papier collé* into the artworld. As the two artists were at the time working closely on the development of Cubism, it is uncertain who is to be credited for

this annexation. The history of their collaboration (see Taylor 2004:11-23), although fascinating for anyone interested in the origins and development of Cubism, collage, the development of ideas in art, collaboration, or all of the above, is of peripheral relevance to this thesis, and I have therefore chosen to omit it; rather more important for the purposes of this chapter are the changes that the employment of the technique brought about in the artworld. This is what this paragraph is about.

As I have discussed earlier in this thesis (§1.3.1), for art, the twentieth century began with a multifaceted break with tradition. The embrace of the classical canon, which had fostered artists for centuries, had begun to feel asphyxiating and was therefore jettisoned; with it, so was verisimilitudinous representation (at least within the circles of the avant-garde), which was replaced by new proposals for portraying the world. One of those proposals was Cubism, which sought to negotiate the three-dimensionality of objects very differently from traditional perspectivist techniques: rather than implying depth through the painterly arrangement of two-dimensional objects of different scales on the same canvas, its pioneers sought to convey three-dimensionality by deconstructing objects and painting their different facades on the same surface (thus flattening them and bringing to the fore aspects of theirs which perspectivist painting inevitably eclipsed). In that, seen within the historical context outlined above, early Cubists appear to have been looking to replace verisimilitude (which was something that photography could already do much better) in art by focusing on the materiality of both the depicted object and the canvas, as well as on the artificiality of the artwork altogether (i.e., the fact that a work of art is an interpretation of reality and not a neutral representation of it); collage was to be instrumental in their endeavour.

In September 1912, while passing by a wallpaper store in Avignon,

> …Braque spotted some wood-grained wallpaper and immediately went in to buy it. Returning to the studio, he pasted rectangular patches onto the surfaces of several large charcoal drawings, in such a way that the drawing and the paper defined each other in a series of procedural and semantic orderings that would have massive implications for what was to follow. The work on paper known as *Fruit Dish and Glass*, for example, has three unequal patches at left, and right, and lower down, probably attached *after* some initial drawing defined the main curve of the fruit dish but *before* the drawing was continued over the wood-grain patches or completed in recognition of the paper's rectangular edges. The relationship of this novel format to Cubist painting is immediately challenging to the most radical degree. For not only are these new drawings larger than some Cubist paintings, but they also carve out a wholly new *metier* whose seriousness and ingenuity is the equal of any painting, even if for the moment that quality was less easy to recognize. Paper and oil would never be easy to mix, of course. But more than that,

> Braque's new inventions introduced a new order of depiction which the painted pictures had only been able to imply, namely one in which pasted paper in its overlap of the ground upon which it rests operates both as literal surface as well as implied spatial supercession in terms of front-to-back. Which is to say that tactility and visuality are now combined, and often in abrupt tension with each other.
>
> (Taylor 2004:17-19; original emphases)

The 'invention' of *papier collé* highlighted the tensions that Cubism wanted to expose. The strips of wood-grain wallpaper on *Fruit Dish and Glass* at once evoked the physicality of a wooden surface (on which the fruit dish and glass would normally sit in a perspective still life) by simulating it visually, and emphasised the artificiality of the work by way of their flatness and non-corresponding texture (they are made of and feel like paper rather than real wood). As such, they demanded a different sort of involvement from the viewer, who could no longer appreciate the artwork for the painterly 'genius' of its maker (for everyone understands how a collage is made and everyone could make one [cf. O'Reily 2008]) or for what it *represented* but rather for the comment the new art-form made about its content, itself, and art in general. To put it simpler, by demanding a different behaviour from the viewer, collage, in a way, renegotiated the boundaries between artist, artwork and viewer, and, thus, to an extent, also set a precedent for subsequent, more participatory art-forms, such as conceptual art and performance. This development was a major breakthrough for all modern art, as it forced its practitioners to become more inclusive of their audience (though not necessarily less elitist).

On a second level, the act of drawing on both the wood-grain paper strips and the canvas on which they were pasted resulted in a dissolution of the portrayed objects' boundaries, making it unclear where one ended and the other began (see Monroe 2008). While in the case of *Fruit Dish and Glass* this dissolution concerned the physical boundaries of the portrayed objects, it would not be long before the *conceptual* boundaries of objects became reconsidered, too. Starting with Picasso, artists progressively began to use the medium of collage in order to unveil the relational web within which objects and ideas are caught. Thus, they added more dimensions to the already 'unfolded' and 'flattened' object. In some cases the aim was to stimulate sensorial experience beyond the visual and the textual; the sheet music and typographical elements that Picasso used in his 1912 *Guitar and Sheet Music*, for example, evoke (to those who can recognise/read them) sound and music. In other cases the incentive of the artist was to articulate a comment through the juxtaposition of different and, often, clashing symbols or emblems. Exemplary of this tendency is

Picasso's *Glass and Bottle of Suze* of the same year, where the use of a newspaper clipping about the then on-going Balkan War was used to simultaneously express the artist's anarchist-syndicalist sympathies (cf. Leighten 1989) and allude to his own on-going 'war' against his rivals and enemies within the artworld (cf. Cottington 1998; Taylor 2004). Of particular interest in both examples is the following paradox: despite the fact that they have been broken, crushed and flattened, and their boundaries violated, the objects portrayed in the collages become 'fuller' and more 'real'; it is as though their pasting down onto a flat surface actually *unflattens* them. Collage artist John Stezaker has argued that this paradox is owed to the medium's ability to draw attention to the physical presence of objects which have been rendered invisible and absent from everyday life precisely because of their omnipresence and commoditisation (Lillington 2008). It is as though collage brings to the fore these objects through the exposure of their relational contexts, old and new. It is the *double entendre* that collage allows for its constituents that *maintains* their original meaning even after their violent decontextualisation (cutting up) and incorporation (pasting down) into a different semantic whole. Like 'found objects' collage constituents are appropriated and placed within a new environment, where they acquire new meanings. Yet, unlike them, their old meanings are not lost but carried along into their new context. There, their new meanings are produced not by the art-world or the institution fostering their display (normally a gallery space) but through their positionality within that new context, i.e., through their relation to the other constituent elements of the collage. As Thomas Brockelman argues,

> [c]ollage intends to represent the intersection of multiple discourses. Indeed, it's only this intention that differentiates *cubist* collage from countless earlier examples of folk practices using materials (postage stamps, bones, you name it) in pictorial compositions – and thus justifies art historical talk of its "invention" at the hands of the cubists.

> (Brockelman 2001:2)

5.2.2 Collage af/franchised

The re-invention of collage by the Cubists not only introduced and incorporated a decorative technique into the art-world, but also profoundly affected the subsequent development of modern and contemporary art practice. A few months after its (re-)invention by Picasso and Braque, collage was already being appropriated by the international art-world, inseminating new movements and acquiring new dimensions: in the hands of the Russian Constructivists, notably Aleksander Rodchenko, thanks to its

unconventional formal and semiotic possibilities, the new invention became a weapon against bourgeois painting and the system of the arts that harboured it (cf. Taylor 2004:25-35); in those of the Berlin Dadaists, it acquired a more explicitly political character and became a medium of protest and propaganda for social revolution and against the Social Democrats and the bourgeoisie (cf. Taylor 2004:37-65; see also White 2001); finally, its adoption by the French Dadaists inspired a brand new kind of painting, one that imitated collage's synthetic character and would eventually give birth to a movement that sought to express unmediated, unfiltered, unconditioned thought: Surrealism (cf. Taylor 2004:67-85). Despite their geographical and ideological differences, the artists who adopted collage as their medium of choice did so on account of its ambiguity, its negation or rearrangement of classificatory systems, and its ability to accommodate several, often intersecting or even clashing, narratives. It was precisely these qualities that rendered collage (an art-form at the interface of painting and sculpture) a weapon against conservative Russian painting, allowed conflicting images to articulate ironic and subversive political messages in Interbellum Germany, and allegedly granted access to a 'collective unconscious' through free association and an automatism that supposedly cut right through diverse and dividing ideological and moral systems.

Even more important than all these qualities, however, was the fact that collage was a product of a fast-moving, fragmented, capitalist Europe, where signs, products, news, and ideas circulated, intersected, and clashed with each other constantly and all the more intensely. In that, one might say that the real reason for its survival beyond the chronological limits of the abovementioned movements is its relevance and adaptability. As Stezaker insightfully observes, "[c]ollage is not about the successful application of an idea or strategy but, rather, is a way of living with available images by a process of making them one's own" (Lillington 2008:22). *Papier Collé* had only been the beginning of a new way of thinking critically (cf. Monroe 2008) not only about images but about the world and its components altogether. As such, it expanded and eventually infiltrated almost every aspect of artistic activity from Picassean and Dada construction to Surrealist painting and verse, from author William S. Burroughs' cut-up technique to director Baz Luhrmann's *Moulin Rouge*, from DJ Spooky and DJ Shadow's musical collage albums to Eva Stefani's *Akropolis*. In other words, collage became a way of dealing with what Samuel Beckett calls 'the mess' in his opening quote to this chapter. On account of its ability to simultaneously highlight, enlighten, obfuscate, and conceal the materiality and

contingencies of things, more than an artform, collage became a way of critically being-in-the-world.

5.3   The Sub/Liminal Ethnographies triptych

At this point, before I present the tools that I devised for the ethnographic art installation triptych, I would like to return to archaeology and its practitioners who are no strangers to the physical, conceptual and experiential dimensions of material culture, and, indeed, to the ideas pertinent to collage. Although to date archaeological accounts of collage are brief and superficial (Shanks 1992:188-190; Shanks and Hodder 1995:26), parallels between archaeological practice and collage-making can be made out throughout the Interpretivist literature. For example, when Hamilakis (1999) writes that archaeologists do not *retrieve* an archaeological record but actively *create* one that is conditioned by their technological, physical, intellectual and political situation, one could say that he really writes about the making of a collage that is constructed through seeking, finding, decontextualising, and recontextualising objects within a new, interpretable, assemblage. Likewise, when Hodder (1989) calls for more collective, multivocal and inclusive site reports, he capitalises on collage's most celebrated properties: intertextuality, ambiguity, interpretation, multiplicity, and inclusiveness. More significantly for the purposes of this thesis, these properties are also at the heart of the archaeological engagements with contemporary art and arts practice discussed earlier; these constitute a more explicit manifestation of the relationship between archaeology and collage, as many of them draw directly upon collage (e.g., Tilley *et al.*'s photomontages of Leskernick [Tilley *et al.* 2000]; Shanks' David Hockney-esque photomontages in his *Experiencing the Past* [Shanks 1992]; Watson's similar photomontages of Avebury [Watson 2004]), while others prefer recent incarnations of it (e.g., Cochrane and Russell's adaptation of Joan Fontcuberta's Googlegrams [Cochrane and Russell 2007; 2008]), and, finally, others constitute 'conceptual versions' of collage, whereby the individual elements are glued together by the performing (e.g., Hamilakis and Theou [2013]; Pearson and Shanks [2001]; Gheorghiu [2009]) or narrating (e.g., Hamilakis *et al.* [2009]; Sofaer and Sofaer [2008]) archaeologist/s. As I argued in Chapter 2, these engagements, with their unconventional (by disciplinary standards) approaches to material culture, articulate (a) a critique of the modernist paradigm of archaeology as retrieval of the past, as well as (b) a proposal for a counter-modern archaeology which focuses on the holistic examination of the materiality of things, and their past and contemporary

contingencies. I systematised this proposal in five points (see §2.3), which I remind here very briefly:

1. Emphasis on the fact that there is no such thing as a unique, true, and natural past that reveals itself to us; archaeologists actively construct versions of the past by interpreting its material leftovers and the connections between them in the present.

2. Reconceptualisation of archaeology as a cultural form, akin and comparable to other such forms (e.g., art, literature); like those of artists, archaeologists' works are facilitated and restrained not only by materiality, but also by their own particularities and subjectivities.

3. Encouragement of non-archaeologists to get involved in the archaeological process.

4. Employment of ethnographic methodologies useful for bringing new insights into the interpretation of the past (e.g., current perceptions or appropriations of monuments).

5. Awareness of archaeologists' positionality within their respective projects: what our reasons for researching what we research are and how our work impacts others.

In seeking a medium that could fulfil these five conditions for a counter-modern approach of the Acropolis, I concluded that collage fit the bill perfectly for the reasons that I will shortly outline.

First, due to its political and subversive character, collage is expressive of both the positionality of the artist-archaeologist and their involvement in the project: on the one hand, it makes it clear that the collage is put together by an archaeologist and, therefore, rather than being the depiction of 'the truth' it is an expression of its maker's subjectivites and history; on the other hand, it alludes to the importance of interpretation and hermeneutics in contemporary archaeological theory. As such, it embraces the political and ethical dimensions of fieldwork. Second, because of its inclusive and involving role (and the fact that, as most art, it does not exist without its viewers), collage may constitute an ethnographic installation, instigating dialogue between the artist-archaeologist and the viewers/participants. At the same time, its creation in the hands of the artist-archaeologist is an ethnographic act in itself, for its elements are systematically selected from an array of images and objects to inform a specific question and not randomly. Third, by violently disrupting the order of things, collage encourages the rethinking of the materiality and

meaning(s) of its constitutive components. In that, and due to its inherent intersubjectivity, collage is a very potent weapon against the singularisation and normalisation of the past. Fourth, collage is above all a form of art. This means that it is the lovechild of theory and materiality, and therefore of a sensuous process; by virtue of its tangibility, collage inevitably reintroduces the material into materiality studies. Finally, fifth, although selected, cut up and pasted down by a single individual, collage works are, in reality, collective, so much due to their persistent requirements for participatory input by the viewer/audience, as their 'readability' and 'writerliness' (cf. Barthes 1975); being largely open-ended on account of the latter, collage artworks offer possibilities for re-consideration, re-interpretation, and active intervention.

Apart from the above five points which qualify it as a counter-modern strategy, my choice of collage had to do with the particularities of my case study. The Acropolis is a multifaceted entity with several material and conceptual dimensions, many of which were compromised or disenfranchised when the site was appropriated as the cornerstone upon which the national edifice would be erected. Its transformation into a monument was damaging, as it altered the face of the rock by demolishing almost everything that stood atop it; more importantly, it must have been traumatic for the Athenians who had both besieged the Turks and were themselves besieged within its walls to see it stripped off its materiality and their memories. Yet, emotions aside, the monumentalisation of the Acropolis was an unnatural process, for it severed the site from its everyday reality and turned it into something else. Like Duchamp's readymades or 'found objects', whose original function is lost or suspended upon their placement within a gallery space, where they are to be appreciated as works of art, the Acropolis lost the central role that it had played for years as a lived space and became an exhibit. Thus, progressively, partly on account of its marginality and partly on its omnipresence (the whole modern city of Athens was built around it [cf. Bastéa 2000 *passim*]) the national symbol was rendered invisible to the Greeks who live in its shadow to many of whom it is little more than what G. makes it in the opening quote to this chapter: a pretty backdrop which might as well have been a theatrical flat. If this alienation of the Acropolis from the people who live in its proximity has been caused and perpetuated by modernist archaeological practice (or habit), a counter-modern approach to it would need to make it its first priority to re-establish this relationship from scratch. In my opinion, the only way to achieve this is through the re-introduction of all those elements that had to be severed from the monument in order to successfully monumentalise it (namely its historicised relevance, that is, its material and

conceptual contingencies to contemporary Greek culture) and their offering to the people as material for the creation of their own personalised narratives of the Acropolis. This is what my three ethnographic art installations attempt to do.

5.3.1   Paper Circus

The first of the ethnographic art installation components is a photo-collage that I have named *Paper Circus* in allusion (a) to the ephemeral quality of its material and to the Greek and International press, whence a substantial amount of its constituents come from, and (b) to the multiplicity of vantage points, both physical and metaphorical, through which the artwork asks to be approached. Consisting of photographs, drawings, sketches, and texts, it takes its cue from the previous chapter, where I argued that the Acropolis constitutes a currency in an (inter)national political economy that defines not only contemporary Greek identity, but also an (national) aesthetics of experience and conduct, a *consensus*. Practically, this means that any 'improper' (read: *dissensual*) use of the Acropolis, that is, any use of it that does not reproduce its normative theorisation as the quintessence of glorious Hellenism, is not only frowned upon, but also actively suppressed through public ridicule or censure. Before I proceed any further, a clarification: what I am referring to here is not an official state policy of censorship but, rather, a generalised ethical (or even moral) stance by people who have internalised the role that has been attributed to the Acropolis by the national narrative and state archaeology. In other words, what we are dealing with here is not a legal framework, but a form of intellectual peer pressure and bullying. I will try to explain what I mean by way of an example.

The Acropolis has been frequently used as a podium for protest against state or international politics. Such was the case of the banner that the Youth of the Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA) party erected on the Acropolis on the 17th December 2008. The corresponding images were presented in the news and the Press more or less as though depicting an act of sacrilege. Below is an excerpt from MEGA Channel's eight o'clock newscast of the day, which I quote here as representative of what was publicly said and written on the matter. The words are journalist Yannis Pretenderis' and the translation mine.

> The Acropolis does not belong to anyone. It does not belong to the youth (or Youth), it does not belong to the students, it does not belong to SYRIZA, neither

does it belong to MYRIZA[35], it does not belong to the Special Guards [a police corps], it does not belong to anyone! Possibly, it does not even belong to the Greeks! It is a… it is the monument of democratic culture. It is a monument which we ought to keep out of any quarrel! Any quarrel! We can't allow the students to go up there today [if we don't want] the farmers to do so tomorrow, the milkmen the day after, the merchants the day after that, the shop-owners the day after that. The Acropolis will be turned into a tent! […] …at the very same spot where Manolis Glezos took down Hitler's flag, at a time when Greece was under real occupation and when resistance had a cost and a meaning, I see the erection of banners calling us once more to resist [but, this time,] in a country that is democratic and unoccupied. The one act defiles the other. And I daren't think which one of the two defiled which.

Pretenderis' speech is evidently didactic and moralistic, preaching against the involvement of the Acropolis in current political affairs. Yet, paradoxically, mobilising the Acropolis for political reasons is exactly what he does. On the one hand, he perpetuates the idea that the Acropolis is a 'sacred' place that 'demands a formalised behaviour' (Yalouri 2001:166). Anthropologist Eleana Yalouri observes that this is a quite widespread conviction among the Greeks (Yalouri 2001:160-166 and *passim*). On the other hand, his conception of what constituted a desecration of that place has a class-related essence: whereas the monument can be defiled by the protesting of students', farmers', and milkmen's interests, nothing is said about those who profit from its direct exploitation – i.e., mainly the State and the tourist industry (Jennifer Lopez's photoshoot on the Acropolis a few weeks earlier [21 September 2008] had been viewed as a very positive event, despite its questionable artistic value). To recap, Pretenderis' opinion essentially reproduces the idea that the Acropolis is an entity akin to a High Art-masterpiece that belongs to those who can appreciate it as such, that is, a cosmopolitan class of 'educated', 'cultured', and 'civilised' individuals, and not to the masses who may 'vandalise' it with their 'ignorance'; unless, of course, their actions happen to be acknowledged as heroic retrospectively, like that of Manolis Glezos and Lakis Santas, who, on the 30th May 1941, climbed on the Acropolis and tore down the swastika. Glezos, a then SYRIZA MP (and now resigned MEP), when asked by the Web channel TVXS.gr how he felt about the erection of the banner on the 19th December 2008, said the following:

> I felt proud to see young people reclaiming a symbol that resisted through the centuries by virtue of its being the expression of humanist values; this is why it managed to remain standing (out). It is not just the aesthetic beauty that it

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[35] Untranslatable pun on SYRIZA's name. Myriza is the past tense of the verb Myrizo (=to smell). This here is probably a banal joke of the 'SYRIZA, SCHMYRIZA' kind yet, interestingly, as a pun, it bears political undertones by reproducing the stereotyping of Leftists in Right-wing rhetoric as 'Unwashed', 'Unshaven', dirty and smelly.

emanates. That time [classical Athens] highlighted certain humanist values; it is these that the Acropolis symbolises […] [It] also symbolises resistance. Consequently, it was that very [notion of] resistance that these young people reclaimed and I felt proud that they did so[36].

<div align="right">(translation mine)</div>

The tensions between the two viewpoints, Pretenderis' and Glezos' are obvious: the former represents a conservative modernist notion which sees antiquities as works of (high) art, whereas the latter embraces the context within which they came into being and that in which they are currently situated. In both cases the Acropolis is appropriated with a particular political agenda. Needless to say, as the reader may have already guessed by the Media through which the two views were expressed, the view that prevailed was the condemnation of the banner's erection as an act of desecration.

The issue was given its proverbial fifteen minutes by the Media and then pushed into oblivion for the maintenance of the status quo. As journalist Yorgos Ikonoméas, a more moderately opined interlocutor of Pretenderis', suggested:

> It's not the end of the world. It was an activist act, so to speak; they climbed up, made a banner… we needn't discuss this further... For it is precisely this mistake that we're making: by discussing it further we give it more weight and we push things to the extremes.

<div align="right">(translation mine)</div>

In the turbulent days of December 2008, when Athens was literally burning with protests against police brutality, the issue was easily forgotten; with it a very important aspect of the contemporary use of the Acropolis is also forgotten: its long-standing polysemy. As the quotidian and the ephemeral were sacrificed for the preservation of the 'eternal' and the 'monumental', all other significances attributed to the site were rendered secondary, at best, or plain unimportant and irrelevant. Such an attitude, apart from privileging a monument over people, also privileges the past over the present. It is precisely this issue that the collage attempts to address, by constituting an act of mnemonic activism through a 'monumentalisation' of the everyday and the fleeting (by way of its being recorded and presented by an archaeologist). Its aim, upon display, was to allow viewers/participants to *remember* a different Acropolis, by (re-)encountering major historical events (most of them of living memory) to which it pertains, and thus to instigate discussion through which they would be encouraged to establish a different, more personal relationship with the site.

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[36] URL: http://www.dentnews.net/?p=3081 (Last accessed 28/06/12, Link dead on 11/01/17)

While having the potential to evoke memories, the artwork also constitutes an archaeology of the monument's recent past, important, if for nothing else, for its historical value, and for its recording, among others, of the current experience of the Greek 'crisis' as this is reflected on the Acropolis and the uses and appropriations thereof.

Figure 32: *Paper Circus*

5.3.2 Renegade Pieces

The second component of the triptych is a set of thirty original, handmade magnetic pieces, in playful allusion to the most popular of souvenirs on sale in the Acropolis area – the fridge magnet. Intended to evoke so much its long history as the multiple meanings and functions it acquires within contemporary society, the magnets bear cartoonised images of structures, artefacts, events, concepts, and personalities pertinent in one way or another to the Acropolis. In isolation, each magnet is meant to evoke certain aspects of the Acropolis' history and significance, and to function as a trigger for conversation in ethnographic sessions. Together, however, they constitute an assemblage designed to provide the components for collages to be made by participants, and as such they were presented to the latter during my fieldwork. Both the ethnographic results that this tool yielded and its evaluation will be presented in the following chapters, while the forty collages put together

by participants using the magnets can be found in the Appendix B. In this paragraph, I would like to briefly present the thought-process behind its creation.

Imagining the production of the modern Acropolis as a process of selective mobilisation and normalisation of parts of its material culture, that is, as their 'recruitment' at the service of the national narrative and their prioritisation at the expense of others, *Renegade Pieces* seeks to bring to the fore the site's disenfranchised and 'invisible' past and present, and, in effect, problematise said process by exposing and de-naturalising it. Thus, the images on the magnets, which illustrate the previous chapter, were chosen carefully in order to historicise and populate the Acropolis as a lived place in time than a modern lifeless monumental space: images of eponymous people who contributed towards the shaping of the Acropolis into what it is today (Leo von Klenze, Yannis Arbilias, Semni Karouzou) and the means through which this (trans)formation occurred and was secured (Crane, UNESCO) are juxtaposed with those of its anonymous inhabitants and visitors (Ottoman women, Tourists) and the traces of their presence (Mycenaean Walls, Philopappos Monument, Ottoman Inscription, Frankish Tower, Ticket); artefacts featuring prominently in museum displays (Hadrian, Kritios' Boy, Alexander, Kifissos, Hekate, Harmodios and Aristogeiton) and iconic images related to the Acropolis (Owl, Nikolska, Santas and Glezos's removal of the swastika) coexist in the assemblage with images and insignia of political figures (Melina Merkouri, Yannis Gouras, Choniates' Seal, Empress Irene Coin, De La Roche Crest) and allusions to its mythology (Cecrops) and artistic appropriations (Lyssistrate, Mimikos and Mary); in the midst of all this, a humble weed that grows exclusively on the Acropolis hills (*Micromeria Acropolitana*). The result is a storm of seemingly unrelated images that disturb the monumental silence of the 'Sacred Rock' by evocation of the 'excluded' and the 'unrecruitable', a reflection of 'the mess' that is the Acropolis, and to which participants are requested to tend by means of their collages.

Another criterion by which images were chosen was their ambiguity. The most important reason for this was the fact that I wanted each magnet to be as polysemous and open-ended as possible, in order to facilitate its use in diverse contexts. In some cases, this was achieved by choosing an image that combined two or more features – such is the case of the magnet depicting the Parthenon seen through the Mycenaean Walls, for example (at once evoking the Periclean, Mycenaean, and contemporary Acropolis). In other cases, the depicted person(s), structure(s) or artefact(s) were meant to be mistaken by participants for someone or something else, in order to emphasise the fact that artefacts are not self-explanatory but subject to recognition, (re)interpretation, and context. For example, during

the sessions, Hekate was often interpreted by participants and used in their collages as a Caryatid (and, as such, it was often associated with the Parthenon Sculptures at the British Museum), while Leo von Klenze was variously taken for Lord Byron, Ioannis Kapodistrias, Napoleon, and Lord Elgin, among others. Ambiguity was so central to the design of this assemblage that it actually dictated the form of the magnets themselves: using the original photographs of the depicted artefacts, structures, and people would have rendered them more recognisable by participants and limited their interpretability and polysemy; as a major concern of mine was to present participants with as few magnets as possible to avoid overwhelming them, the re-drawing and cartoonising of the original images not only gave the assemblage a more uniform look, thus establishing their relation to one another as parts of the same whole, but also rendered the magnets more ambiguous, open-ended, and usable in diverse contexts. Ambiguity thickened 'the mess'.

Another, equally important reason behind my decision to re-draw and cartoonise the original images was the fact that I wanted the assemblage to have a more playful outlook than that one would expect from an archaeological or ethnographic installation. As Sugarman (1998:53-54) argues in her *Freud on the Acropolis*, there is a certain pleasure that people experience from re-encountering (and recognising) something we already know in a new format. I wanted my participants to experience this pleasure during our ethnographic sessions because I wanted them to have a good time and feel that this was more of a game than a test of their knowledge on the Acropolis and its history. Therefore, I thought that re-drawing images of subjects that they might have encountered before would bring about this kind of pleasure and, at least to an extent, undermine their being conditioned by my scholarly 'gaze'; this, I thought, would help them to relax and accomplish the aim of the experiment, which was to communicate what the Acropolis was to them by creating their own collages using as many of the magnets as they wished. The incentive behind this installation was similar to that of the previous one, that is, to introduce participants to the long history of the Acropolis and to the material remains that attest to it, as well as to its appropriations and uses so much in the past as in the present. The difference with the previous installation, however, was that in this one participants had a chance to use the magnets provided in order to create their own collages, and, so, not only to acquaint themselves with both the Acropolis and (the poetics of) its archaeologies, but also to inform this research by creating their own Acropoleis and archaeologies thereof.

Figure 33: *Renegade Pieces*

5.3.3   Exquisite Ruin

The third, and final, part of the triptych comprised a blank A3 sheet of paper, upon which
participants were asked to express in any way they wished what the Acropolis was to them.
As I will discuss in the following chapter, where I describe the ethnographic sessions
(§6.2.2), participants approached the paper in different ways: some made quick sketches,
others produced elaborate drawings, while others still chose to write something on it. Their
works, some of which will be discussed in the following chapter, can be found in
Appendix A. What I would like to dwell on here, however, is the thought behind this
ethnographic tool. While the previous two installations/tools had an informative or even
educative (though, hopefully, not didactic) character by aiming to challenge the normative
theorisation of the Acropolis as a High Classical monument through the introduction of the
disenfranchised aspects of its distant and recent history and the emphasis on its physical
and conceptual appropriations and associations throughout its lifetime, this one sought to
find out how participants relate to the Acropolis and thus enrich the archive of its
appropriations. In that, it bears some similarities with the collages made using the

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Renegade Pieces. However, unlike in that installation, participants here were not limited by the material that they used, but were, rather, encouraged to express themselves freely in any way they desired. The incentive behind this tool was to infer more personal, even intimate, pictorial or literary accounts of the Acropolis. These were, subsequently, compiled in a second collage, whose purpose is to remind viewers/participants not of a different Acropolis that has been, as *Paper Circus* attempts to do, but of a hitherto invisible, intimate Acropolis beyond the monumental produced by and residing in the sensoria and memoryscapes of the inhabitants of Athens. The name of the collage is an allusion to the Surrealist game *Exquisite Corpse*, whose aim was to depict the collective unconscious of the groups of individuals that partook in its making.
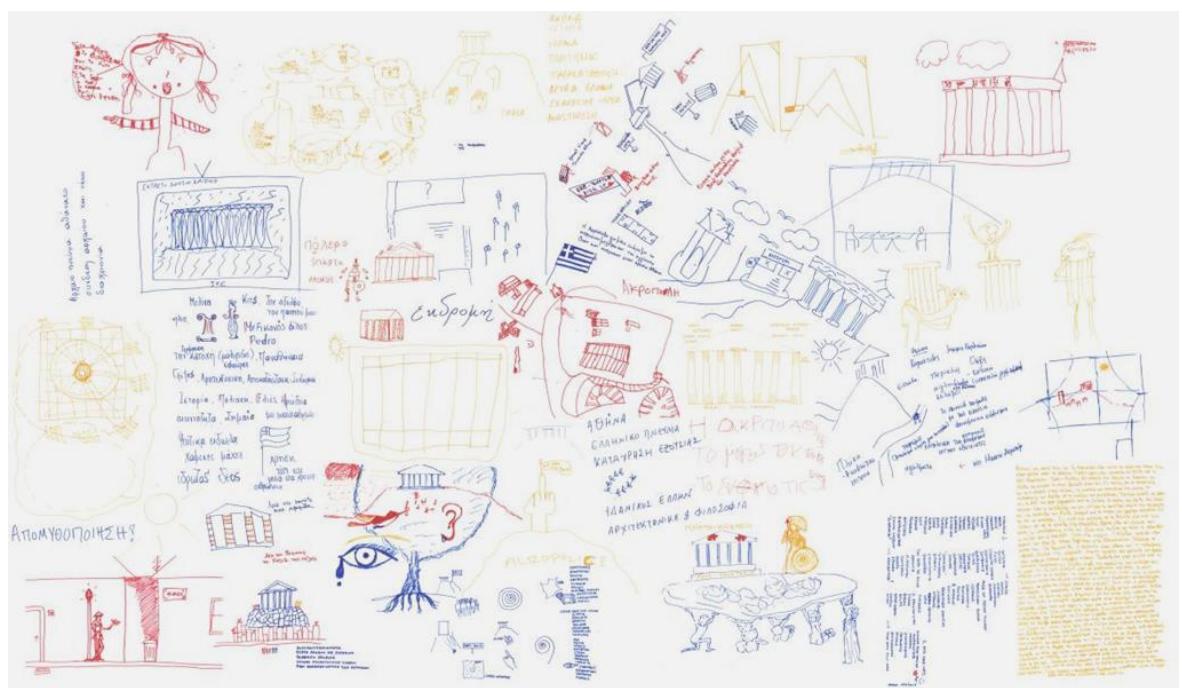
Figure 34: Exquisite Ruin

5.4   Conclusion

The three elements that comprise my ethnographic art installation presented here are all pertinent to the same logic, that of collage; while the first one is a collage as such, the second one offers participants an assemblage of components in order to create their own collages, and the third provides them with the material to create their own components of yet another collage to be compiled by me. As I argued in the opening paragraph of the second part of this chapter, contemporary archaeological theory and practice not only is no stranger to collage, but could also benefit greatly from the medium's potential to constitute a basis for a counter-modern approach to the material remains of the past. For reasons that

I have already outlined, the Acropolis, with its numerous consensual and dissensual appropriations throughout its lifetime, could benefit from such an approach that would attempt to reveal the richness of its history, which has hitherto been compromised by the recruitment of a particular period at the service of the national narrative, on the one hand, and render it relevant in contemporary Greek society once more, on the other. The triptych I just presented (named *Sub/Liminal Ethnographies* for reasons that I will explain in the following chapter) was designed with the aspiration to constitute such an approach, to the degree that a doctoral research can achieve this, in the field. Aiming to accommodate the five points of the proposal for a counter-modern archaeology, it set out to de-normalise the modern Acropolis through the exposure of the poetics of its production by means of an inclusive, ethnographic approach at the interface of archaeology, art, and anthropology. Fieldwork was carried out in April 2013. Its persormance and results are the topic of the following chapter.

Chapter 6:   Performing *Sub/Liminal Ethnographies*

6.1   Introduction

In the previous chapter I presented the three elements that comprise the site-specific ethnographic art installation triptych that I devised for the purposes of this research, and which attempts a counter-modern art-archaeological approach to the Acropolis. In this chapter, I wish to offer an account of its employment in my fieldwork through the consideration of the context within which the latter took place, the conditions and limitations it was subject to, the transformations it underwent, and the presentation of the results it yielded.

6.2   Fieldwork

My fieldwork took place on the benches of the so-called 'historical promenade' of Athens between 6 and 22 April 2013. It consisted of forty-five ethnographic sessions with forty-five participants most of whom I randomly stopped on the street (some had heard about the project from me or others who had already participated and contacted me to take part). During the sessions participants were exposed to two of the elements of the triptych presented in the previous chapter, which was designed to trigger conversation about the Acropolis, introduce participants to the disenfranchised aspects of the site's history, and encourage them to talk about their own experiences of it. In this section, I will present the procedure of the sessions in order to demonstrate how the two elements of the triptych that were eventually used were incorporated in my fieldwork.

6.2.1   Transformations

It is generally expectable that fieldwork designed in the comfort of an office desk is bound to change in one way or another in the field. Mine was no exception. As described in the previous chapter, it was designed to comprise three elements which would trigger discussion about the Acropolis during my ethnographic sessions with random passers-by: a collage (*Paper Circus*), a re-arrangeable magnetic tableau (*Renegade Pieces*), and a surface upon which participants could express, in any way they desired, what the Acropolis was to them freestyle, thus creating the constituents of a second collage to be made later (*Exquisite Ruin*). Of those, only the last two were finally employed, as displaying *Paper*

Circus at the foothills of the Acropolis would require a special permit from the Central Archaeological Council (KAS), a procedure which might take more time than I had to spare. Rather than being a disadvantage, its exclusion did not hinder the procedure. Its purpose would have been to catch the eye of as many potential participants as possible. My desired sample number was three hundred people. These would have taken part in sessions which had initially been planned to last between ten and fifteen minutes. Yet, as the majority of the sessions eventually lasted for about an hour and a half, with none lasting less than thirty minutes and a few going up to two hours and a half, and yielded much more (and much more diverse) data than I had anticipated, my sample number had to drop considerably to forty-five in order for me to be able to cope with the recording and processing of the results. After all, the goal of my fieldwork was not to exhaustively record the ways in which the Acropolis was perceived by the transient community of passers-by (an impossible task from the outset), but to test the ethnographic art installation. That is not to say that I was not genuinely interested in what my participants shared with me; on the contrary, their views, opinions, questions, stories, and confessions I treasure in my field diary and memory. However, for the purposes of this thesis, much of that is, in fact, irrelevant as it is perhaps way too personal to be included in an academic document without bordering on the anecdotal. For this reason, I have chosen to discuss their perceptions of and attitudes towards the Acropolis, the past, and the ethnographic art installation collectively, rather than accounting their personal stories word-for-word.

6.2.2 Setting and procedure

Before I start with the description of my findings, I would like to dedicate a few lines to the actual procedure of the experiment. Most of it took place on the benches of the pedestrian roads of Apostolou Pavlou and Dionysiou Areopagitou, which together comprise the so-called 'historical promenade' of Athens, and separate the Acropolis from the modern city; however, on special occasions, sessions took place in other locales, such as cafés, bars, and tavernas, either at the request of participants or due to adverse weather and lighting conditions. I normally approached passers-by who walked alone and did not seem to be in a hurry, asking them whether they could spare a few minutes to take part in an ethnographic experiment concerning the Acropolis. Some of them agreed, but those who refused were more; their refusal could be attributed to many factors ranging from genuine lack of interest in my research to a hesitancy that could be due to fear of being exposed as unknowledgeable.
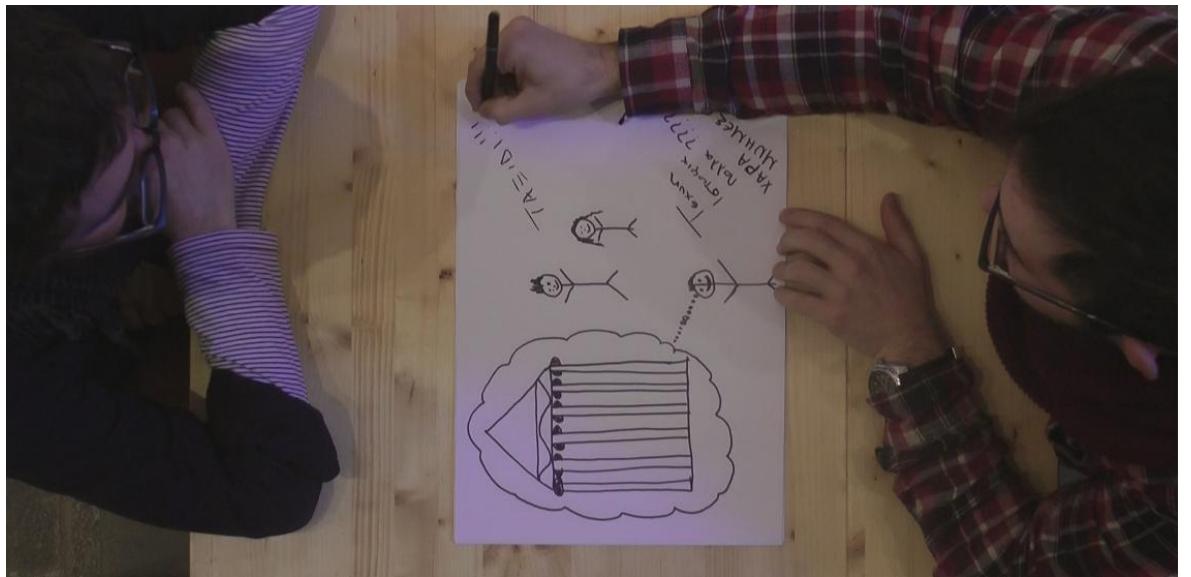
Figure 35: First part of the session

This hesitancy, was not, however, exclusive to those who refused. It was present, at various degrees, in the sessions with those who did stop, even if only for the first few minutes. Once people agreed to participate, I would offer them a blank A3 sheet and a marker and ask them to express, in any way they wished, what the Acropolis is to them [**Fig. 35**]. Most thought that I was asking for a drawing and hurried to inform me that they 'can't even draw a straight line'. However, when I explained that they did not have to draw anything unless they wanted to, but could instead write something, or make something out of the paper, or even pass this stage of the session altogether, all but one gave it a try. All individual works can be seen in Appendix A and, as it will become apparent to anyone who looks at them, there was no pattern in the way participants approached their 'canvases': some made quick sketches or elaborate drawings, others brainstormed through a combination of sketches and words; some others were very laconic and wrote a single sentence or a word, and one participant wrote a moving short story at the spot. Most of them, however, obviously unaccustomed to this kind of archaeology, seemed puzzled by what I was asking them to do; only one said aloud what many faces implied, when she exclaimed '*For real, now?!*' Another reaction worth mentioning here was that of a woman in her mid twenties who, without raising her eyes from the paper, half-jokingly muttered '*You did say you were an archaeologist...?*' I shall return to these reactions in the final section of this chapter, but I mention them here since they are indicative of the hesitancy (or distrust) that I felt from my participants during the first stage of the sessions.

In this first part participants were asked to create the constituents of a collage that I would later make (*Exquisite Ruin* – see §5.3.3), using a blank A3 sheet and a marker. Though

originally meant for the third part of the sessions, in lack of permit to display *Paper Circus*, *Exquisite Ruin* got to play the role of the ice-breaker. As soon as they finished their works, I would ask participants to go through them with me, to explain what I was seeing and why it was there. This would normally set the keynote for the issues that each wanted to address in our conversation, be they personal and intimate, such as the people they had connected it with, or more general and abstract such as the current state of affairs in the country and the world.

When I felt that the time was right to do so (and there was no standard amount of time to speak of here), I would push forward the magnets comprising the second part of the session (*Renegade Pieces* – see §5.3.2) and ask them to use as many of those as they liked to do exactly the same thing as before, i.e., to express what the Acropolis was to them, this time using only the magnets [**Fig. 36**].


Figure 36: Second part of the session

The main reaction to this part of the sessions was excitement, as participants found the magnets 'beautiful', 'original', and 'educational'. I was very frequently asked whether I had plans to market them at some point, as they would 'look good on someone's fridge' and they would 'make a great gift for schoolchildren' (on occasion, I would ask them to pick their favourite magnet and offered it as a counter-gift for their time). More importantly, they also liked the idea behind the magnets, the fact that the Acropolis was being approached 'from the outside', as one of them put it, that is, through its fragments, its appropriations, the events it has witnessed, and the people that have walked on its surface and impacted its history.

Feeling more comfortable with the process and with me at this stage, and excited about the medium that they had been given, in their majority, participants felt no hesitation to ask me for more information and express their thoughts and opinions not only about the images, the Acropolis, archaeology, and the past, but also about my research and the idea behind the development of this particular part of the ethnographic art installation. Their approaches to the latter varied: some attempted to visualise the history of the Acropolis using individual magnets as representative of certain periods; others used them as metaphors in order to make a comment about the Acropolis, its history, and meaning; some others, yet, chose to ignore the images altogether and focused on the shape of the magnets, which they employed as building blocks for their works, which, again, constituted a comment on the contemporary significance of the site.

As I have explained in the previous chapter (§5.3.2), the magnets were deliberately designed to be polysemous and ambiguous and their images selected and distorted so as not to be easily recognised and self-explanatory, but interpretable. My intention behind this decision was not only to instigate conversation and interaction, but also to crudely simulate the interpretive process by which archaeological narratives are produced, with emphasis on the subjectivities on which it is contingent. Whether or not I was successful in the latter endeavour is something that I shall be discussing in the final section of this chapter. For the time being, I would like to dwell for a little while on the former. The magnets were a very successful trigger and they did have an interactive, educational even, dimension. Some participants asked me about the images they did not recognise before deciding whether they would use them or not, while some others did so after their work had been finalised and photographed (that is, recorded for this thesis). In both cases, however, they generally seemed intrigued by the unrecognisable and they wanted to acquaint themselves with it, even if only to reject it afterwards. What is more, they seemed surprised (sometimes pleasantly, sometimes not so much) at the realisation that the Acropolis was much more than a Periclean monument and had had a more complex biography than they had imagined (or learnt about at school) – a biography evoked by the emergent associations of the initially unrecognisable magnets. During the sessions, my sense was that their surprise was a by-product of the joy resulted in by re-encountering the Acropolis in new places and discovering it anew through oblique and, at times, unexpected pathways. In retrospect, I think that it also had to do with the fact that they were reencountering archaeology in a new guise. Before I elaborate on this, I would like to present a summary of the findings that the sessions yielded.

6.3 Findings

Every session was different, due to their unstructured, free, flexible, and recorder-free character. Instead of interviewing participants with a prepared set of questions, my aim was to engage them in conversation about the Acropolis. However, other than asking them to express what the site meant to them using the materials provided, I, intentionally, had no control over the direction that the conversations took, nor their duration. I should perhaps clarify here that these were conversations and not monologues, and therefore I actively participated in them rather than passively listening to what participants shared with me; I just adapted to the pace of each of the participants and the issues they chose to address. As one might expect, the result was forty-five sessions in which the Acropolis was approached in forty-five different ways. Although it would be an extremely interesting endeavour, accounting all these different approaches in order to produce a multi-vocal relational biography of the Acropolis would digress from the course of this thesis, whose main purpose was to develop a set of site-specific ethnographic tools at the interface of archaeology, art, and social anthropology and test whether they can constitute a different, more socially relevant way of doing archaeology. For this reason, rather than describing individual sessions separately, I have chosen to discuss their findings into two groups corresponding to the two main reactions that participants had towards the Acropolis, citing participants' words where appropriate or necessary; in the first group I will discuss those participants who chose to talk *about* the site itself, whereas in the second those who chose to talk *around* it.

6.3.1 Talking about the Acropolis

As expected, all participants talked at least a little about the Acropolis. The main topics around which conversation revolved were: its history and significance, the New Acropolis Museum, and the Parthenon Sculptures issue. In this paragraph I will deal with these issues in pairs, starting from the latter for reasons that will become apparent shortly, in order to offer an overview of the opinions expressed in the sessions. As I have already clarified, I do not take these opinions as representative of the attitude that contemporary Athenians or Greeks have towards the site and the past, since my sample was miniscule and more or less random, and the aim of my research was not to conduct an ethnography of the transient community of passers-by, but rather to test the ethnographic tools that I specifically developed in order to potentially facilitate such research in the future. However, this does not reduce the value of these conversations, which, when compared to previous

ethnographies of the Acropolis, at times reveal a changing attitude towards the site, the past, and archaeology.

6.3.1.1 The New Acropolis Museum and the Parthenon Sculptures

As mentioned earlier, the sessions took place on the so-called historical promenade, in close proximity to the New Acropolis Museum. Since its opening on 20 June 2009, the NAM has attracted vast numbers of visitors as well as a great deal of attention, praise, and criticism by the Press and the academic community. The latter, being overall more critical than the former, has addressed a number of problems that the museum presents so much museologically as content-wise. Of those, the most relevant to this paragraph are two articles that were published in the form of a debate in *Antiquity* 85. The first, by Dimitris Plantzos (2011), is a critique of the museum's exhibition design, arguing that the NAM may be modern in outlook, yet, on account of its inherent environmental essentialism and, hence, nationalism, its lack of information about the exhibits, its exclusion of all pre-archaic and post-hellenistic material, and its adherence to the archaeology-as-art-history paradigm, in essence, revives an outdated classicism that appreciates ancient artefacts as self-explanatorily beautiful works of art in need of neither context nor meaning. This 'regression' from what archaeology has become in the past few decades is contingent on the role of the museum as an 'arc for the nation', a space where the classical past is stored and taught, and which, through its provision of eloquent gaps waiting to be occupied by them, aspires to one day become the home of the Parthenon Sculptures that are currently at the British Museum. Yannis Hamilakis' (2011a) comment that follows the article focuses on the didactic role of the museum by emphasising its conditioning of visitors' experience of both the artefacts and the Acropolis: the museum's exhibition design and regulations not only determine how visitors are to move within its premises, but also how to experience the artefacts and, by extension, the Acropolis. In short, they create a *consensus* on what is aesthetically proper and acceptable, and on how one should experience sensorially the material remains of the past. Although holding very different views to each other when the New Acropolis Museum and the issue of the Parthenon Sculptures at the British Museum came up in conversation, participants, in their vast majority, approached the issue with a curious uniformity, which suggested that they adhered to this new *consensus* that the museum has been constructing.

All participants said they had already been to the museum at some point, and considered themselves familiar with its exhibits (although, I was frequently asked what the head of

Alexander had to do with the Acropolis despite its prominent exhibition in the NAM, or what Kritios' boy, which is one of the most emblematic NAM exhibits, was). Thus, the NAM invariably popped up in all sessions, usually without any prompting on my behalf. Conversation was normally brief and limited to its architecture, size, and position in the cityscape, with participants' reactions ranging from admiration for this *'masterpiece of contemporary architecture'* to an outright aversion or even hatred towards this *'monstrocity'*, this *'alien spaceship-like structure about to devour the neighbourhood'*, or this *'monument to arrogance'* even. Sometimes participants shared with me the experience of their visits, the highlights of which were almost uniformly the fact that they could see the Caryatids and the Parthenon frieze from such close distance, and the view towards the Acropolis. Like their opinions on the museum's architecture, these present little interest for the purposes of this paragraph and I have chosen not to elaborate any further at the expense of another, more intriguing issue: the restitution of the Parthenon Sculptures.

To my surprise, despite the fact that they alluded to it in various ways in their drawings, sketches, and magnet arrangements (in which they used both Melina Merkouri and the statue of Hecate which they often mistook for the Caryatid at the British Museum[37]), participants only rarely touched upon the issue of the restitution of the Parthenon Sculptures, the museums's *raison d'être*, directly. In the rare occasions that they addressed the issue, they did so more or less with sobriety; they expressed and maintained their opinion, which was normally for the restitution (and in a couple of cases impartial), while acknowledging the complexities of the debate, i.e., the political, legal, and practical implications. Only one participant, Phee, a woman in her mid twenties, digressed from this scheme. Phee's first question when she saw the magnet set was '*which one stands for the stolen ones at the British Museum?'*. When I pointed at Kifissos, explaining that it is one of the statues of the western pediment, she placed it right in the middle of her arrangement [**Fig. 37**]; *'this is our grief'*, she said pointing at it, *'our wound!'* Interestingly, the Parthenon Sculptures at the British Museum was not the only source of 'grief' or the only 'wound' that Phee identified in the magnet set or the history of the Acropolis for that matter; any magnet she identified as alluding to the Byzantine, Ottoman, and Frankish periods she left out of her arrangement, making it very clear that she did not consider those as heritage – *'they stand for our sufferings* [as a nation]*, and I'd rather forget about them'*.

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[37] Notably, the third most popular magnet in the set.

Figure 37: Phee's magnets

Nevertheless, for her, the Parthenon Sculptures' being at the British Museum is a 'wound' different from the rest of the 'sufferings' in that it constitutes a crack in the bridge connecting the ancient and the modern, a crack in *diachrony* (one of the words she wrote on her A3 in the first part of the session); rather than forgetting about it, according to Phee, *'each and every one of us should do all we can to fix it'*. I would like to dwell for a little bit on this last statement. Phee's sense of personal responsibility or duty concerning a legal and ethical matter of international proportions echoes a ten year-old pupil quoted by Yalouri:

> Every single piece of the Acropolis is a part of Greece. On these pieces the Greek language, history and identity are established. These are the sources where the knowledge about the past is drawn from, where the claims for Greekness are grounded, and where the glory of the ancient inhabitants of Greece is evidenced. With this evidence every Greek will be asked to defend the Greekness of contested areas. However, this is impossible when the cultural heritage is dispersed. Therefore, the restitution of the Elgin marbles is a national demand.

> (Yalouri 2001:67)

As Yalouri insightfully comments,

> [a]ccording to the above, every single piece of the Acropolis not simply conveys, but actually *is* Greece. When these pieces are dispersed in foreign museums all over the world, Greece cannot survive as a totality'.

<div align="right">(ibid.; original emphasis)</div>

Like Yalouri's informant, Phee sees the Parthenon Sculptures as a part of the national body and their absence as a wound on its flesh, and, by extension, as a threat towards her identity as a Greek woman.

Although this view resonates with the national narrative as that is taught in all levels of the Greek educational system, that is, the narrative of a disrupted yet unbroken continuity between ancient and modern Greece, the very same narrative that is at the heart of the NAM rhetoric, Phee, who, incidentally, is a secondary school teacher of Greek history and language, was the only one of my participants to reproduce it directly. Everyone else who raised the topic did so in more subtle ways, much more akin 'aesthetically' to the non-verbal, silent-yet-loud expression of absence employed by the NAM. What I mean by this is that when participants addressed the issue directly, they did so in less dramatic and more diplomatic undertones: rather than speaking of wounds, they spoke of absence, generally choosing the word *reunification* (the word used by the NAM and the 'Bring Them Back' campaign) over *repatriation* or *restitution.* One might observe that the *consensus* mentioned in the beginning of this paragraph is not limited to the way that one experiences and/or behaves around the NAM exhibits, but also permeates the language one is supposed to use so much when referring to them, as when talking about the issue of the restitution of the Parthenon Sculptures in particular. At the same time, it seems to me that the very completion of the NAM, a museum designed specifically to become the home of the Parthenon Sculptures, should those ever be returned to Greece, brought about a change in the attitude towards the issue altogether: rather than demanding or asking for the return of the sculptures from a supposed position of inferiority, where there is need for emotionally-charged language, participants, rather, seemed to be waiting for the return of what they see as rightfully Greek or Athenian to its new home, as though it were just a matter of time. No one said it out loud, yet I often expected this to be my participants' next sentence, no matter how seemingly impartial to the debate: 'Now that it has been built, they [the British Museum] have no excuse'. This might be an explanation why the issue – although very important to the participants, as implied by their drawings and arrangements of the magnets – was not brought up in conversation but only rarely, and even then without the

sense of duty that Phee felt. One might say that the completion of the NAM somehow lifted this responsibility off Greek people's shoulders (or at least my participants') or rendered it improper for them to talk about (or even consider) it as a personal duty or burden.

6.3.1.2   History and significance

In Chapter 4, I attempted to write a biography of the Acropolis in a way that would render clear how and why its history, which spans over six millennia, has been condensed to accommodate the need for a national narrative with classical Athens as its centrepiece. To this day, despite the slight change of its official managers' attitude towards its history (attested by the installation of signs projecting some of its more recent phases), and the attempts of individual archaeologists, historians, journalists, and artists to rehabilitate the disenfranchised periods of its biography, for many the Acropolis is still predominantly a classical monument of paramount national significance. Although in their majority my participants saw the Acropolis in light of the narrative that has stipulated it as the cornerstone of the national edifice, the centrepiece of Greekness, one might say, they were more careful with (or critical in) the language that they used when reproducing it than were participants in previous ethnographies. To be more specific, compared to some of Yalouri's ethnographic participants who, more than seventeen years ago, reproduced the national narrative of the nation's 'golden age' and unbroken continuity through the ages using phrases such as 'the Greek civilization, the best known and greatest civilization of its times' (cited in Yalouri 2001:51), and '[the Acropolis is] our tangible history, which awakens the feeling of patriotism within every Greek' (*ibid.*), mine did so (*when* they did so, for not all did) avoiding, or being very reluctant, to use words and phrases like 'the Greek civilisation', the 'nation', and 'patriotism'.

Timing is key in understanding this shift in the expression of nationalism. The rise of the Far Right that has appropriated the language of the national narrative in recent years, I think, had made participants very cautious for fear of being associated with it. Thus, they reproduced the national narrative in more subtle terms (as they did with the issue of the Parthenon Sculptures' restitution discussed in the previous paragraph). A representative session of this tendency was that with an Athenian in her early forties. Throughout the session the participant drew parallels between classical Athenians and modern Greeks, as if they were relatives with the former having *'bequeathed their negative traits'* to the latter, avoiding any mention to anyone in between. Although, unlike Phee, this participant was

more open and quite willing to acknowledge their existence, contribution, and place in history at my prompting, and took an interest in what the relevant magnets depicted, I felt that she considered the inhabitants and events of the in-between periods as secondary and largely irrelevant, or as 'guests', to the history of the Acropolis. This is something that is reflected in both her works, where the in-between phases are completely ignored: in the first part of the session, she wrote on her A3 "ATHENS, GREEK SPIRIT, ABUSE OF POWER, IDEAL GREEK, ARCHITECTURE AND PHILOSOPHY" and drew an olive wreath, which bears great resemblance to the Athens 2004 Olympic Games' logo; in the second part she arranged her chosen magnets in three lines, the upper one featuring from left to right Kifissos, Hecate (mistaking her for a Caryatid), the Propylaia, Cecrops, and Kritios' Boy (all pertinent to the classical period), and the lower one Lakis Santas and Manolis Glezos removing the swastika from the Acropolis and Yannis Arbilias, one of the marble specialists working on the restoration of the Acropolis monuments – *'the only two events of the Acropolis' more recent history worth mentioning'*, as she said; right in the middle, in a line of its own, in the role of the bridge between the other two, she placed the owl, as a diachronic symbol of Athens and Hellenism.
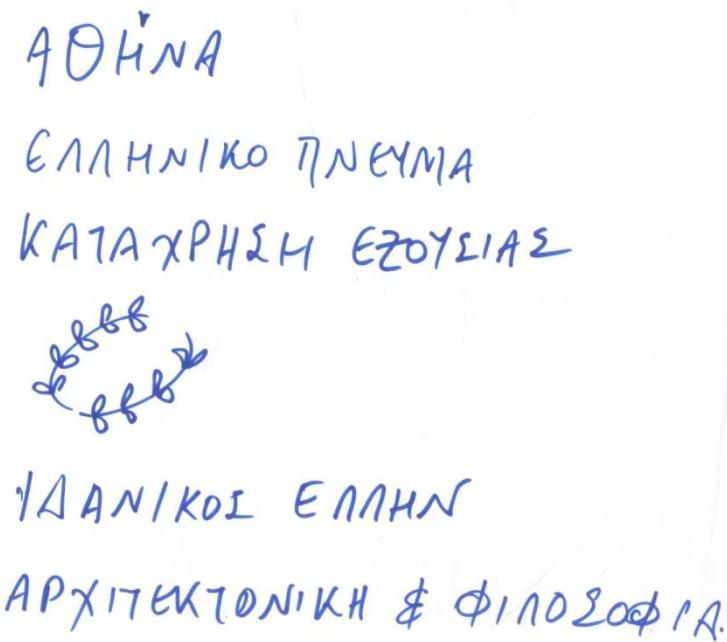
Figure 38: U's Acropolis

Her language throughout the session employed tropes that are often used to emphasise the connection between ancient and modern Greeks, but, although she spoke of *'ancestors'* and *'unworthy heirs'*, no charged words, such as 'blood', 'nation', or 'genes', for example, were used. I shall return to this participant in the following section of this chapter, where I

will discuss the confessional character that the sessions acquired, and the reasons for her employment of these tropes will become clearer. However, for the time being, I would like to take my cue from one of the magnets she used in her collage to discuss a second important finding of the ethnographic art installation: the participants' almost catholic upgrading of one particular event to one of the most significant moments in the history of the Acropolis.

The event has been commemorated on the Acropolis since 1982, when a plaque was installed in the presence of its protagonists, Lakis Santas and Manolis Glezos, the then minister of culture, Melina Merkouri, and archaeologist Manolis Andronikos. Partly as a symbol of anti-fascism (and therefore of current relevance to the social reality of Greece) and partly due to the presence of Glezos in the mainstream political arena, the removal of the Nazi flag from the Acropolis, described in the previous chapter (§5.3.1), appears to have gained unprecedented prominence in the site's mythology in the course of the so-called 'crisis'. This is not to say that it was not important earlier – as Yalouri notes, the departure of the occupying German forces on 12 October 1944 is celebrated on the Acropolis, where this and other, real or fictional, acts of resistance took (or are supposed to have taken) place (Yalouri 2001:62). However, the attention that the event has attracted in recent years in public life (including the Press and the Internet) is, at least from my perspective, greater than before, mainly because of its employment, along other events, in anti-fascist propaganda as a reminder of the suffering and resistance of the Greeks during the Occupation. This attention was reflected in the sessions, too, not only because the magnet depicting the event was the second most popular in the set (it features in twenty-nine collages) after the Parthenon (which features in thirty), but also because participants cited the event in their works during the first part of the sessions, before having a chance to even take a look at the magnet set and thus be reminded of it. While in their majority those who did so alluded to the event by writing the name of Glezos on their A3s, one participant made the event the central feature of his elaborate colourful drawing [**Fig. 39**], to which I would like to dedicate some space here in order to discuss a third finding of the sessions: some participants' appropriations of the Acropolis' image in order to articulate their own comments on or critiques of its role in contemporary Greek society.

It took the participant about twenty minutes to start drawing on his paper. During this time, he shared his thoughts with me aloud before eventually giving shape to some of them on his A3. The first image that comes to his mind every time he hears the word 'Acropolis', he said, is Glezos taking down the swastika; so he drew the scene, omitting, however,

Santas. Behind Glezos, a glowing (or exploding?) Parthenon with blood(?) dripping from its foundations; to the right, a cannon bombarding the Acropolis from the bow of a ship bearing the British flag; between Glezos and the ship, in foustanela and fez, Dizzy Gillespie plays his trumpet in front of the Herodeion. The result is a striking, albeit confusing/confused, synthesis evoking (to me) the building of the Parthenon amidst the Peloponesian War, the bombardment of the Acropolis by Morosini, the Greek and British Resistance during World War II, and the site's current use as a picturesque and somewhat mystical backdrop for the concerts of internationally renowned artists. Upon completion the participant was unwilling to provide clarifications on what he had created, opining that works of art should speak for themselves. Rather than dwelling on the confusing, yet unimportant, inaccuracies of the drawing (Santas is missing, Dizzy Gillespie never played the Herodeion – the live album on whose cover he is dressed in foustanela and fez in front of the Parthenon's(?) Doric-style columns was, in fact, recorded in REX, an Athenian concert hall, in 1957 – and, to my knowledge, the British never bombarded the Acropolis), I wish to focus on its take on temporality.

Figure 39: H's Acropolis

Looking at the finished drawing made me think of the Greek director Theo Angelopoulos, who was famous for his innovation in presenting the events that a particular place has witnessed at different times as occurring simultaneously in the foreground and background

of the same scene. His innovation thus emphasised the multi-temporality of places. While the Acropolis, like all archaeological sites (and, in fact, most places), is a multi-temporal space, its perception as such is inhibited by the modern *consensus* that dictates that it is to be experienced as a quasi-sacred, classical monument of national significance. In this light, the drawing in question, despite its aforementioned problems and perhaps unintentionally so, on account of its presentation of different temporalities in the same work as concurrent, challenges the *consensual* hierarchy of the Acropolis' phases and thus constitutes a *dissensual* approach to its history.

The more I looked at it, the more I realised that, rather than constituting a potential component for *Exquisite Corpse*, this drawing was a collage in itself. What is more, so were, to a lesser extent, some other works that participants created during the first part of the sessions, as they, too, juxtaposed images and/or texts pertinent to different temporalities on the same surface. This alerted me to the fact that those participants were, albeit (un)intentionally or even (un)consciously so, partaking with their works in the 'poetics of disturbed archival logics' (cf. Papanikolaou 2011) trend described in Chapter 4 (§4.3.2). What I mean by this is that they, intentionally or not, reclaimed the Acropolis (and the past in general) from the national narrative (or any authority, for that matter), if only momentarily, in order to challenge the *consensual* historical hierarchy or substitute it with their own personal, *dissensual* ones. This does not mean that the Acropolis' significance had fundamentally changed; it was still largely perceived, depicted, and referred to by participants as the *par excellence* symbol of Athens and Greece, and as the physical manifestation of Greek history, yet not always uncritically or apolitically and not always exclusively so. Although many participants made reference to it as the landmark of the city acknowledging its centrality in its planning, architecture, and international recognition from a more or less apolitical or *consensual* perspective, some approached it as such more critically or irreverently in order to articulate a comment or a critique of its role or use in contemporary Greek society. For example, one of my first participants made a sketch of a television showing the Acropolis amidst a thunderstorm [**Fig. 40**]. When I asked her to explain what she meant she told me that to her the Acropolis is a landmark reduced to little more than a trademark or logo, used as such by both the international Press and the Mass Media every time they mention Greece. When I asked why the thunderstorm, she told me that the image of the Acropolis appears in the Media in association with natural disasters or the 'crisis' instead of images of the actual disaster or the people who are affected by it, as though it were a rare specimen in danger, whose demise is,

shamefully, thought of as a greater loss than that of the people that live in its shadow. In that, her work constitutes a double critique of the Acropolis' de-politicisation and transformation into a logo, and its prioritisation over people.
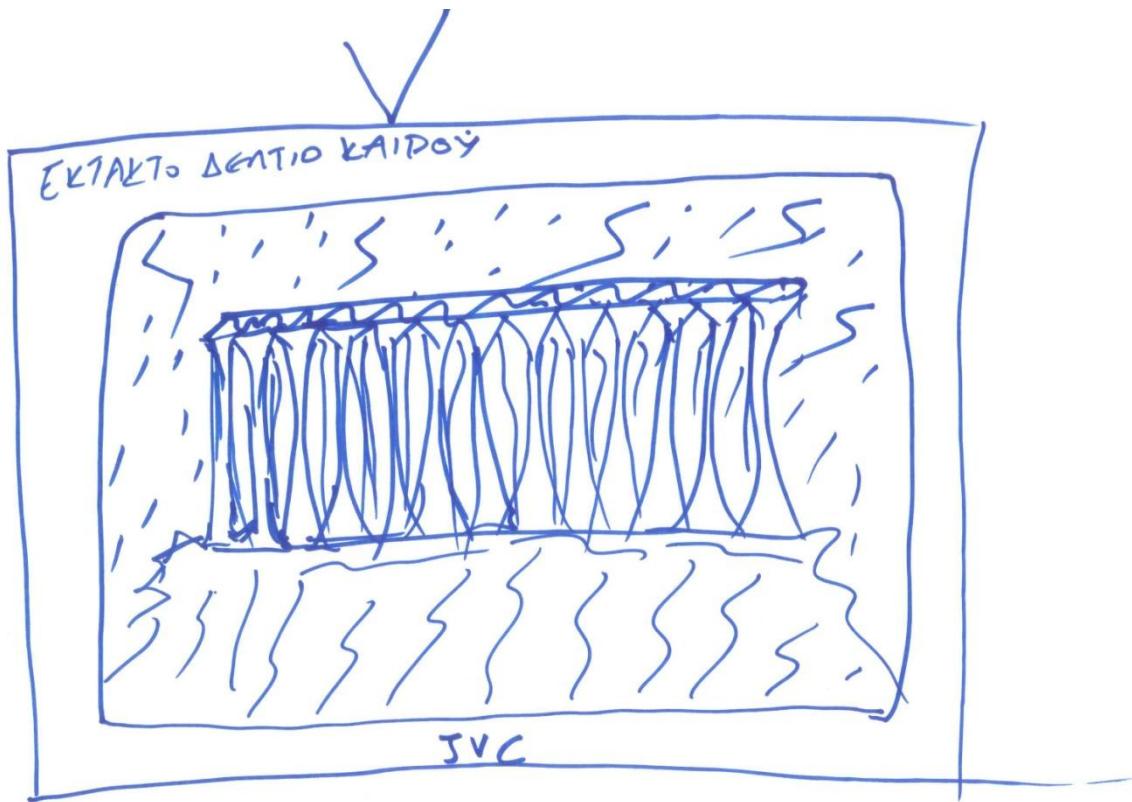

Figure 40: A's Acropolis

Another participant capitulated on the use of the Acropolis as a symbol of the state in order to make a political statement against governmental tolerance towards the Acropolis Police Department, notorious at the time for its violation of detainees' human rights, by making a sketch of the Acropolis hill on a sunny day with a hand instead of the Parthenon flipping the viewer off; a flag sprouting off its middle finger bears the message "we are the best". At the foothills he's written 'Acropolice' [**Fig. 41**]. Speaking of body parts, a third participant made a very eloquent comment on the psychoanalytic significance of the Acropolis for contemporary Greeks when, on the basis of their shape and indifferent towards what they depicted, he arranged some of the magnets so as to form a phallus [**Fig. 42**]; *"this is all that the Acropolis is"*, he said soberly, *"our national penis"*, alluding to the pride Greeks take in this national symbol.

Figure 41: V's Acropolis
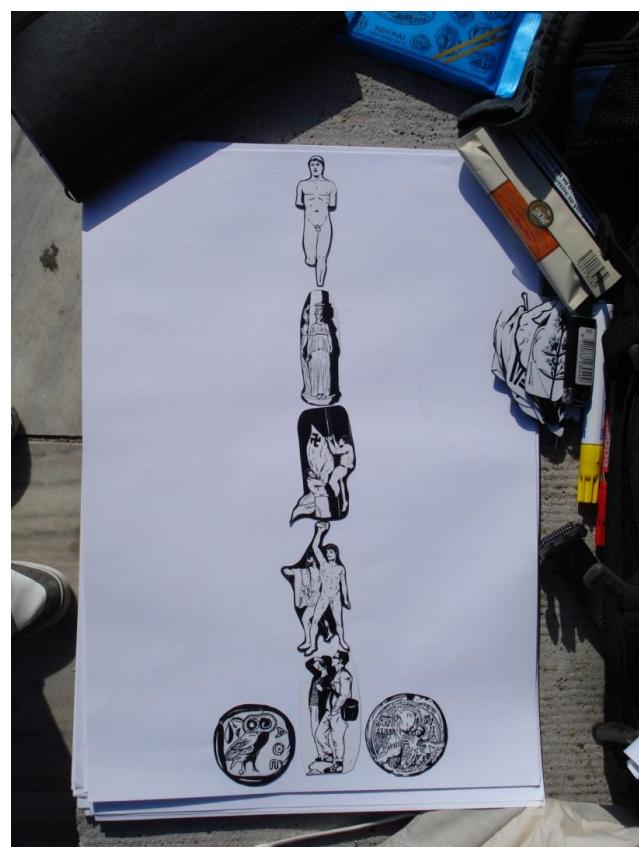
Figure 42: K's magnets

To recapitulate, the three findings of the sessions were: (a) the fact that participants who expressed their adherence to the national narrative in relation to the history and significance of the Acropolis did so in a language that was more careful and less charged than that employed by participants in earlier ethnographies; (b) the prominence that the event of the removal of the swastika from the Acropolis by Santas and Glezos has acquired in the Acropolis' history in recent years; and (c) the fact that the trend of the 'disturbed archive' in Greek contemporary art may be, as I suggested in §4.3.2, a reflection of a more generalised desire, or need, of the Greek people to re-define their identity through the reclaiming and renegotiation of their history and past in more current and, as will become apparent shortly, personal terms. As already suggested, all three findings seem to me to be pertinent to the current social and political reality of Greece, as a country in crisis. I will elaborate on this in my analysis in the following chapter.

6.3.2   Talking around the Acropolis

The findings presented above are important, albeit not necessarily representative of the Athenian or Greek population, because they are indicative of a changing attitude towards the Acropolis and the past more generally. However, the most significant, and surprising, aspect of the sessions was the confessional character that some of them acquired, as participants saw them as an opportunity to open up and not only account their own memories of and stories about the site but also share their concerns, worries, and grievances concerning the current state of affairs. As I mentioned earlier, it was this unexpected turn which the sessions took that led to my decision to reduce the number of participants to forty-five. In this paragraph I wish to paint a picture of this confessional aspect of the sessions by giving a general idea of the issues that were discussed in their duration, without, however, compromising my participants' trust and confidence.

As described in the previous chapter, one of the aims of the ethnographic art installation triptych was to evoke personal memories in participants, and encourage them to relate more personally and intimately with the Acropolis. It was for this reason that I was not surprised when participants started telling me about the people that had accompanied them on their visits to the hill, the particular periods of their lives that they had associated with it, the special events they attended, and even the sexual encounters that they had had at its foothills. Most of those who had been on the Acropolis first ascended the hill when they were children, either having been taken there by a close relative (in most cases a grandparent or an aunt/uncle) or by their school teachers on an excursion. Some of those

had, later, in their turn, taken their nephews/nieces or visiting friends on their first time there. Some others visited the Acropolis area on a regular (sometimes weekly) basis with their children but had never gone up the hill. The narration of these 'rituals' and stories was more or less expected to come up in the sessions, as were Acropolis-related stories about the people mentioned by participants. What I did not, however, anticipate was participants to take their cue from those memories in order to talk to me extensively about the relationships they maintained with the people they mentioned or the overall impact that they had had on their lives – sometimes in tears. At first my impulse was to stop them and redirect the conversation towards the Acropolis, but I decided to go against it and just listen to what participants had to say, hoping that I would eventually understand the reasons for their *digression*, as I saw it then.

Another aim of the ethnographic art installation was to introduce participants to invisible and disenfranchised aspects of the Acropolis' history and biography, that is, both its non-classical phases and the dynamics through which its modern incarnation had been produced. What is more, when I was designing the magnets, I anticipated that some of their images might trigger conversation on a number of contemporary social issues such as fascism and racism (Santas and Glezos, Ottoman Inscription), gender (in)equality (Semni Karouzou, Melina Merkouri, Ottoman Women, Lyssistrate, Empress Irene), and homophobia (Hadrian, The Tyrannicides), to mention a few. Thus, the digression of participants on topics other than the Acropolis was to an extent expected and desired, as I wanted them to problematise the psychological reasons that necessitate the study of the past, that is, to realise that the main reason for studying (and constructing) the past in the present is to better understand ourselves. Nevertheless, I never expected these digressions to be longer than a couple of brief comments, let alone to take up the greatest part of sessions; nor did I expect them to be of such personal nature. I will try to explain by way of three examples. In one of the longest, most interesting, and difficult sessions that I have had, not only because it was lengthy, but also because the participant was emotionally charged, a religious man in his late twenties took his cue from the two magnets alluding to the Acropolis' Byzantine period (Choniates' Seal and the coin depicting Empress Irene) to digress by way of the conversion of the Parthenon into a church on the relationship between classical Greek philosophy and Christianity and on his Christian faith and his shame for his *'lack of education'*, as he referred to the fact that he had not gone to university, in relation to his upbringing and his family. In this two-and-a-half-hour session the Acropolis was not discussed but for a few minutes and almost exclusively in relation to

its Christian phase. In another session, a woman in her mid twenties personified the Acropolis in a way that reminded me of Eva Stefaní's *Akropolis* (see §4.3.2), as an entity under constant surveillance, in order to describe her own feeling of entrapment and being 'under the gaze'. In yet another session, a participant that I have mentioned earlier (§6.3.1.1) drew parallels between the negative traits of classical and modern Greeks in order to express her frustration with the current state of affairs in the country: *'Rather than trying to live by the standards of the ideal Greek that they* [ancient Greeks] *set in their philosophy (and which they themselves could not live up to)'*, she told me, *'we live inconsiderately, always choosing the easy way out, building Parthenons with stolen money and slaves. No wonder we're in such mess!'* These three examples are indicative of the three ways in which participants who digressed on topics other than the Acropolis approached the sessions: some talked about very personal matters directly, others personified the site and talked about it in a way that suggested that they were, in fact, talking about themselves, and others still isolated elements pertinent to its history and biography in order to express their insecurity and grievances in the turbulent period of the 'crisis', as though they tried to establish genealogies of contemporary behaviour or draw parallels in order to predict possible resolutions.

Whether approaching it through their memories or through their concerns, worries, and grievances, the category of participants discussed in this paragraph appropriated the site in order to produce their *dissensual* narratives in much the same way as those of the previous paragraph or the artists partaking in the trend of the 'disturbed archive' discussed in Chapter 4: they tried to make the Acropolis theirs. Either as centrepiece or backdrop the Acropolis featured in their personal stories (like it does in the cityscape within which they move) as a point of reference, at once defining participants and being defined anew by them in an attempt for self-identification.

6.4   Discussion

I designed the site-specific ethnographic art installation in order to evoke not only what the Acropolis has been throughout the years but also what it can become through its appropriations. In the hands of my participants, as suggested by the previous section, it became many things. In that, the triptych was successful in both its aims. As intended, it instigated discussion, triggered personal memories, and encouraged the Acropolis' conceptual appropriation for the establishment of more intimate connections with the site. At the same time, it was successful in conveying the process of archaeological

interpretation to participants, who, in their vast majority, through this hands-on approach realised that interpretation is contingent on knowledge, recognition, politics, and subjectivities. In terms of its inclusiveness, as it required no prior knowledge on the Acropolis, it was proved suitable for adults of all educational and social backgrounds; however, as five trial sessions with minors showed, it was not suitable for children, who could neither grasp the concept behind *Renegade Pieces* nor acknowledge the magnets' relation to the Acropolis (this is why there are only forty collages – the children did not make any). In their evaluation of the ethnographic art installation, participants said they found it enjoyable and, in their majority, claimed that it helped them to *see* the Acropolis again, as its omnipresence in their everyday lives had rendered it invisible. The following excerpt from Susan Sugarman's *Freud on the Acropolis* (1998) on the exaltation one experiences through their re-encounter with the known may help understand why participants found the ethnographic art installation enjoyable.

> At a first level, adults [...] enjoy seeing the same thing again after a lapse: seeing the same lake again after one has hiked away from it, returning to one's garage after a vacation. Freud wrote that the potential for pleasure and comfort exists in the mere act of recognition, provided that recognition is not overtly mechanized, as it is, for instance, in the act of dressing.
>
> At a second level, adults enjoy encountering diverse images of the same thing in activities such as birding or identifying wildflowers in the woods. Though they do not doubt that the birds that they have studied in pictures exist, bird-watchers find satisfaction in sighting a bird that they have seen only in their books. Conversely, people are enamored of replicas. Grownups as well as children enjoy model airplanes and model trains or would take pleasure in a small model of their home town, favourite city, or other locale that they had visited.
>
> The role of the familiar – in a new guise – in our appreciation of things has been recognized at least since Aristotle, who explained the appeal of various art forms in this way. When we have known the object of a painting before we see the painting, we enjoy what Aristotle called the imitative aspect of the painting (*mimesis*) and not only its technical execution.
>
> The history of poetics continually revisits the theme that the artist performs precisely the mission of making the familiar strange again and hence of reinstating the "shock of recognition".
>
> [...] To the pleasure of recognition in itself, in the same or a different guise, may be added the pleasure in reencounter at the third level that I distinguished earlier: the feeling of self-importance or self-participation that can attend one's encountering in the world or in the media an object that one has known, or seen, earlier. One might call this pleasure *benign narcissism.*
>
> In our adulthood, no less than in our childhood, our participation in things makes them special.

<div align="right">(Sugarman 1998:53-4)</div>

Although the Acropolis had for most participants been part of their everyday experience of Athens, their enjoyment of the ethnographic art installation had to do with their re-

encountering it in a new guise, namely the images on the magnets. In them participants not only recognised the Acropolis, but also its connections, that is, the artefacts, personalities, symbols, and events that are related to it, in a new guise. Due to the polysemous and ambiguous character of these images, participants experienced the pleasure of recognition of the *known* even when they were wrong (for example, the statue of Hecate was almost always mistaken for a Caryatid). It was, perhaps, this pleasure from re-encountering the Acropolis in the ethnographic art installation that led them to open up and offer their personal accounts of the Acropolis in an attempt to attach themselves to it so as to either satisfy their *benign narcissism*, as Sugarman puts it, or to renegotiate their own identity in relation to it. If so, then, perhaps, the magnet set became a vehicle for their reconnection with a site that everyday routine had rendered mundane and invisible, and the sessions the lapse they needed to appreciate it again. I shall elaborate on all these aspects in my analysis in the following chapter.

However, it was not just the Acropolis that participants re-encountered in a new guise; they also re-encountered archaeology in a new guise. Regardless of how hesitant they had been in the beginning of our sessions, or how sceptical about whether these qualified as archaeological, they, in their majority, expressed their surprise at (and gratitude for) this '*new side of archaeology*' that instead of talking was listening and instead of teaching was engaging in conversation. I recall a very moving incident: the same woman that had expressed her disbelief in my being an archaeologist, thanked me, at the end of our session, for '*this gift*', meaning both the aspects of the Acropolis' history that she had learnt about through the magnet set and the opportunity I had given her to speak about *her* Acropolis, as she said. She left me joking that '*this was cheaper than my therapy, and equally effective! I think I'll come back again tomorrow, if that's alright!*'. She did not. But it was thus that the name of the ethnographic art installation, 'Sub/Liminal Ethnographies', which was initially employed to ironically evoke the aestheticist definition of art as sublime and the liminality of both the sessions that sat at the interface of archaeology, anthropology, and contemporary art, and the space in which they took place (the historical promenade that divides the Acropolis from the modern city), acquired yet another, somewhat unexpected significance.

Chapter 7:   (Auto)analysis

7.1   Introduction

In the last two chapters I introduced the three elements of the site-specific ethnographic art installation that I developed for this research through a presentation of their theoretical and artistic genealogies and an account of the practicalities and results of the employment of two of them in my fieldwork, respectively. In this chapter I wish to expand on my work on the Acropolis by analysing and assessing its findings – and the confessional character that the ethnographic sessions surprisingly acquired, in particular – and offering a retrospective self-critique of my fieldwork as a whole.

7.2   Analysis

My work on the Acropolis was not intended to be an ethnography: my sample was very small; the participants were random passers-by, rather than members of a specific target-group (e.g. the inhabitants of an Acropolis neighbourhood, as was the case in Caftanzoglou's 2001 ethnography), of different cultural and educational backgrounds (although most of them were Greek, less than half were Athenians, and among them were PhD holders as well as high-school graduates); no great degree of familiarity and trust with them was sought or achieved through an in-depth consideration of their backgrounds and inclinations, social, political, and other; no follow-up sessions which might have led to a more holistic understanding of each participant's positionality were arranged; no recording means other than my written account of the sessions in my field-diary and the participants' works were employed; and, most importantly, having no intention for it to constitute much more than a test of a site-specifically designed set of experimental ethnographic tools, the ethnographic data that my fieldwork yielded, although very interesting on a storytelling level, were to me of less importance than the perception and function of the installation itself. Therefore, although very much an ethnographic endeavour, this research is not an ethnography, mostly because I chose it not to be so from the outset, but also (and I will expand on this in my self-critique below) because it could not be developed into one. As such, it is not appropriate to expect any broad ethnographic conclusions concerning either the perception of the site by contemporary Athenians or its role in contemporary Greek

society. As attested by their works in the appendices (which are arranged in chronological order), and the brief presentation of the sessions' findings in the previous chapter, it is not possible to infer patterns in the way participants approached the Acropolis other than the fact that their engagements with it were in their majority characterised by a desire to establish a personal, intimate even, connection with the site, seemingly away from the national narrative and its tropes.

7.2.1   Context

I have already argued that this pattern is in part explainable by the socio-political context at the time of fieldwork. The sudden plunging of Greece into the so-called 'crisis' in May 2010, when the First Economic Adjustment Programme was implemented (followed by another in July 2011), did not only leave many Greeks poorer, unemployed, and even homeless, but also divided them in various ways and instigated a point-and-blame vicious circle in search of culprits: employees and pension-holders of the public and private sectors held each other responsible for the current state of the country, as did (disappointed) voters of the two major parties that had alternated in power since the restitution of democracy in the country in 1974; trust in politicians, who were seen as the main culprits for the country's 'international humiliation' and 'surrender' to the Programmes' co-ordinators (namely, the European Commission, the European Central Bank, and the International Monetary Fund, collectively known as the 'Troika'), was shaken and Greece witnessed the emergence of a plethora of both ephemeral and prolonged reactions by political and apolitical groups protesting against austerity and representative democracy and attempting the formation of non-parliamentary forms of (self-)governance, as well as non-governmental support systems for those in need. Within this context, the need to re-negotiate Greekness for the restoration of personal and national pride and integrity, as well as the desire to unite an all the more dividing society, led to the employment of hitherto sidelined 'usable pasts' (cf. Brown and Hamilakis 2003) as identity anchors for self-definition: haunting images of the Greek Civil War were evoked to warn against political polarisation, whereas, in light of the generalised anti-German sentiment prevalent in Greek society (due to Germany's central role in the Economic Adjustment Programmes), comparisons between the 'Troika' and the occupation of the country by the Nazi and Fascist forces in WWII started being drawn, and iconic historic events of resistance against the latter acquired prominence in public discourses as examples of national unity against a common threat or enemy.

Another factor that appears to have influenced the resurfacing of these events was a by-product of the 'crisis'. The rise of the Far Right in Greece (reflected in but not limited to the entrance of the Golden Dawn party into the Greek Parliament in 2012) can in part be attributed to a broader, on-going, nationalist, conservative, xenophobic, and Islamophobic outbreak across Europe, but mainly to its demonization of all governments from the restoration of democracy in the country after the fall of the Colonels' Dictatorship in 1974 to the present as culprits for the 'crisis', and to its promising punitive hostility (verbal and physical) towards politicians who had served as members in these parliaments, the 'Troika', and immigrants. Its usable past of choice was, unsurprisingly, an extreme, militarist take on the national narrative, which emphasised the concepts of 'racial' continuity, purity, and integrity, and which, according to Far Right rhetoric, the politicians in question had betrayed by surrendering the country to the 'Troika', and by 'tolerating' the numerous refugees and immigrants from middle eastern countries. So much the Golden Dawn leadership's undisclosed admiration for the Metaxas dictatorship[38], as its officially denied yet obvious Nazi and Fascist influences and sympathies, triggered the anti-totalitarian reflexes of a society that has historically suffered under the rule of not only Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, but also under that of domestic dictators, and contributed towards the formation of a multi-faceted anti-fascist movement. Naturally, events and memories of the Greek Resistance against the Axis Powers during WWII became emblematic in anti-fascist propaganda, too. Two of the most significant of those were the removal of the swastika from the Acropolis by Lakis Santas and Manolis Glezos, and the hiding of the National Museum's exhibits to protect them from the Nazis, initiated and supervised by Semni Karouzou, the first female archaeologist to join the Greek Archaeological Service (cf. Nikolaidou and Kokkinidou 1998:229-258); both events are of obvious archaeological interest and pertinent to the history of the Acropolis, and are therefore represented in the magnet set (the former through direct reference [Santas and Glezos], and the latter by allusion [Semni Karouzou]), in reflection of the books published and the plethora of relevant newspaper and magazine articles circulating in the Greek social media at the time of its preparation.

The resurfacing and recruitment of these events as usable past was far from surprising, as the appropriation of narrative or material manifestations of the past and their employment

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[38] For the selective employment of antiquity in the construction of a version of the national narrative that could legitimise the agenda of Metaxas and his regime, see Hamilakis 2007a:169-204.

in identity-construction processes in the present is, as shown in Chapter 4, a very old practice.

So much the anti-austerity movement, as the rise of the Far Right and the massive anti-fascist movement that it instigated may together explain at once (a) the fact that not so much forgotten as hitherto sidelined aspects of the Acropolis' biography were given priority in the sessions (often at the expense of the classical past), and (b) the participants' avoidance of the language and tropes (or themes altogether) of the national narrative, and, in some cases, their adoption of a new, more moderate way of expressing nationalism. Both events occurred, to an extent, because the participants did not want to not be associated with (or even mistaken for) supporters of the Far Right, who were at the time already being largely mocked in public discourses as not only socially marginal and brutishly undemocratic, but also as uneducated and even illiterate (in some sessions participants felt the need to clearly state their opposition to Far Right ideology and make it explicit in their works, whereas in others the expression of this opposition was more implicit, with participants very eloquently avoiding making reference to it as if it were something beneath them; the reproduction of the abovementioned stereotype of Far Rightists, nevertheless, was present in all sessions). The former event could also be considered as symptomatic of an identifiable expansion of the 'disturbed archive' trend beyond the confines of art, whereby not only were the hierarchies of historical incidents challenged and overturned, but said incidents themselves problematised, evaluated, torn into pieces, reassembled, and re-used in identity construction processes (as I argued in §4.3.2 and §6.3.1.2, this trend is reflective of a more generalised desire to renegotiate Greek identity, and as such it should not be considered as a movement not relevant outside the art-gallery); the latter event could be additionally explained as compliance with the nascent New Acropolis Museum-promoted aesthetic consensus concerning the material traces of the past (§6.3.1.1), which, building on the consensus dictating appropriate conduct within archaeological sites and museums and around archaeological artefacts, appears to be sketching guidelines and directives concerning the appropriate language and tropes that are to be employed when talking about the past.

In light of these parameters, the fact that the participants chose to talk to me about the Acropolis in more personal terms, seems to be making sense: with the language and tropes they had been accustomed to from their school years now rendered dangerous and potentially detrimental for their (self-)image, and with licence to further disturb the already disturbed archive granted by both the on-going and fast-spreading trend set by artists and

the media and my installation, turning inwards and sharing their own memories was for many, though, as I demonstrated in the previous chapter (see the example of Phee in §6.3.1.1), not all, participants, the safest option; rather than choosing one narrative from the vortex of the resurfacing usable pasts and reproducing it verbatim, participants in their majority assumed a cautiously expressed pick-and-mix approach, which they personalised using their own memories and narratives in order to connect to the site and make sense of the(ir) current situation.

The socio-political factors outlined above may justify the way participants expressed themselves in the sessions and, to a lesser extent, their choice to talk about the Acropolis in more personal terms than participants of previous ethnographies. However, alone they do not offer a convincing explanation for the confessional character that the sessions acquired; rather, the reasons for this unexpected finding of my fieldwork, I believe, should be sought in the sessions themselves. What was it about them that encouraged participants to open up in this way? Why did some participants compare them to therapy? How might I, the ethnographic tools I used, or the setting and performance of the sessions as a whole have provoked this reaction? In the following paragraphs, I will try to answer these questions in order to move further towards the assessment and evaluation of my work on the Acropolis as a counter-modern, synergistic form of archaeology.

7.2.2 The sessions revisited

As I have explained in Chapter 5, I intentionally designed the installation components (and *Renegade Pieces*, in particular) to be as vague, polysemous, ambiguous, evocative, and open-ended as I could in order to offer participants an array of triggers that would encourage them to engage with the Acropolis by way of their personal interests, memories, beliefs, and choices. However, I had never anticipated sessions in which participants would openly confess in length their own personal issues either directly or through the projection of those onto the Acropolis; nor was I prepared for the emotional responses that the sessions provoked to the participants, ranging from tranquillity to nostalgia to anger, grief, grievance, and, in some occasions, tears; what I expected when I was designing the ethnographic tools was to hear rather sober, detached narrations of brief personal memories and anecdotes that had taken place on the Acropolis or in the surrounding area. Although I had witnessed and myself experienced this kind of intimacy in other ethnographic projects in which I had participated in before, I was not prepared to encounter it in my fieldwork, mainly because it lacked those qualities that, in my eyes, facilitated this kind of interaction:

the familiarisation of the ethnographer with their informants/participants and vice versa, the establishment of their respective roles and the acceptance of the ethnographer as such by the informants/participants, as well as the building of mutual trust between them through follow-up sessions and participation in each other's quotidian reality – all contingent on one factor: time spent with each other. As I intended my participants to be passers-by whom I had never met before and would probably never see again (which, in their majority, they were), I tailor-made the installation for brief one-off encounters, which would result in a body of data closer to that of a survey than that of an ethnography. It was for this reason that I felt puzzled and even uncomfortable when I started encountering this confessional attitude towards the sessions; and doubly so when I heard some participants comparing these to therapy in their evaluation of our meetings.

The parallels between one-on-one ethnographic interviews and therapy sessions are obvious to anyone who has ever participated in an ethnographic project: the main axes around which conversation between two mutually trusting individuals with clearly defined roles and boundaries revolves are the concepts of temporality and materiality, both of which are tightly bound to the concepts of memory and identity; naturally, in both processes the past features prominently, something that has led anthropologists (e.g. Born 1998) and archaeologists (e.g. Russell 2006) to explore the benefits of a dialogue and interexchange between anthropological, archaeological, and psychoanalytic theory, practice, and analytic tools on the basis of their common preoccupation with social and cultural processes. Their differences, on the other hand, are equally obvious: although in both cases the parties are (usually and ideally) consenting, so much the initiative as the motives for participation in the interaction are different. In the case of therapy sessions the initiative (at least in the majority of non-clinical cases) is taken by the person about to receive the specialist's attention/guidance for their own well-being, whereas in ethnography it is the researcher that approaches the informant/participant in order to obtain the information they need. In addition to this, the very nature of the two forms of interaction is different, with therapy, unlike ethnography, usually having more clearly defined power-relations between the interlocutors, and usually a fee. Although the personal (and sometimes traumatic) memories that surfaced in the sessions alluded to the process of therapy, it is unlikely that the participants forgot the main condition on which I approached them, that is, the fact that our interaction took place to assist my research, or that they genuinely believed that our meetings were akin to therapy ones. Rather, I believe that they used the analogy in order to justify (to me as much as to themselves) the fact that they let

themselves be (over-)exposed in my presence, as well as to acknowledge that they got something out of our sessions. Moreover, my impression is that what they meant by this analogy was that the sessions were *therapeutic* in metaphorical sense of momentarily relaxing or tuning in, rather than therapy proper, that is, the kind that has a long-term effect. I would like to explain by way of a recent example from the art-world.

In the Spring of 2010 performance artist Marina Abramović performed a new piece at her retrospective held by the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), titled *The Artist is Present.* In a minimal installation in the MoMA atrium, Abramović sat immobile on a chair and maintained silent eye-contact with members of the audience who sat in another chair across of her, moving only slightly to 'reset' herself in the intervals between two participants. The piece is memorable for many reasons, including its place in the artist's oeuvre, her remarkable physical stamina and discipline (she sat still throughout the opening hours of MoMA for three months), its great popular appeal, its iconicity as the centrepiece in the biggest exhibition of performance art to have ever been held in MoMA, and, most importantly for the purposes of this discussion, for the reactions of its participants. Most sat across Abramović for five minutes or less, but that seems to have been enough to provoke strong emotional reactions in them, and they were often moved and verged on or broke into tears. On a primary level, one could say that these reactions were the expectable result of art fans' encounter with an art-celebrity, or, rather, a living art legend, the so-called 'grandmother of performance art'. A more profound reading of the piece, beyond the 'starstruck' theory, however, could be that these reactions were caused by the participatory and performative aspects of what at a first, philistine glance could be dismissed as a glorified staring competition, that is, by the fact that participants did not just passively contemplate an art-work, but actively interacted with and *completed* it; by becoming the part that had been missing, they felt that their active presence was not only desired but indeed vital for the existence of the piece. What is more, they found themselves performing an otherwise simple task – staring into someone else's eyes – that demanded their full focus but did not tether their thoughts, which were thus directed inwards. All this in the presence of Marina Abramović and a live audience, in MoMA, notwithstanding! To put it differently, those participants of Abramović's who had emotional reactions, did so because they found themselves in an artificial standstill, a lapse from normality, that allowed them to meditate and their thoughts and emotions to manifest themselves, if not take over, in projections onto the (star) artist.

While my installation shares very little with that of Abramović's (mine, too, were one-on-one sessions, with participants sitting across of me with the ethnographic tools between us), I believe that those who opened up to me in this confessional manner experienced the sessions in a similar way as her participants, that is, as a standstill, or a lapse from normality. In the conclusion to the previous chapter I mentioned that in their evaluation of the installation many participants (including a number of those who did not choose the more confessional approach) claimed that it helped them to *see* the Acropolis again, meaning at once that it pleasantly alerted them to the fact that it was a site of greater historical and hermeneutical complexity than they had thought before, and that, up to that point, its omnipresence and taken-for-grantedness as the backdrop to their everyday reality had rendered it invisible. Drawing on Sugarman's three-level psychoanalytical model on the joy derived from recognition (see §6.4), I suggested that the pleasure that participants experienced during the sessions originated in their re-encountering the Acropolis in a new guise by way of its material and historical contingencies depicted in and alluded to by *Renegade Pieces*. I also suggested that the sessions were the necessary lapse that allowed participants to not only awarely *see* the Acropolis again, but also experience pleasure from this re-encounter. While Sugarman's lapse is a period spent away from the object of recognition, the sessions, by virtue of their participatory and performative character, were a short period spent away from routine, during which the participants' attention was drawn to the Acropolis not by me pointing at it directly (or didactically), but by creatively engaging them in an exercise that required them to focus and contemplate what it was and what else it could (have) be(en). As I observed, the more they permitted themselves to be immersed in this lapse, the more profound and personal their meditations became. Moreover, as I realised during the analysis of my field diary, whereas I never felt ignored or invisible to my participants, the more personal and confessional their stories became, the less I felt like their intended receptor. My overall impression in retrospect is that as participants dug deeper they *thought aloud* more than talked to me, and that their narratives were, in fact, self-confessional (with occasional epiphanies and self-questioning). This might be a by-product of a third suggestion that I made in relation to Sugarman's theory, that is, that some participants' choice to offer more personal and intimate accounts of the Acropolis might have been an attempt to satisfy their *benign narcissism* by attaching parts of their self to the site. To this I would like to add here, in light of the previous suggestion, that it seems likely to me that they did so for themselves and not for me, that is, they did it more as an act of self-affirmation than driven by a desire for their stories to be recorded and included in a thesis. Whichever its source, however, this satisfaction would not have

taken place had it not been for their participation in the sessions and their immersion in the lapse that these constituted.

Like Abramović's participants whose emotional reactions came from looking inwards while staring at the artist's eyes, the (self-)confessions of my participants came from actually looking at the Acropolis from the standstill of the sessions while conversing with me. I believe that the experience of connecting with the site in this way during our sessions, of actually *seeing* it, as they said, and remembering it, was therapeutic in the sense that it healed their relationship with the place that routine had rendered well-nigh invisible, even if that effect was only momentary (I have no means to assess its duration, since I did not maintain contact with the participants after the completion of our sessions). I think that this is what they meant by the therapy analogy, and not that my role was similar to that of a therapist. As a matter of fact, although, as I said before, I never felt invisible to them, I think that participants saw me as an integral part of the installation, rather than someone outside it, benefiting from it, and even less so as someone who was there to assess or judge them, let alone treat them. In these sessions it was not an artist nor the archaeologist, but the Acropolis that was present.

This intimate connection that some participants established with the site might have been facilitated by the location where the sessions took place, the pedestrian road that separates the archaeological centre of Athens, whose centrepiece is the Acropolis, from the modern city. The sessions took place on benches throughout the month of April, when the Acropolis hills are at their greenest and the air is fragrant with the smells of wild herbs and citrus blossoms, usually in the afternoon and early evening, when people went out for a walk. The setting was idyllic and it could be argued that the confessional character that the sessions acquired was a result of that. I agree that the ambience (especially the evocative power of the more or less diachronic smells of nature) and the visual contact with the Acropolis added a very important relaxing and multisensorial dimension to the sessions. In fact, this was precisely why I chose to design and carry out my work for and in this particular location: I wanted my fieldwork to take place in a familiar, relaxing, evocative, and open environment in which my participants would feel free to say whatever they wanted and take leave of the sessions (physically or mentally) whenever and for as long as they felt like it. However, not all sessions in which participants chose the more confessional approach took place there. As I mentioned in Chapter 6, either at the request of participants or due to adverse weather or lighting conditions (there were days when it was quite windy and a couple of rainy ones), some sessions took place in other locales,

such as cafés, bars, and tavernas. Most of those were in the broader Acropolis area, and thus, at least, maintained visual contact with the site. However, there were occasions when sessions took place in locales away from the Acropolis. The participants in some of these sessions, too, chose to open up to me in a confessional manner (as a matter of fact, one of the most emotionally charged sessions occurred in the basement of a bar-restaurant kilometres away from the Acropolis). What is more, in their evaluations, they also said that the sessions had made them *see* the Acropolis in a new light and that they could not wait to visit it again so as to physically experience it in this new light, too. In these sessions the installation worked in the same way that it had done in the sessions on the pedestrian walk, that is, the participants connected with the image of the Acropolis through their participation in the installation and their interaction with me, despite the fact that they had no physical visual contact with the site. One possible explanation for this might be that the omnipresence of the Acropolis in their everyday lives had rendered it so familiar that it was not hard to visualise it and connect with it.

A different explanation for the fact that this connection occurred regardless of where the sessions took place might be that it was an effect of the installation itself. Two of the ethnographic elements I devised for it bore images of or alluding to the Acropolis, possibly facilitating this connection. However, it was *Paper Circus* that I would have expected to have that effect, because it provided a wide range of images of the Acropolis in its entirety and because many of the images used in it depicted the site's more recent appropriations, which I had intended to use as triggers for the narration of events from participants' living memory. Indeed *Paper Circus* did have that precise effect when the *Sub/Liminal Ethnographies* installation was presented in its entirety at the 2nd Archaeological Dialogues Conference in Athens, in January 2015. In our informal conversations, visitors (archaeologists and anthropologists in their majority) recognised most of the events and personalities and were eager to learn about those they did not and to offer their own stories and views on them in sessions with me. As this was the first time that *Paper Circus* was shown to an audience that was familiar with both the Acropolis and its history, it was the only real opportunity I have had to test whether it operated in the way that I had intended it to when I designed it. Its size and dramatic black and white contrast commanded the attention of visitors, who spent at least a couple of minutes to examine and discuss it with their companions. As I observed, some approached it as a work with a hidden narrative that they attempted to decipher by connecting the images, whereas others focused on single images and, pointing at them, they shared their knowledge and memories of the persons

and events portrayed. From that I could infer that, had it been used in the sessions, it would have fulfilled the double role that I had intended it to play: to draw attention to the installation and facilitate the awakening of memories of the Acropolis' most recent past and the desire to share them. Unfortunately, it is not possible to estimate whether the sessions would have turned out differently had it not been excluded from them. Conducting a few complementary sessions at the conference might have resulted in material for comparison with the results yielded by my fieldwork. I regret that, despite my initial planning to do so as part of a live performance, this was not made possible due to practical issues beyond my control. Instead, a video performance of a session was recorded the day before the opening and played alongside the three other elements of the installation (including the completed *Exquisite Ruin* collage) in order to show how the latter had been employed in my fieldwork (the stills that illustrate Chapter 6 are from this video performance). As *Paper Circus* was not used in the sessions, this connection appears to have been facilitated exclusively by *Renegade Pieces*, which, although equally based on collage, followed a slightly different logic: rather than offering a fixed arrangement of images pertinent to the history of the Acropolis, it comprised isolated images which had to be made sense of and used by the participant; whereas in the first case participants were encouraged to remember the Acropolis through a vortex of interconnected images that might or might not form a hidden narrative, in the second one they were called to re-member it using its isolated fragments.

Drawing on Walter Benjamin, Sugarman argues that one of the reasons people are fascinated by encountering the authentic versions of things (e.g. the Parthenon from up close rather than in a photograph), is the fact that they 'come into contact with its causal chain' (1998:58). What she means by that is that they connect to its history, the events that the place has witnessed, and the persons it has hosted. In short: its contingencies. Upon seeing, or being in a place that they consider significant, people find themselves 'stand[ing] in a direct line with the events that occurred there' (Sugarman 1998:59). The connection that participants established with the Acropolis through the magnet set, leads me to believe that the reverse process might also occur. Unlike *Paper Circus*, the magnets do not offer images of the Acropolis as a whole. With the exception of the one depicting the Parthenon behind the Mycenaean Walls, the magnets bear misunderstandable images of persons, artefacts, events, and structures which allude to the history and contingencies of the Acropolis, rather than to the site itself directly. Much like Bruno Latour's Paris in *Paris, Ville Invisible* (1998), which is portrayed as something more than the sum of its

infrastructural and social contingencies, the Acropolis is evoked by *Renegade Pieces* as more than its historical and (trans)cultural contingencies, as the magnetic set demands the participant's input. In other words, by coming into contact with the connections of the site through their hands-on experience of the magnets (which were in themselves original, tangible, objects), participants connected mentally with the actual, authentic, Acropolis that they had seen and otherwise physically experienced time and time again. What is more, they re-constructed it using (their readings of) the magnetic pieces as building blocks and their own experience as glue. Perhaps their desire to visit the site after our session stemmed from a need to verify this connection through the reversed process – the one described by Sugarman – in light of the new connections of the site that they had just found out about. I am not sure whether this would have occurred had they been presented with a medium that required a more passive contribution on their part. I believe that the haptic experience of the magnets, the fact that they could not only touch them, but also manipulate them within the framework that I had set, allowed the establishment of this connection. By performing a very ordinary task – the arrangement of a jigsaw puzzle of sorts – in a non-ordinary context, they awarely connected with the people, structures, and events that they (mis)recognised on the magnets and with the site that these, in their turn, were connected to.

If it was the magnet set that provoked the establishment of this personal connection with the Acropolis and led some participants to confess and project their own issues on the site, then why did it not have the same effect on all participants? I will attempt an interpretation in the following section, within a broader self-critique of the project as a whole.

7.2.3   Self-critique

Not all participants opened up in the aforementioned confessional way. An obvious and sufficient reason for this would be that, unlike those who did, they did not want to expose themselves in this manner to a stranger; another would be that the installation did not have the same effect on them. I would like to dwell a little on the latter in order to offer an explanation of why that might have occurred. As I have already stated, the confessional character that the sessions acquired was a pleasant, although very much unexpected, surprise, and as such it caught me unprepared for it. The first conversation that took this more personal turn made me feel uncomfortable and triggered my impulse to refocus it on the site, but I decided against it because this was a reaction provoked by the Acropolis and perhaps the installation itself, and thus I deemed it relevant to my research. It took a few

more similar sessions with interlocutors who digressed from the topic of the Acropolis into more intimate accounts of their lives to realise that these confessional sessions might not have been isolated incidents but rather that there might be a pattern forming. As the time that I spent in Athens during my fieldwork was very busy with interviews and diary-keeping, I did not identify this pattern early enough to investigate whether there was anything about my approach of these specific participants that had led them to open up or whether I had unwillingly discouraged the rest from doing so in some way. Moreover, I was quite preoccupied by the fact that the sessions lasted much longer and took a much different form than the one that I had anticipated when I designed them and contemplated the idea of using them to develop my research into a full ethnography with a better defined target-group and follow-up sessions focusing on the role of the Acropolis in contemporary Greek society amidst the crisis. Doing so would have resulted in a different body of data and a very different thesis, which could have provided an insight into how the perception of the past and the Acropolis in particular had changed in the course of the thirteen years between it and that of Yalouri's ethnography (2000) and perhaps yielded more solid findings concerning the causes for the choice of more personal accounts over the reciting of the national narrative than the explanations that I have articulated in this and the previous chapter. However, given that (a) my remaining time on the field was very limited for this kind of endeavour and it could not have been extended due to financial and practical reasons, (b) the fact that the condition on which the participants agreed to take part in my research was that it required no further commitment on their behalf than our one-off sessions, and (c) the fact that the purpose of my fieldwork was to test a specific set of ethnographic tools exploring the potential of the integration of archaeological, ethnographic, and arts practice that could be used as part of a later ethnographic project rather than conducting that ethnographic project myself, I chose not to do so. Despite the fact that I could have had clearer answers concerning the causes of my findings, I do not regret my decision.

What I do regret, however, is the exclusion of *Paper* Circus from the installation. Although, as I explained in §6.2.1, its omission did not affect the actual procedure of the sessions, the brief conversations that I had with the visitors at the Archaeological Dialogues exhibition revealed that its role could have been more important than that of the ice-breaker or the teaser that would attract potential participants, and that it could have kept the installation tighter. The sea of images from the Acropolis' more recent past could have, perhaps, functioned as an anchor that would have prevented the participants from

drifting from the topic of the site or, at least, provided the conversations with a common denominator or point of reference, making their results more organisable and groupable. The freedom that the installation granted the participants in the absence of *Paper Circus* might be the key to explain both the confessional aspect of some sessions and the more sober character of others: perhaps in their attempt to organize what seemed to them a very loosely defined interview some participants treated it as an opportunity to talk about themselves and their issues, whereas others were reserved in lack of more specific instructions. In other words, it is possible that for fear of unwillingly reproducing the authoritative character of archaeology –that my project was designed to attack – by imposing my own narratives, interpretations, and expectations on them (which I inevitably did to an extent as the selection of the images on the magnets was made by me), I granted my participants a kind of freedom with the site that they might have perceived as chaotic and which they tried to organize in one of the two aforementioned ways. It would have been interesting to have asked them to commend on this interpretation of mine at the end of our sessions. In fact, it might have been helpful to structure their evaluations of the installation so as to investigate whether the participants could identify something in it that might have led them to open up to me in the way that they did, or why they compared the sessions to therapy ones. Their answers might have confirmed or rejected the interpretations that I have articulated in this thesis concerning the findings of my fieldwork, or even offered new explanations that I have not thought about. Unfortunatelly, it was not until I was back in the comfort and quiet of my office desk that I fully understood what exactly had happened during my fieldwork: the degree to which the installation had been transformed in the field and the pattern that had emerged.

In light of the above, my main self-critique is that despite my sincere conviction that I was entering the field with no specific expectations from my installation, its design and testing on volunteers from my circle of friends and colleagues had led me to, perhaps unawarely or even subconsciously, form an idea of the kind of results that it would yield, which did not eventually correspond to the actual results that I did get. While during the testing of the installation the sessions lasted for as long as I had anticipated and my test-participants remained on the topic of the Acropolis regardless of whether they talked about its history and significance or accounted brief personal anecdotes, things turned out differently in the uncontrolled environment of the field. The unexpected length of the sessions and the confessional character that some of them acquired posed a dilemma: I would either continue letting people to talk about what they wished and develop my research into an

ethnography or stop them when they digressed and refocused them on the topic of the Acropolis. I did neither, partly because I did not think of the transformation as detrimental to my project – the duration and content of the sessions did not hinder the actual process nor the evaluation of the installation – and partly because I got carried away by the unexpected outcome of the sessions and what I saw as a need of my participants to talk and connect with the site and the past in general. This was a need that I could accommodate by simply listening to them and by presenting here the aspects of their accounts that I deemed publishable alongside our synergistic artworks, and I was not willing to not do so because that might reduce the number of my sample. I stand by my decision to this day, but I wish that I had been prepared better in order to have been able to ask the right complementary questions that could have provided more solid answers concerning the reasons that led my participants to encounter our sessions in the way that they did; in the midst of my hectic fieldwork schedule I could not think clearly and fully realize the new needs of my transformed research, nor come up with ways to tend to them.

7.2.4   Conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted an analysis of my findings in light of the context within which my fieldwork took place, in an attempt to interpret their causes. Although, as I have tried to make clear, I cannot be sure whether the way that participants encountered the sessions had to do with the installation itself or was indicative of a broader changing attitude towards the past, attributable to the socio-political situation in Greece at the time, I believe that, despite its problems and shortcomings, my project was successful in what it had set out to achieve: it communicated the long history of the Acropolis in a non-authoritative, non-didactic manner, by offering a set of tools that the participants could use in order to simultaneously learn more about the site and produce their own interpretations of it; as such, it exposed the process and dynamics of archaeological interpretation and, by extension, of the production of the national narrative that condensed the history of the site to the Periclean era, and enabled participants to produce and share their own accounts of the site, thus allowing them to pleasantly connect with it in a way that they had hitherto not thought that archaeology could do. Rather than being lectured about the past and instructed how to appreciate it, they became involved in a procedure that not only requested but indeed needed their active participation in the production of the pasts that mattered to them, and that acknowledged those pasts as legitimate and important and perhaps of equal worth as the one that they had been taught at school and grown up with.

Conclusion

Throughout my candidature, I have had to defend the 'archaeology-hood' of my research to almost everyone from the person sitting next to me on the train to work to my students and colleagues in the various archaeological and non-archaeological jobs that I have had in order to finance my research. '*It is of archaeological interest, but not really archaeology; perhaps art... but certainly not archaeology*'. I cannot count the times I have heard this 'aphorism', nor the times that I have been called to prove it wrong. This was mostly annoying, but at times it caused frustration and an anxiety to make it more archaeological, and on some very sad occasions it made me second-guess not only my choice to pursue this particular topic, but also my abilities as a researcher, and to think about abandoning it. Although very tempting, the latter scenario was rejected every time thanks to the persistent encouragement of those closest to me, but mostly thanks to my own faith in this project. My fieldwork was instrumental in fueling this faith: the sessions did more than just confirm that the installation that I had designed was not a futile exercise, as its components acquired a life of their own in the hands of my participants who transformed what I had initially thought of as brief impersonal interviews with strangers into spaces of intimacy between persons and the Acropolis. My return to my university office after the completion of my fieldwork, however, refuelled my initial anxiety concerning the archaeological and academic value of my work. What I had felt in the sessions was magical, but was that experience transcribable? More so, was it of archaeological relevance or indeed archaeology? Before I attempt to answer this question here, hopefully for the last time, I would like to recapitulate.

Recap

In Chapter 1 I argued that archaeology cannot be defined on a sole principle or practice: archaeology is not only about constructing knowledge about the past through its material leftovers (although it does), nor can it be contained to excavation; archaeology is, and has been, even before its disciplinary incarnation, about the power that these material leftovers hold for the present, and about the management of that power; it is, practically, the authority that simultaneously renders objects, ruins, and past people important or unimportant and manages their inherent power. As such, apart from a politically potent (and often dangerous) enterprise, it is, in essence, a creative endeavour and, therefore, a form of cultural production – although it was not conceptualised as such until fairly

recently in its history (in the late 1970s and early 1980s). This explains its long-standing and symbiotic relationship with art, from which it borrows and to which it lends ideas, products, and techniques, and which it simultaneously conditions and is being conditioned by.

The relationship between archaeology and art, which had been interrupted by archaeology's Positivist turn, for fear of losing its scientific credibility, has in the past three decades emerged in a new manifestation – the engagements of archaeologists with contemporary artworks and art practice that I discussed in Chapter 2. Through their critical evaluation and systematisation into a movement, I answered the first part of my research question, which closed the very first paragraph of this thesis, by arguing that these engagements indeed articulate a critique of current archaeological practice, and make a number of propositions for alternative modes of engagement with the material remains of the past. More specifically, by consciously undermining their power and authority, their initiators attempt to denaturalise archaeology and show that it is an interpretive discipline, as well as a form of cultural production, rather than a mechanism by which the one true past can be accessed, and to do archaeology in ways that are more creative, politically (and self-) aware, pluralist, inclusive, and collaborative, as well as more socially sensitive and relevant.

In Chapter 3, I situated the critique articulated by this movement within contemporary archaeological theory and practice and considered it in relation to the critique of modernist archaeology and the emergent field of archaeological ethnography. Having answered the first part of my research question in the previous chapter, my intention in this one was to borrow from a theoretical toolkit that would inform a counter-modern, site-specific ethnographic art installation at the Acropolis of Athens which could help me answer the second part, that is, whether the integration of archaeological and contemporary arts practices proposes a new social role for the discipline. In combining the critique articulated by the archaeological engagements of archaeologists with contemporary art with the propositions of Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos' archaeological ethnography and the insights gained from the recent integration of anthropological and art practices, I concluded that my work should be involving, inclusive, pluralist, dialogic, and politically and ethically aware of its positionality.

I introduced my case-study in Chapter 4, through an illustrated biography aiming to convey the site's rich history (of appropriations), to offer a background to the ethnographic art installation, and to make the reasons that have led me to take it up as my case study

apparent. The Acropolis of Athens is a perfect example of modernist archaeological management at work: it was proclaimed an archaeological site shortly after the establishment of the modern Greek nation-state in the first half of the nineteenth century, and was immediately transformed so as to constitute a quasi-sacred national monument advertising the continuity between classical Athenians and modern Greeks. Almost all non-classical traces of habitation and use were considered 'taints' and were demolished or removed by archaeologists and architects. With them the multi-cultural character of the site, as well as the memory of thousands of people who had lived in and around its premises, were permanently erased. A hundred and eighty years on, despite the change in archaeological ethics and Athens' becoming all the more multi-cultural, little has changed in the management of the site; the Acropolis still bears the nationalist and supremacist connotations of nineteenth-century poetics of nation-building. What is more, people's experience of it is strictly controlled, regulated, and limited to visual contemplation. Both aspects render the Acropolis irrelevant (and invisible) to contemporary Greeks, who seem to require another kind of archaeology. A current movement within contemporary Greek art and cultural expression that I discussed in the final part of the chapter attests to this: amidst the so-called 'crisis', the material traces of the past (including the Acropolis) are being approached and appropriated directly and irreverently as though challenging (or even mocking) the authoritative consensus that governs them, in a process that could be described as DIY identity-re-work. It was within this movement that I situated my own work, which attempted to re-introduce the disenfranchised aspects of the site's history and investigate how participants related to the Acropolis in order to see what kind of archaeology could be socially relevant in contemporary Athens.

In Chapter 5, I presented the site-specific ethnographic art installation as it was initially designed, after a brief discussion of collage, the art-form that informs all three of its components, and a discussion of its relevance to the call for counter-modern approaches to the past. Through the monumentalisation of the ephemeral, the fleeting, and the insignificant, through the exposure of some of the site's past and present contingencies, and through the surrendering of part of my archaeological authority (to the degree that this is possible in a research designed and conducted by an archaeologist for academic purposes), I designed an ethnographic art installation that would provide random passers-by with material and information in order for them to create their own artworks and archaeologies of the Acropolis, and engage with it in any way they desired.

In Chapter 6, I described the actual procedure of the ethnographic art installation and the transformations it underwent, and presented its findings. These, although in no way representative, revealed a changing attitude towards the past (entailing the adherence to a new aesthetics of talking about its material leftovers and the mainstreaming of at least one certain event of the Acropolis' more recent history) and, more importantly, a desire for a more intimate connection with the site and the past; participants shared with me their thoughts, concerns, personal memories, and experiences from the Acropolis in what I saw as a need to establish themselves in relation to it, or to appropriate it either by becoming part of its history, or making it part of theirs. Consequently, I offered a brief assessment of the ethnographic art installation, stating that, despite the transformations it underwent and the surprises it held for me, it fulfilled the purpose it had been designed for by both offering and obtaining information concerning the Acropolis' past and present, and that participants found it enjoyable and their feedback was very positive and, at times, moving.

Finally, in Chapter 7, I expanded on my work on the Acropolis through the analysis of its findings. I particularly focused on the confessional character that some sessions acquired and attempted to trace its causes in the socio-political context at the time of fieldwork and the sensorial dynamics of the installation and the location in which that took place. In my self-critique in the final part of the chapter I admitted that I cannot provide solid explanations but only articulate hypotheses concerning this unexpected finding that caught me unprepared.

Art and Archaeology

Before reflecting on my work on the Acropolis as a whole I would like to dedicate some space to a publication that I omitted from my literature review on account of its being published after the completion of my fieldwork and the fact that I believe that it is of greater relevance here. Ian Russell and Andrew Cochrane's edited volume *Art and Archaeology* (2014) differs from the archaeological engagements that I examined in Chapter 2 in that it consists of contributions which are awarely situated within what I identified as a movement within current archaeological practice and, as such, they are in a position to evaluate its potential and express more articulate propositions for present and future research.

In their introduction to the volume, Rusell and Cochrane identify what I have called a movement as an emergent collaborative field and observe an on-going mutual interest of

archaeologists and artists in meeting each other in undisciplined spaces between practices with the intent to investigate new ways to interpret the world. Acknowledging the long relationship of archaeology with art that, according to them, stretches back to the seventeenth century, they argue that what differentiates this emergent field from previous intersections of archaeology and art is its break with traditional modes of representation, which have until recently prevailed. What this essentially means is that rather than assuming that things are passive entities in need of being imbued with meaning, the contributors of this volume recognise them as 'influential partners within expression' (Russell and Cochrane 2014:2):

> The world is a complex entanglement of things and materials—it involves mixtures of mixtures. To understand the story of how things are, many turn towards archaeologists as the trusted and skilled mediators of material things, embedded within social relations. In recent years, archaeologists have, however, been turning to others outside their discipline to find new ways of dealing with things. This has developed into a range of diverse collaborations between contemporary artists, heritage professionals and archaeologists attempting to revise the way we move and interpret within the world.

> (Russell and Cochrane 2014:2-3)

The potential that these collaborative initiatives hold is particularly great for policy and heritage management, but also for the theory and practice of archaeology altogether. In reflection to this, the book is divided into four sections, each concerned with issues of exploration and experimentation (Part I), curatorial practice (Part II), application and exchange (Part III), and the present and future of practice in the undisciplined space between archaeology and art (Part IV). Each part features papers by distinguished and younger scholars who encounter their work in this new field not as one-off side projects, but rather as integral to their practice. In this paragraph, I wish to further discuss aspects of two contributions from parts I and IV, which will assist me in the evaluation of my work on the Acropolis and the positioning of this thesis within archaeological literature.

The first one is Andy Jone's paper, demonstrating how the contemporary art processes of making, scale, and reception can offer new possibilities for archaeological interpretation. Rather than taking a representational approach to Upper Palaeolithic art, Jones identifies experimentation with materials as central to artistic practice:

> It is through unfamiliarity, not knowing, intuition and a playful open-ended approach that acts of discovery take place. [...T]he materials of art, whether paint, plastic, electronic circuitry or a variety of sculptural components, are significant aspects in the processes of discovery that make up new artworks; how do differing materials perform under different circumstances, what happens when differing materials are

assembled together? What happens when we do this...? Artistic practice is therefore a continuous process of discovery. The point I want to argue here is not that the relatively novel embracing of experimental practice in Western art might have something to teach us about Palaeolithic practices. Instead, I argue that experimentation is intrinsic to art practice, whether this is explicitly emphasised by the artist or not. Experimentation occurs in the encounter between the artist and ther materials, as the intentions of the artist meet the properties and qualities of materials.

(Jones 2014:24)

In his conclusion to the paper, Jones argues against the theorisation of art as a product of biological evolution and, rather, sees it as a state of encounter, a product of experimentation with materials, which, in part, led to the development of cognition. One of the main implications or his radical paper is its emphasisis on the need for the inclusion of the experimental and the performative into archaeological practice. This is a proposition that is also articulated in the second paper that I wish to discuss here, and which deals with the potential of practice in the undisciplined space between archaeology and art.

In the final chapter of the volume, Doug Bailey (2014) offers a review of some of the engagements of artists with archaeology and of archaeologists with art, and articulates an argument against the maintainance of disciplinary barriers. More specifically, he argues that some archaeologists who have engaged with contemporary art and arts practice appear to have done so very cautiously for fear of letting go of representational paradigms lest their work be characterised non-scientific and non-academic. This fear, he argues, has compromised the otherwise unquestionably radical character of their projects, which could have yielded better understandings of their subject-matter. At the same time, he praises the work of those who have dared to ignore what is expected and accepted by academia, namely representational and interpretative approaches to the past:

> These works are non-representational. They do not attempt to reconstruct with exactitude a precise place, person, or event that has been lost to the past. They agree to leave that act of construction to others, to those archaeologists who see reconstruction as the core of their work. The works that are of greatest value are those that are not interested in representation as a goal, and those that reject the reduction of the complexity of life to a simplified narrative or representational picture.
>
> A second strength that each of these more radical works share is that none is so insecure that it feels the need to rely on the traditional rhetorical crutches of standard interpretive archaeological work. None of it spends (derivative) energy to justify itself, its form, its intention, or the reactions it raises, through dense chapters of theoretical positioning and regurgitation of continental philosophers. None offers justification for its output, nor does it care to make the case for its acceptance. None makes excuses for what it is doing. This type of work is open. It gives the authority

> to the spectator, to the person looking, or to the person listening, or to the person smelling, or to the person tasting. It makes the spectator work at the experience of engagement of the work.

<div align="right">(Bailey 2014:247)</div>

So much Jones' proposition for the inclusion of the experimental and the performative in archaeological practice as Bailey's call for breaking free of disciplinary boundaries and letting go, bring to mind Marcus' call for a need to renegotiate fieldwork (Marcus 2010) and Schneider and Wright's discussion of the importance of experimental research in anthropology, away from the traditional PhD model of research design (Schneider and Wright 2010:11). This urgency to reconsider the boundaries and core concepts of archaeological and anthropological research has in all cases been brought about by these disciplines' scholars' contact with contemporary arts practice and by the emergent fields of research, such as the anthropology and archaeology of the senses, and makes me think that what we are about to witness soon is the slow shifting of all these practices into a greater undisciplined space that explores humanity holistically and from many theoretical and methodological starting points. This is the feeling that I get from reading *Art and Archaeology* in light of the recent developments in anthropological and archaeological theory. And, apart from the fact that it provides an answer to the second part of my research question, that is, whether the integration of archaeological and arts practices articulates a proposition for a new social role for the discipline, it is a good feeling.

The presents

I had been aware of Marcus' (2010) and Schneider and Wright's (2010) critiques of traditional ways of conducting ethnographic research before my fieldwork. However, perhaps for fear that my research would not be considered archaeological or academic enough, I designed it as carefully as I could to keep it as archaeological as possible rather than aiming for a more radical project. In the field, the installation acquired a life of its own, maybe the life that it was meant to have from the beginning, with the participants drifting in and out of the topic of the Acropolis and digressing to discuss more personal issues and share intimate memories with me. Although I could have stopped them and refocused the conversation, I did not. This resulted in a problematic volume of data that I could not use within the framework in which I had contained my research without making these people's narratives seem like gossip. At the same time, it offered me an unparalleled experience (or should I say forty-five unparalleled experiences?) that I will treasure for all

my life, not only because I felt that my studies and knowledge of the past had a direct social relevance, but also because I got to see the Acropolis through forty-five different sets of eyes and experience its complexity both intellectually and physically through my encounters with those strangers that kindly accepted to become my interlocutors. However, I regret that I became familiar with the work of the contributors to *Art and Archaeology* after the completion of my fieldwork and, thus, I did not have the chance to let go in the sessions and done things differently – perhaps made notes that could be used to convey the experience of the sessions, or adopted a different recording medium, such as a camera and turned this project into something else. In light of Jones' paper presented above I could risk to say that some of my participants' confessional take on the sessions may have been the result of their letting-go to experiment with the materials I had provided them with. I regret that I did not let go to experiment with what the sessions became in the field. It now seems to me that my fieldwork is susceptible to the same criticism that Bailey levels on projects such as the Leskernick one: I went out and did something interesting and then I retreated back to my office desk to explain it so as to be accepted as archaeology.

So is it archaeology? By virtue of my archaeological formation, the fact that it was carried out in an archaeology department, the fact that its case study was an archaeological site, and the fact that it articulated discourse concerning ancient things, I would have to say that it *is* by all definitions of archaeology or *archaiologia*. With a twist, nevertheless: I argued in my first chapter that archaeology is about the management of the power that ancient things inherently have or are imbued with. In my sessions, due to their participatory character, this power was shared, albeit, arguably, unevenly so, between the partipants and me, and, therefore, if what we did was indeed archaeology, it was a synergistic one.

In my conclusion to Chapter 6, I made a brief reference to one of the most moving incidents from my fieldwork, that of a young woman in her mid twenties, who initially approached the installation with disbelief and questioned my really being an archaeologist. Partly because I was tired of having to answer this question once again and partly because I wanted her to decide for herself whether what we were about to do was archaeology or not, I did not reply but only smiled politely. When we concluded our session, just as she was about to leave, she turned around and thanked me for our conversation, which she considered a *gift*. She was not the only one to acknowledge that she had got something out of our sessions, be that knowledge or the chance to re-connect with the Acropolis, but she was the only one to use this particular word. Despite the fact the I designed the installation in the style of participatory artworks adhere to Bourriaud's *Relational Aesthetics*, in order

to facilitate individual memory-work, I had never thought of the installation or participation in it as a gift to the participants. As a matter of fact, if I were to use this word, it would be to describe the stories and time the participants offered me, alongside the overall experience that they graced with their presence/presents. Without them, none of this would have been possible, and I could not thank them enough. My participant left without giving me a chance to ask her whether she thought that our session was really archaeology or not. But I do not think that that matters much, anymore.

Appendices

Appendix A   **Exquisite Ruin**
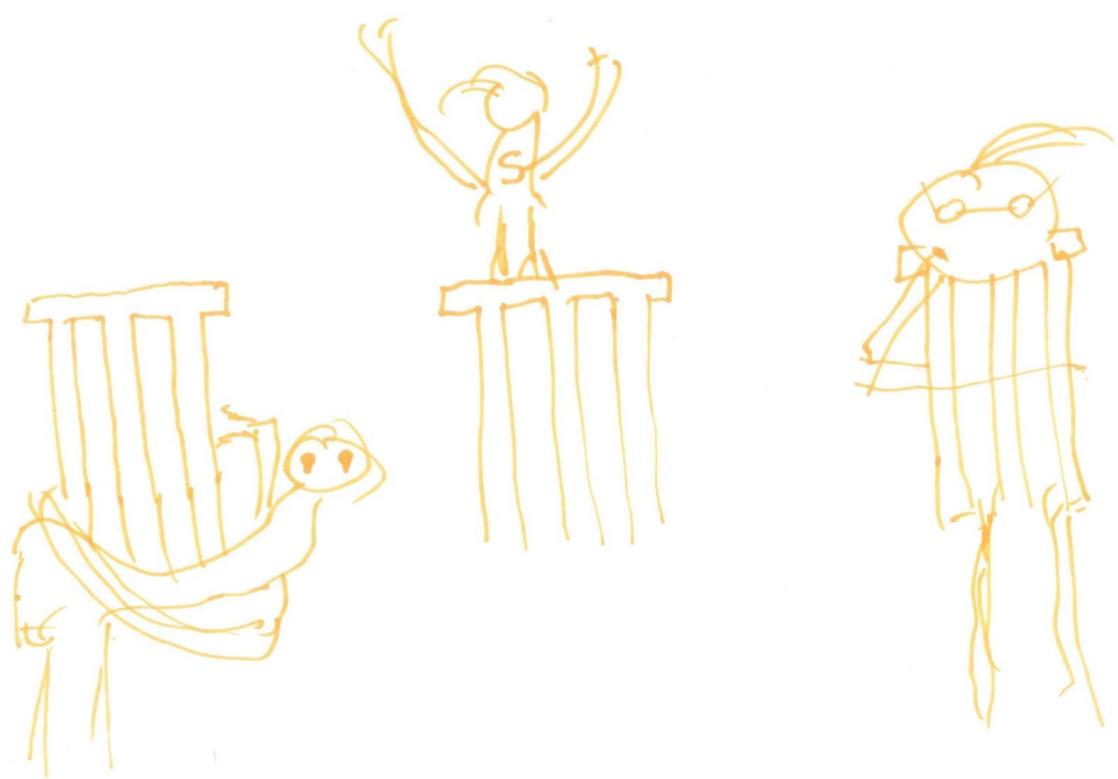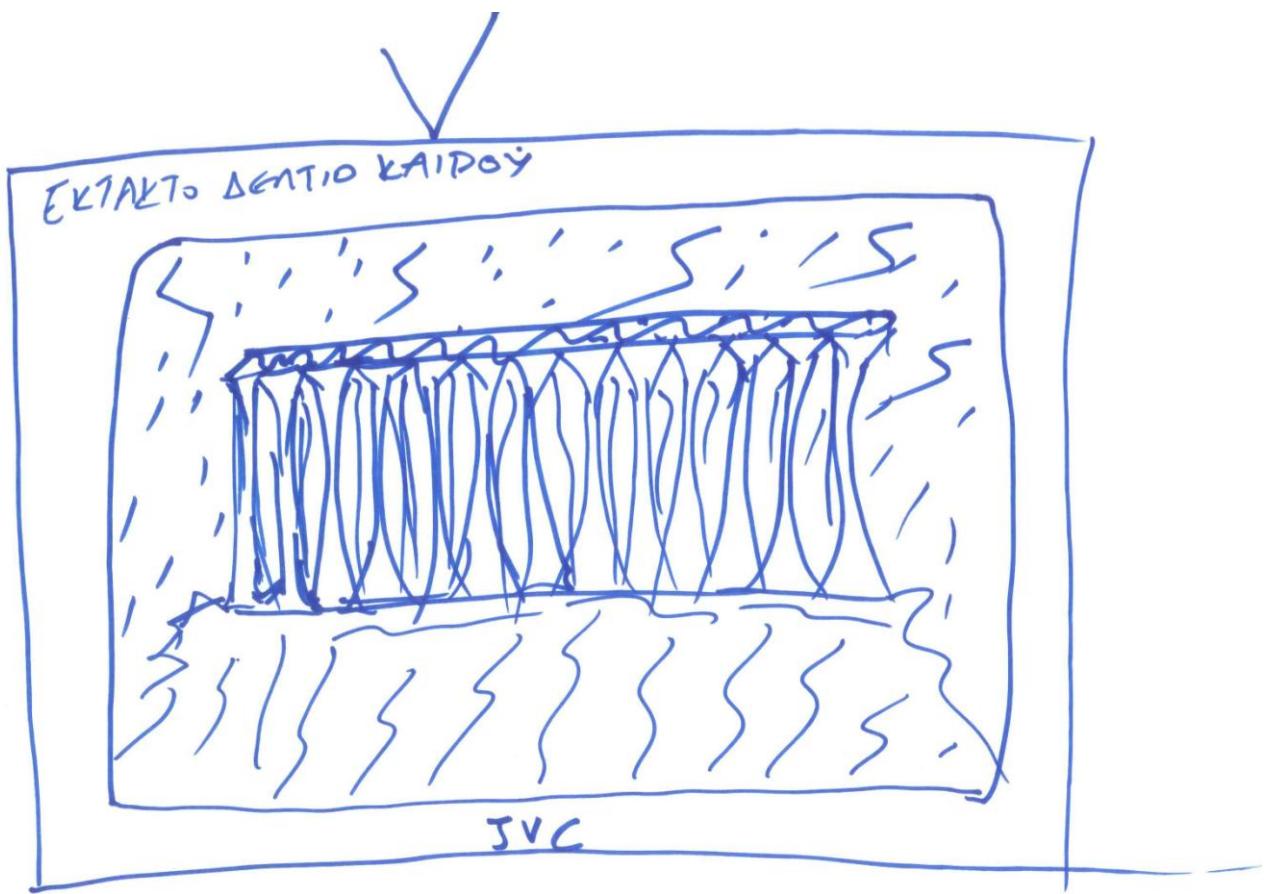
(i) ...

H Αθήνα

H ...

H Θεα ...

Ανθρωπη είναι ...

208

Η Ακρόπολη είναι ένα παγκόσμιο σύμβολο!

209

ΑΘΗΝΑ
ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ
ΕΛΛΑΔΑ
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΣ
ΠΑΡΑΚΑΤΑΘΗΚΗ
ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ
ΣΚΑΛΩΣΙΕΣ –ΕΡΓΑ
ΑΝΑΣΤΗΛΩΣΗ

ΠΛΑΚΑ

ΦΩΣ ΣΚΛΗΡΟ – ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ

ΓΕΛΕΣΗ . Επαφή με βαθιές ψυχικές δονήσεις

ΑΝΑΤΑΣΗ – ΗΡΕΜΙΑ

ΧΑΡΑ

Η βοήθεια με τις συμβουλές μου

Ταξίδι. Ανάμνηση με τον παππού που...

Ζωγραφική σκέψης Αθήνας

- TO TOROSHNI

ΑΘΉΝΑ

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ

ΚΑΤΑΧΡΗΣΗ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ
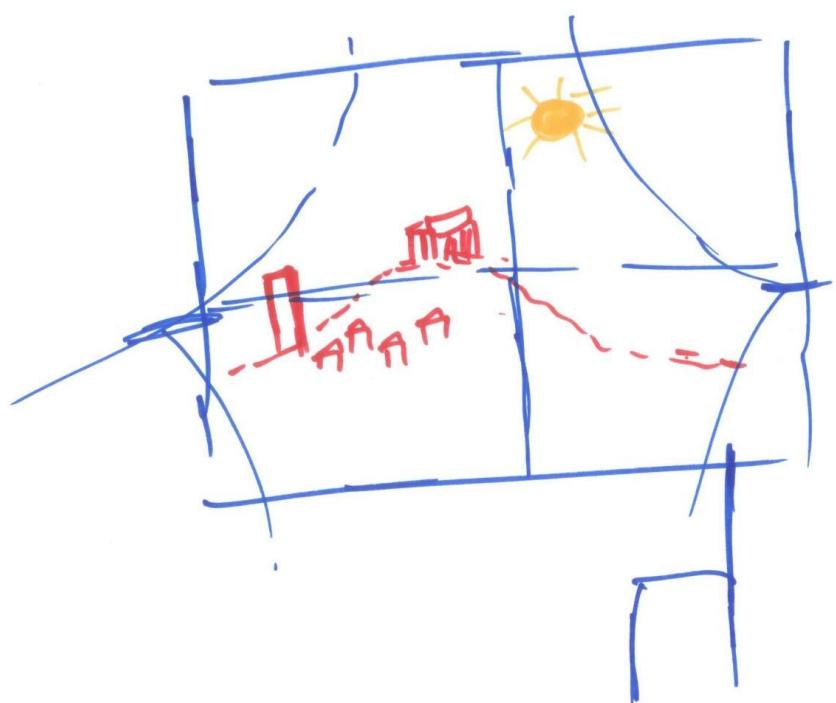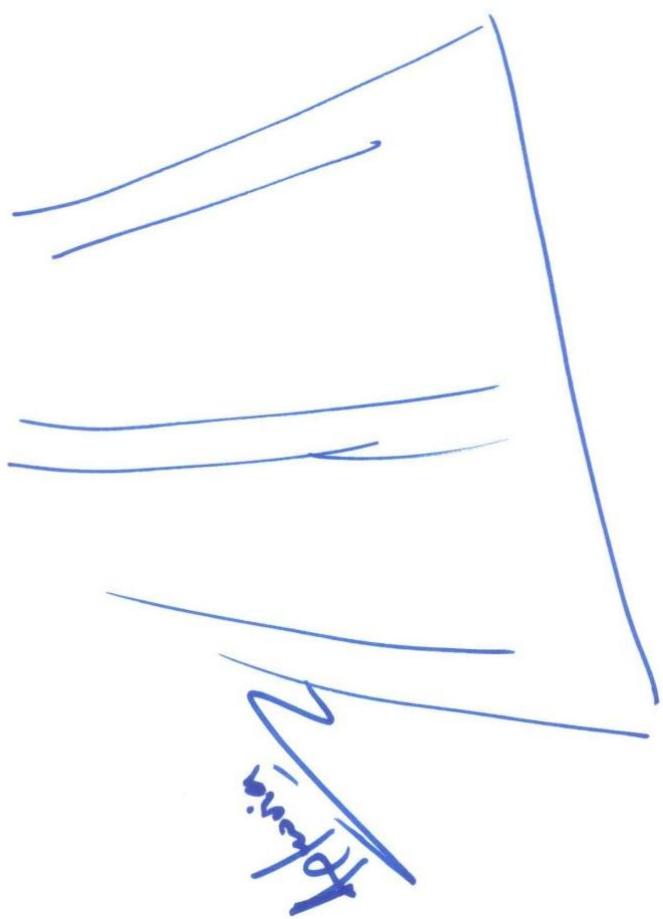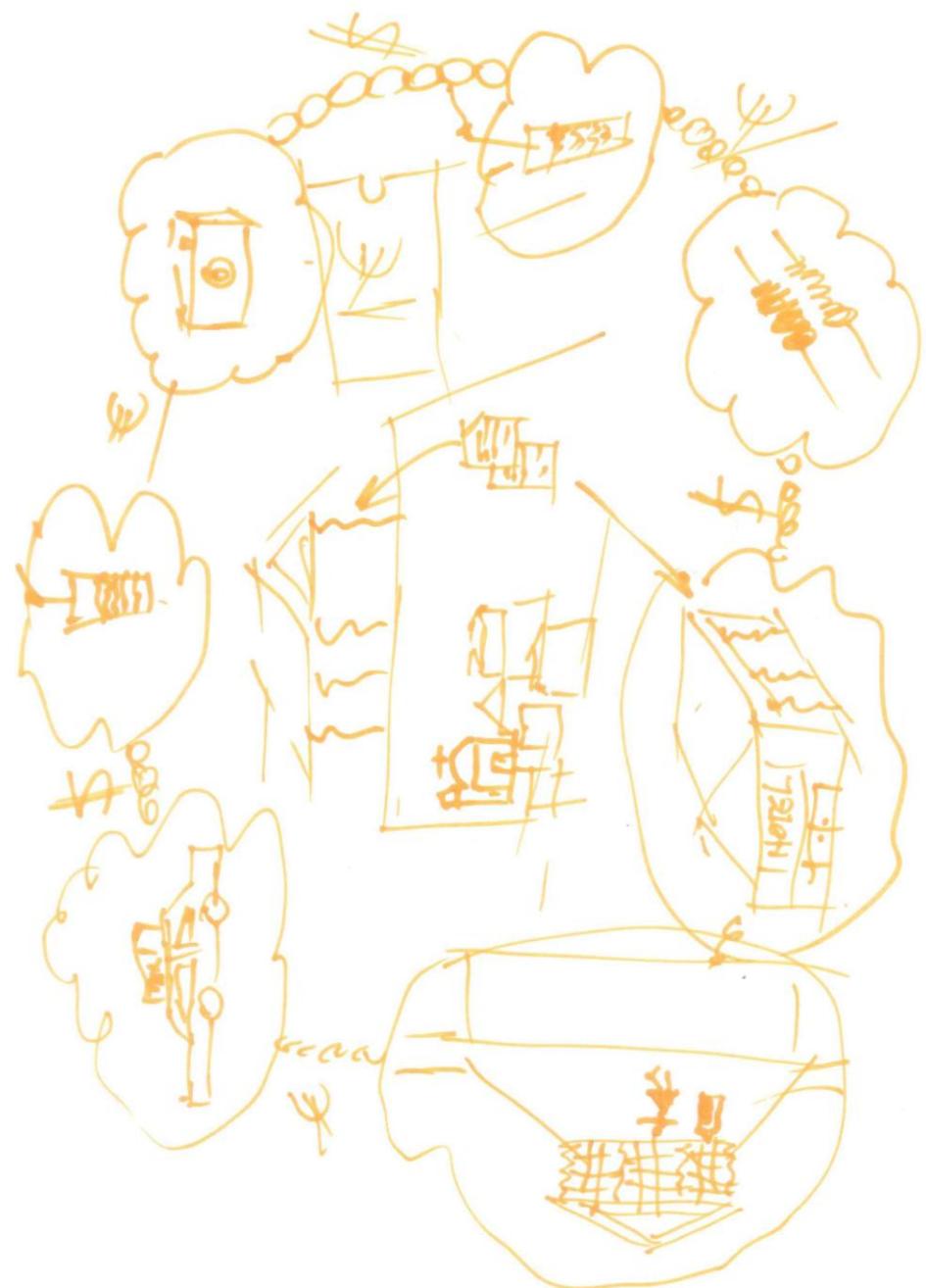
ΙΔΑΝΙΚΟΙ ΕΛΛΗΝ

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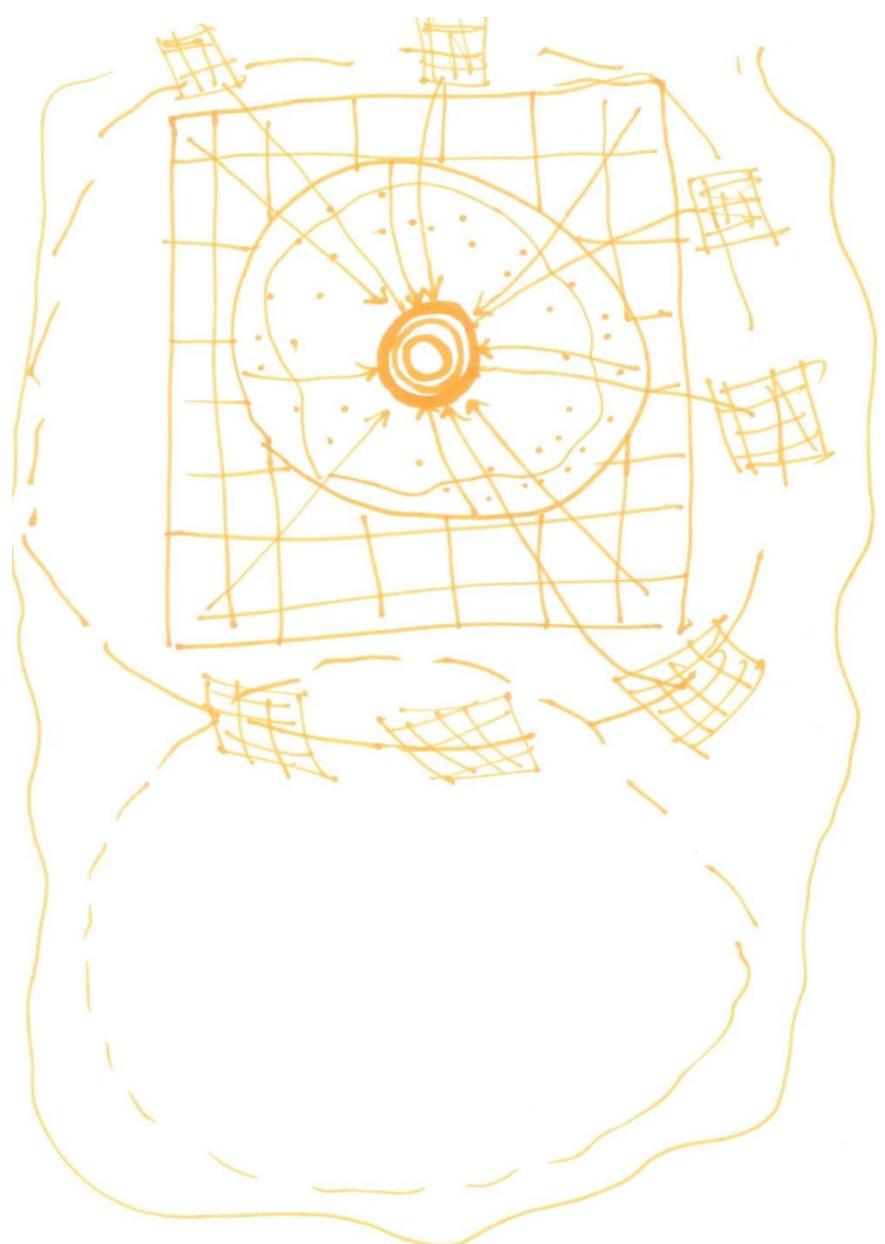
ΠΟΛΥΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΙΚΟΤΗΤΑ
ΣΧΕΣΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΥ ΜΕ ΣΥΓΧΡΟΝΟ
ΤΕΚΜΗΡΙΟ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ
ΕΝΤΑΞΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ ΧΩΡΩΝ
ΣΤΗΝ ΚΑΘΗΜΕΡΙΝΟΤΗΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΟΙΚΩΝ

ΠΟΛΗ ΚΡΑΤΟΣ
ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ
ΚΡΙΤΙΚΗ ΣΚΕΨΗ
ΦΑΝΕΡΩΣΕΙ ΑΛΗΘΟΥΣ
ΓΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΣΧΕΣΗΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ
ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΣ

ΕΠΙΜΕΤΑΛΛΕΥΣΗ
ΕΠΑΝΑΧΡΗΣΗ
ΦΥΣΙΚΑ
ΕΘΝΙΚΙΣΜΟΣ
ΣΟΥΒΕΝΙΡ
ΗΡΩΔΕΙΟ
ΗΛΙΚΙΑΚΕΣ ΟΜΑΔΕΣ
ΜΠΑΓΚΟΛΙΑ
ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟ (ΝΑ)
ΜΕΤΡΟ

ΤΖΑΚ

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΜΕΣΑ ΣΤΟΝ ΧΡΟΝΟ
ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ
ΣΤΑΣΙΜΟΣ
ΕΜΠΟΡΙΟ
ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ
ΔΙΑΧΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ
ΜΝΗΜΕΙΩΔΗΣ
ΤΟΥΡΙΣΜΟΣ

ΘΕΑ
ΨΥΧΗ
ΨΥΧΙΑ
ΕΣΩΤΕΡΙΚΟΣ
ΣΚΕΨΗ
ΦΑΝΤΑΣΙΑ
ΜΕΤΑΦΟΡΑ
LOOK UP TO
ΣΥΝΑΝΙΚΗ
ΕΥΡΙΑ ΜΝΗΜΗ
ΠΕΡΙΠΑΤΟΣ
ΜΟΝΑΞΙΑ

(ΓΙΑΜΑ!)

DON'T TOUCH

MAP

ΣΗΜΕΙΟ ΑΝΑΦΟΡΑΣ
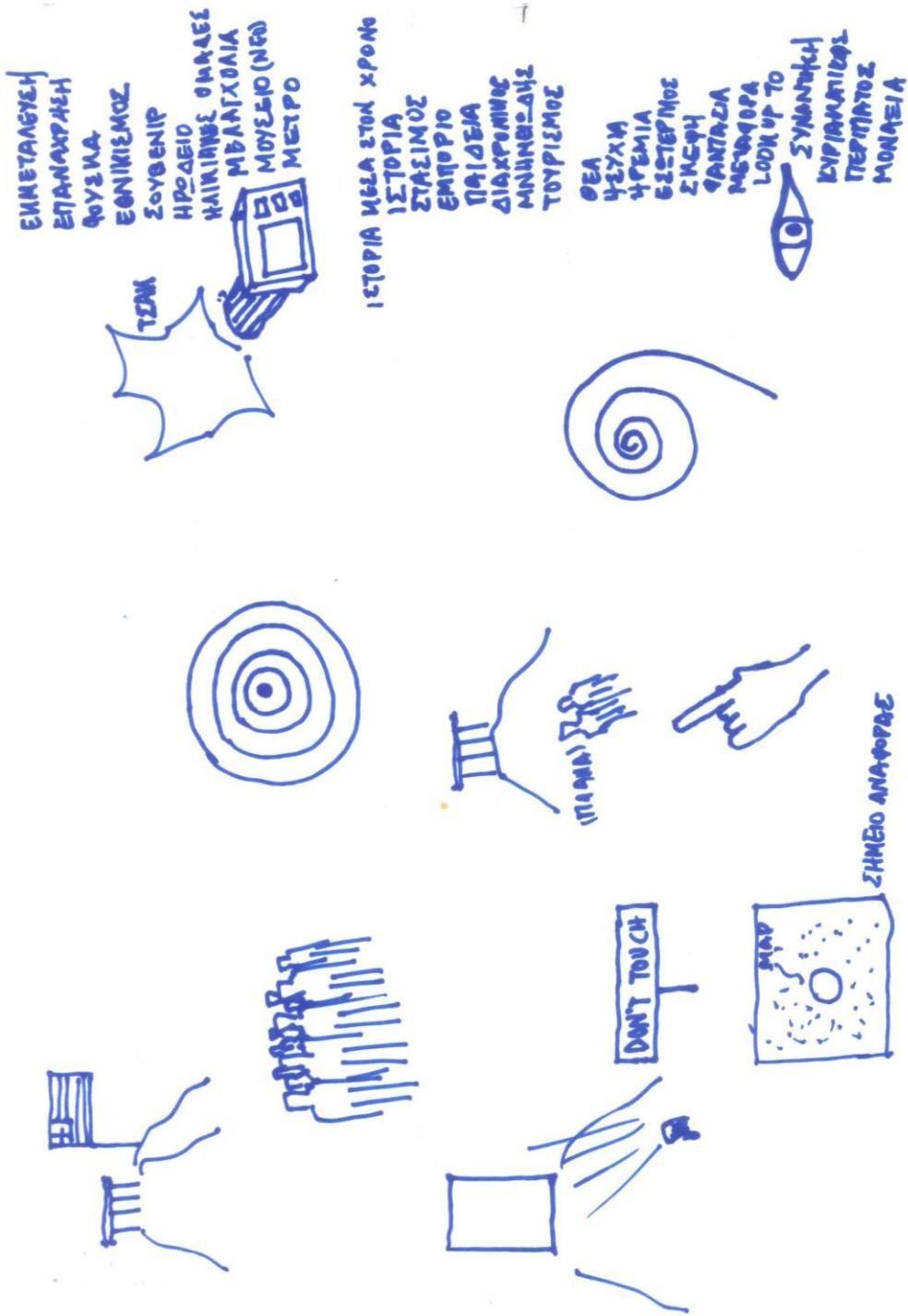
ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ

Κορυφή, Πολιτισμός, Ιδέες, Αιχμόσφιο
Διαχρονικότητα, Παρελθόν - Σύνδεση
Υπεροψία, Ματαιότητα, Δημιουργία
Τριαδικότητα
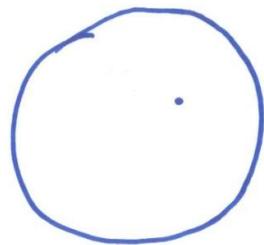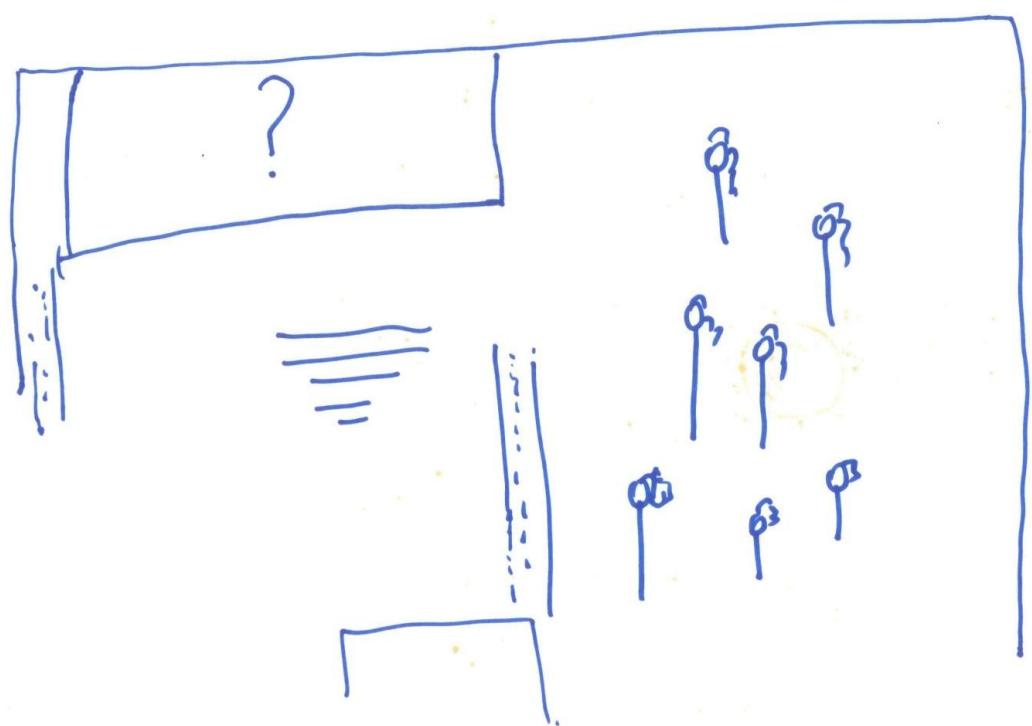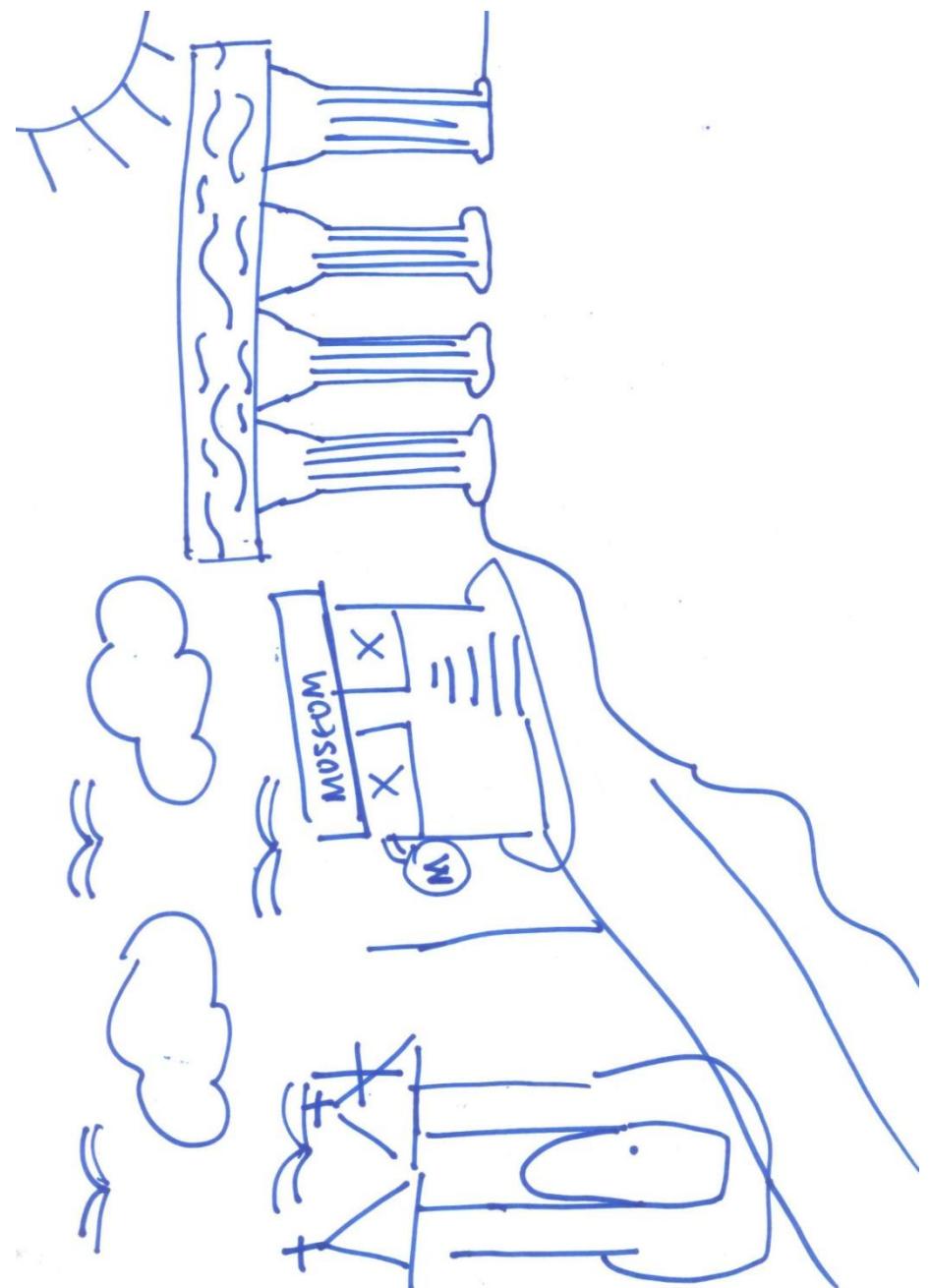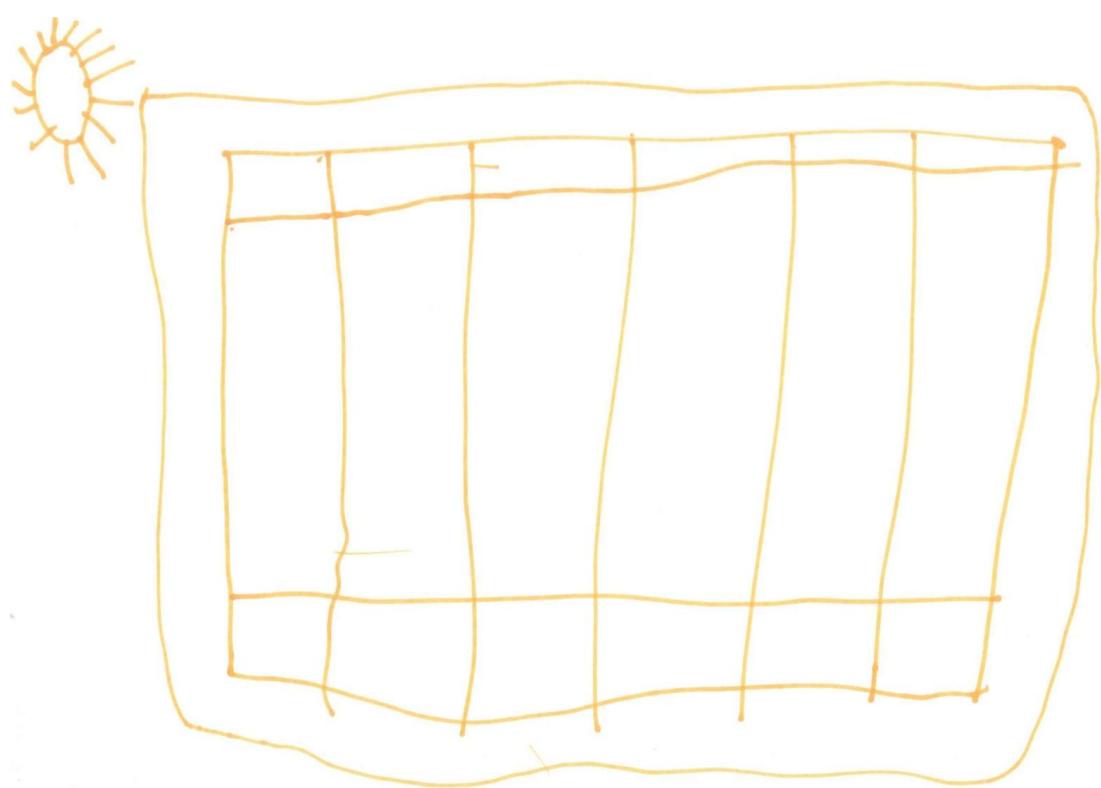
πόλεμο

Σπάρτα

Αrchilis

Η ακριτις Αθηνάς το μερος τον τουρκ το ενεριο της Εκψας
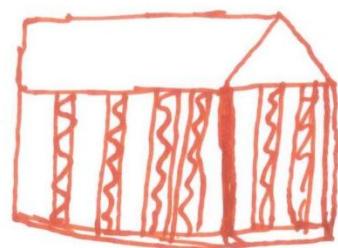
Ακροπολη
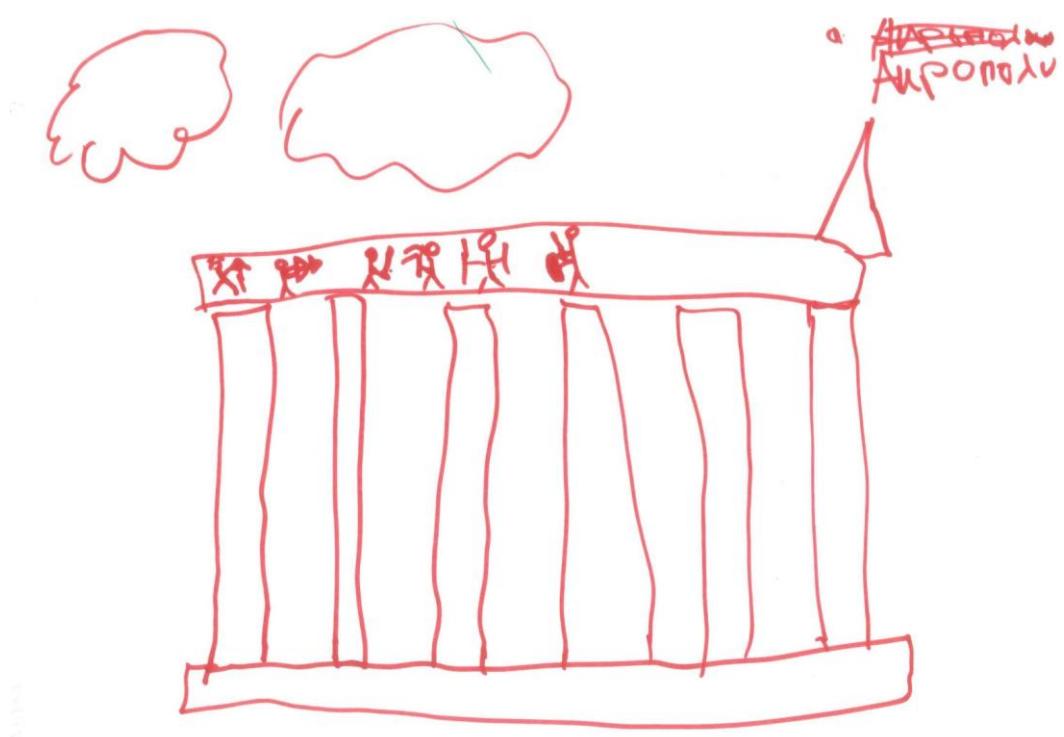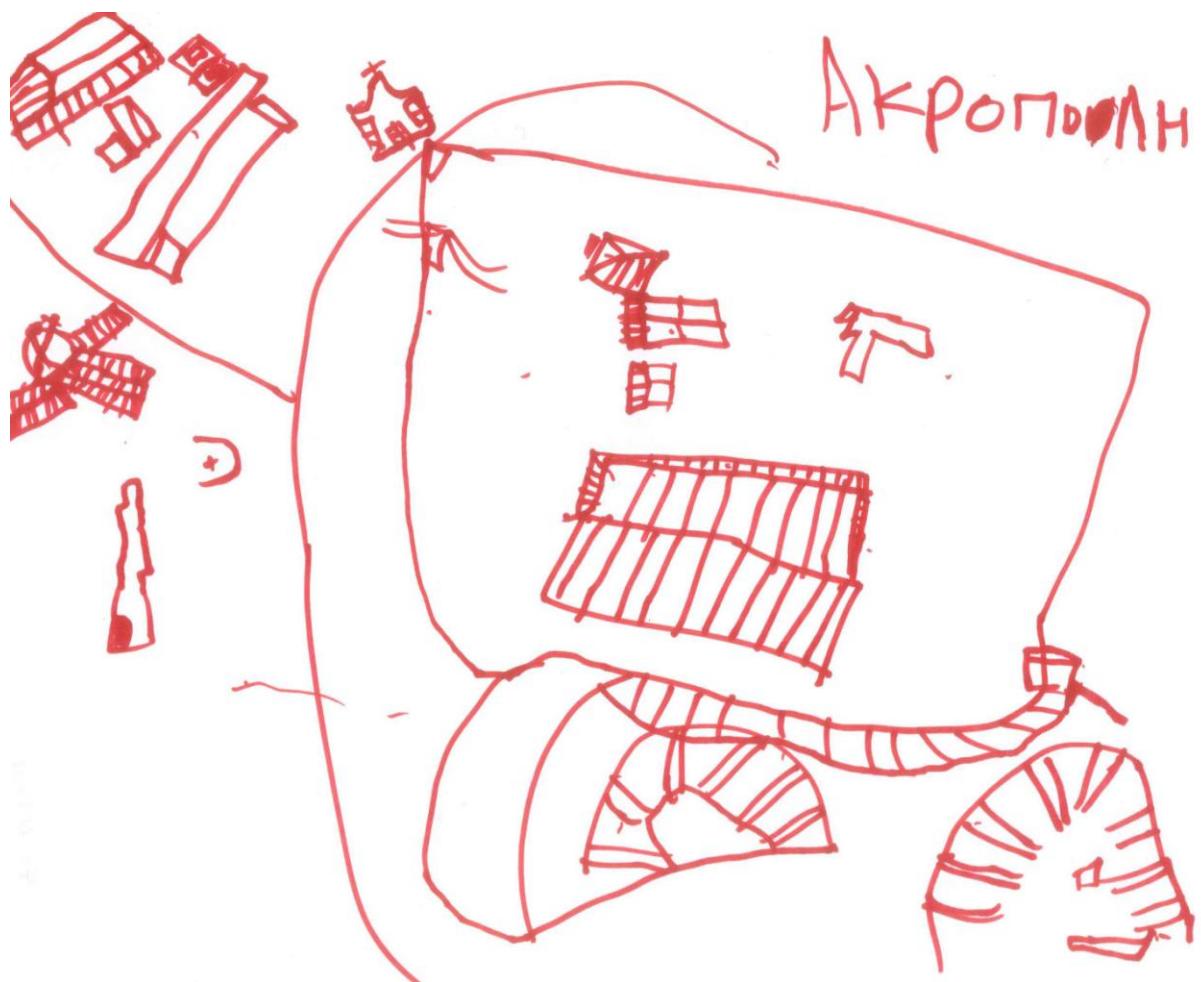
ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΗ

Αρχαίο πνεύμα αθάνατο
σύνδεση αρχαίου και νέου
διαχρονία

ΔΕΝ ΘΑ ΠΝΕΙ ΚΑΘΕΝΑΣ ΕΔΩ!

Mycenaean

ΜΗΝ ΠΑΤΑΤΕ

ΝΙΚΗ ΑΘΗΝΑ

Europa Nostra @1172 Best Restoration Award for Propylaea

ΕΚΤΕΛΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΕΡΓΑ

ΧΑΡΙΣ

Great views towards Athens

Bring their sister back

KKE - ΣΥΡΙΖΑ RISE UP

YSMA offices

Αλωνα Ιωαννοι Παρθενωνα

Καρυατιδες Γλυφος

Επταδα Περικλης - κατοχη

αιχλη-διχηρη (υποστολη γερμανικα...

6 κιαρθων αρχ Αθηνας

Το παιχνιδι ταυ γαιζος

με Τους ειονες =>

φαινομενικη ουλληγεια

(σεπτωνικη ιστωριας για τα γεγονα) φαινομενικη

Ταμφηλιος ... καπηλευση Των μνημειων

απ'τον εθνιστες

αγαλματα

← νεο Μοωκιο Ακωπολ

Γλυοτα

Αναφιωτικα

γειτονια

When the sickle is summer.

When the sickle is in summer.

Xyletyetle no rave exe no 313

Επιδρομή

Η Ακρόπολη για μένα εκφράζει το
ανθρώπινο μεγαλείο και την εγγύτητα
Θεών και ανθρώπων στην αρχαία Αθήνα.

ΑΠΟΜΥΘΟΠΟΙΗΣΗ!

(Αντώνιος Pentidis)

ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ
¡Αλήθεια!
ACROPOLIS

<Self-sustaining community life>

Westernalization of the East

DIVINE FEMININITY [INSPIRATION]

Easternalization of the West

PYRAMID / CIVILIZATION
Symbolism .

ARTS
DESIGNS
!!!

PURITY

meeting point

DUALITY (physical and spiritual)   Healing

Co-creation

WISDOM

KNOWLEDGE!

PURIFY
CLARIFY
FREEDOM

MARPLE
sculpture
Athina (goddess)

FORGIVENESS

PALACE (MECHANICS)

City of Athens

PURITY PURITY

Birds flowers trees insects

¡Αλήθεια!

ENERGY FIELD

Archangels
Spirits

LEARNING !!!

Meeting on purpose of co-creation

Is it FREEDOM? It is INDEED

MNHMH—MNHMEÏO

ΙΣΧΥΣ — ΠΡΟΣΤΑΣΙΑ

ΔΗΛΟΣ
ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΣ
ΣΗΜΑΙΑ -ΠΕΖΟΣ
ΣΑΜΑΡΑΣ

ΜΑΡΜΑΡΑ
ΕΛΓΙΝ

ΚΑΡΥΑΤΙΔΕΣ - ΒΡΕΤΑΝΙΚΟ
ΑΘΗΝΑ

ΓΕΡΜΑΝΟΙ - ΑΓΓΛΟΙ

ΜΕΛΙΝΑ

ΝΕΟ
ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟ

ΕΡΔΡΟΝΥ

ΦΕΙΔΙΑΣ - ΙΚΤΙΝΟΣ - ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ

ΠΑΡΕΛΘΟΝ →
ΑΘΗΝΑ,
ΑΘΗΝΑ
ΜΑΡΜΑΡΟ
ΠΑΡΘΕΝΩΝΑΣ
ΚΙΟΝΕΣ ΝΑΟΣ
ΛΕΥΚΟ
ΧΡΩΜΑ
ΜΟΡΦΕΣ
ΓΑΛΑΖΙΟ
ΧΡΟΝΟΣ
ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ
ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ .
ΛΟΦΟΣ
ΤΟΥΡΙΣΤΕΣ
ΗΛΙΟΣ
ΖΕΣΤΗ
ΑΝΘΙΖΗ
ΜΥΡΩΔΙΕΣ
ΕΛΙΑ
ΕΙΡΗΝΗ
ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ
ΑΝΤΙΣΤΑΣΗ
ΔΙΑΧΡΟΝΙΚΟΤΗΤΑ
ΣΧΟΛΙΚΗ ΕΚΔΡΟΜΗ →
"ΔΙΑΘΗΜΙΣΗ"

ΤΑΥΤΟΤΗΤΑ
ΠΟΙΗΣΗ
ΡΙΖΕΣ
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΣΚΛΗΡΑ
ΜΑΓΝΗΤΑΚΙΑ
ΣΟΥΒΕΝΙΡ
ΑΝΑΦΙΩΤΙΚΑ
ΠΝΥΚΑ
ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΣ
ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΗΤΑ ΟΘΩΝΑΣ
ΚΑΘΑΡΕΙΟΤΕΑ
ΔΙΑΜΑΝΤΙ
"ΕΘΝΙΚΙΣΜΟ"
ΤΟΥΡΚΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ
ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΟ
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΤΗΤΑ
ΦΑΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ
ΤΗΝ 'ΑΚΡΗ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΗΣ
ΑΡΜΟΝΙΑ
Μ. ΜΕΡΚΟΥΡΗ
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΣ
ΘΕΑΤΡΟ
ΗΡΩΔΕΙΟ
ΜΑΖΙΚΟΤΗΤΑ ↑

→ ΣΟΦΟΣ
ΝΟΤΕΡΟ
ΕΙΣΙΤΗΡΙΟ
ΠΑΝΔΑΙΣΙΝΙΟ
ΑΝΑΣΚΑΦΗ
ΜΟΔΑ ΤΟΤ FROZEN YOGHURT.
ΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΙΑΚΗ ΦΟΡΕΣΙΑ
ΟΣΤΡΑΚΑ
ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ
ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΜΑ
ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ
B. MUSEUM
ΕΛΓΙΝΕΙΑ
ΚΑΤΑΧΡΗΣΗ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ
ΔΙΑΦΘΟΡΑ
ΟΥΡΑΝΙΟΣ
ΤΕΙΧΟΣ ΠΕΙΡΑΙΑΣ .
ΟΡΙΑ
ΠΙΚΙΩΝΗΣ
Δ. ΑΡΕΟΠΑΓΗΤΟΥ
ΠΛΑΚΑ
ΘΗΣΕΙΟ
ΑΓΟΡΑ
ΑΜΕΡΙΚΑΝΟΙ
ΚΑΠΕΛΟ
ΑΕΡΑΣ →

Ε, ΑΥΤΑ ΠΑΝΩ ΚΑΤΩ_
ΣΟΚΟΛΑΤΑ ΥΓΕΙΑΣ ΠΑΥΛΙΔΗ
ΜΟΝΑΔΙΚΟΤΗΤΑ
ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟ
ΚΛΑΣΣΙΚΙΣΜΟΣ
ΠΑΓΚΟΣΜΙΟΣ
ΕΠΙΡΡΟΗ
ΑΡΧΙΤΕΚΤΟΝΙΚΗ
→ ΠΟΛΗ ΜΕΣΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΗ

244

Έκλεισε την πόρτα πίσω του. Το διαμέρισμα ήταν ζεστό και πνιγηρό σαν τάφος. Όλα είχαν μείνει όπως τα άφησαν 3 μέρες πριν, όταν έφυγαν με τον Αλέξη για το ράλι Ακρόπολις. Τώρα ο Αλέξης δεν υπήρχε πια. Μπήκε στο δωμάτιο του Αλέξη και άναψε το φως. Κοίταξε γύρω του. Τις αφίσες με τα αυτοκίνητα και τους οδηγούς στους τοίχους, τα μοντέλα των αυτοκινήτων στα ράφια, τη φωτογραφία του Αλέξη με το μετάλλιο της Κολύμβησης. Ύστερα κοίταξε τα χέρια του, το δεξί του χέρι λερωμένο από τη χούφτα το χώμα που έριξε στο λευκό φέρετρο όταν το κατέβαζαν στη γη, ύστερα το αριστερό, εκείνο που προσπάθησε να τραβήξει τον Αλέξη μακριά από το όχημα που ερχόταν καταπάνω του και δεν τα κατάφερε. Του ήρθε μια επιθυμία να τα ξηλώσει όλα από τους τοίχους και να τα πετάξει στα σκουπίδια. Βγήκε έξω και έκλεισε την πόρτα του υπνοδωματίου πίσω του. Πήγε στην κουζίνα και πήρε το μπουκάλι το ουίσκι από το ντουλάπι. Πήγε στο σαλόνι. Ο Αλέξης καθόταν στον καναπέ και έπαιζε Gran Turismo στο Playstation. Έκλεισε τα μάτια του. Τα ξανάνοιξε. Ο καναπές ήταν άδειος και η τηλεόραση σβηστή. Βγήκε στο μπαλκόνι. Άναψε τσιγάρο και φύσηξε τον καπνό στον κίτρινο Αττικό σαχάρινο ουρανό. Τράβηξε μια γερή γουλιά από το μπουκάλι. Σκέφτηκε τον Αλέξη μικρό, την αρρώστια της συζύγου του, το χαμό της, το πόσο δύσκολο είναι να μεγαλώνεις ένα παιδί, το πόσο υπέροχο είναι να το βλέπεις να μεγαλώνει, το πόσο πονάς όταν το χάνεις. "Αστοχία υλικού που οδήγησε σε βλάβη το σύστημα διεύθυνσης με αποτέλεσμα ο οδηγός να χάσει τον έλεγχο επάνω στη στροφή". Αυτή ήταν η απολογία της εταιρίας. Το αυτοκίνητο έπεσε πάνω στον Αλέξη και τον σκότωσε. Ήθελε τόσο πολύ να πάνε στο ράλι Ακρόπολις με τον μικρό. Είχε ενθουσιαστεί όταν του έδειξε τα εισιτήρια. Κάθονταν επάνω στην καλύτερη στροφή της διαδρομής, είχαν πάει από νωρίς το πρωί για να πιάσουν θέση ώστε να έχουν την καλύτερη θέα. Όλα έγιναν τόσο γρήγορα. Ένα σύννεφο στίβης φωτιάς, το μούγκρισμα του κινητήρα, το δίλιτρο SUBARU IMPREZA του απολημμένου οδηγού του Αλέξη εμφανίστηκε, μόνο που αντί να στρίψει στη στροφή, έχασε τον έλεγχο και έπεσε πάνω τους. Μια δίλιτρη μπλε σφαίρα, που σκότωσε τον Αλέξη, περνώντας ακριβώς δίπλα του. Ο ίδιος δεν έπαθε ούτε γρατζουνιά, κάποια ανώτερη δύναμη τον καταδίκασε να ζήσει για να θυμάται. Η διοργανώτρια εταιρία του ράλι Ακρόπολις του έδωσε μια επιταγή των 15 χιλιάδων ευρώ, μαζί με τα θερμά της συλλυπητήρια. Ο Αλέξης ήταν μόνο 15 χρονών. Κοίταξε τα φώτα της πόλης να απλώνονται πέρα από το μπαλκόνι του. Σκέφτηκε να πηδήξει στο κενό, ήταν αρκετά ψηλά στον 7ο όροφο, να πάει να βρει το γιο του. Ξηλώθηκε στο μπαλκόνι και κουλουριάστηκε, ένα κουβάρι από σύντριμμα. Πήγε να ψελλίσει, όμως δεν βγήκε τίποτα από το λαιμό του. Έμεινε εκεί ακίνητος. Πέρα μακριά, ο φωτισμένος Παρθενώνας υψωνόταν πάνω στο βράχο μέσα στη νύχτα, αλαζονικός και αιώνιος.
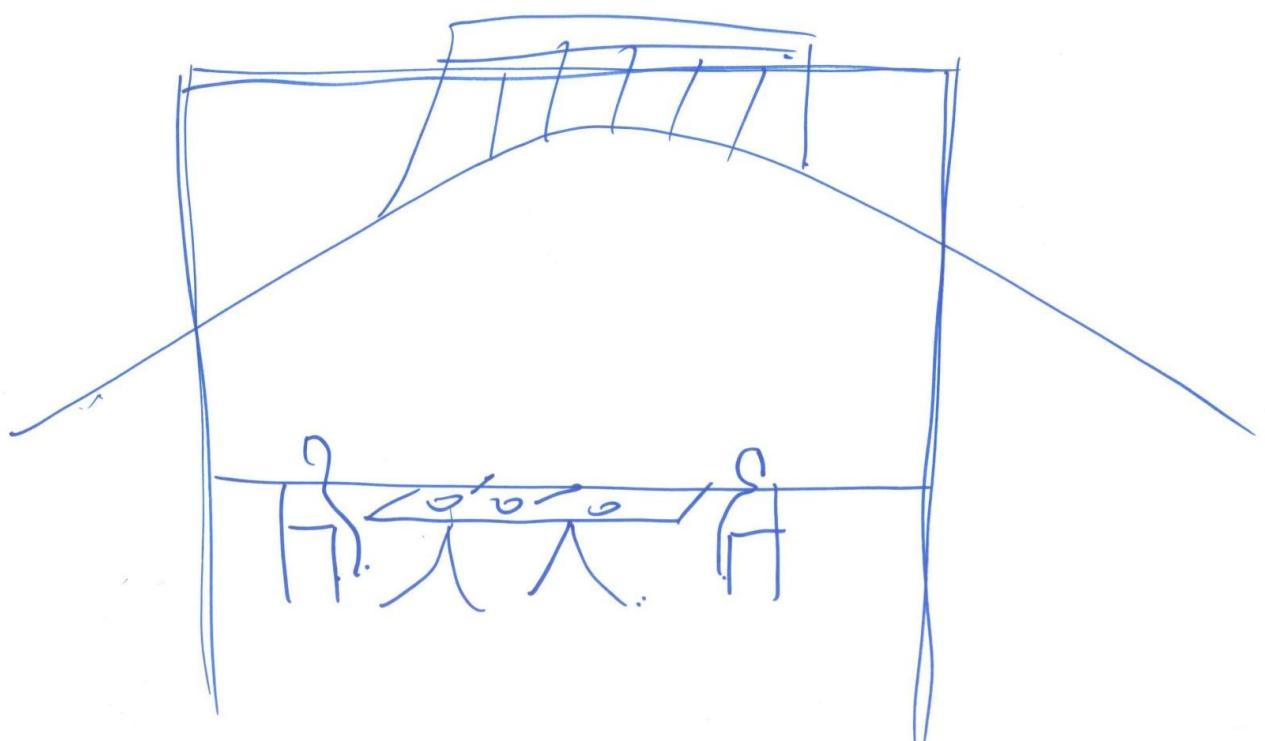
Μελίνα   ~~~   Κιτς. Τον αδελφό
                                    του παππού μου
ήλιο,   Μεξικανός φίλος
                                    Pedro

                Γερμανική
Την Κατοχή (μόλυβδος), Παναθήναια
                6φοιρες
Γλέτος, Αρχιτεκτονική, Αποκατάσταση-Συντήρηση

Ιστορία, Πολιτική, Ελιές, Ηρώδειο
αιωνιότητα, Σημαία   και εναία αδυναμίι

Ψεύτικα είδωλα
Χαμένες μάχες
ιδρώτας' θεος   χρήση
                        τότε και
                        μέσα στα χρόνια
αντρωπους

248
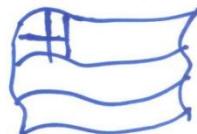
*Appendix B*   **Renegade Pieces**

Appendix C   **Paper Circus**
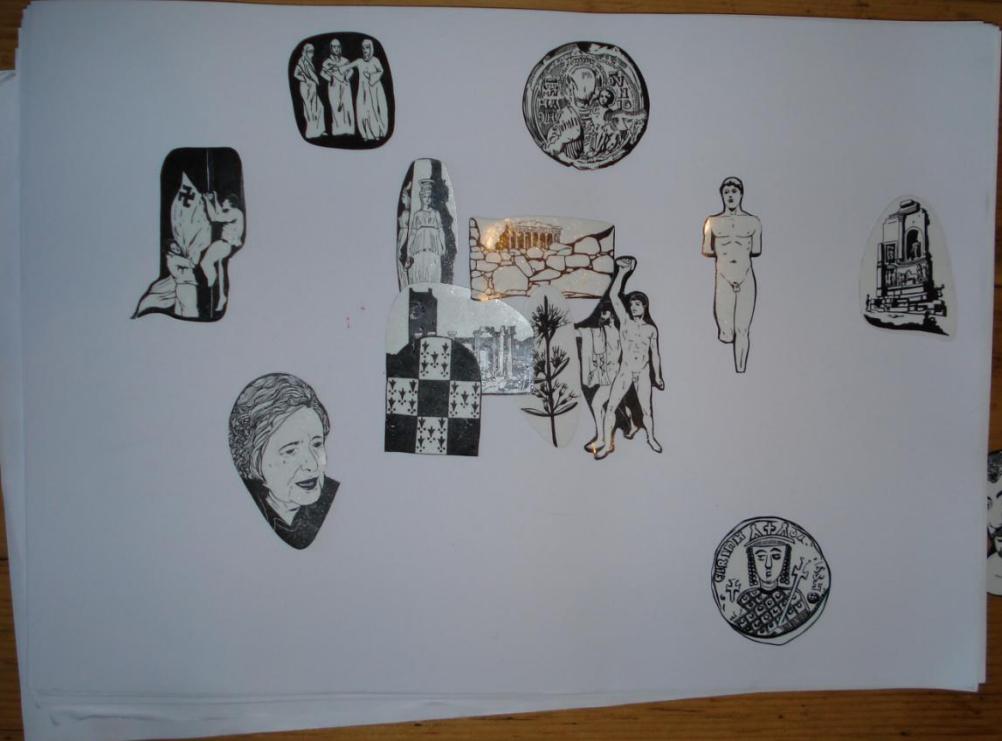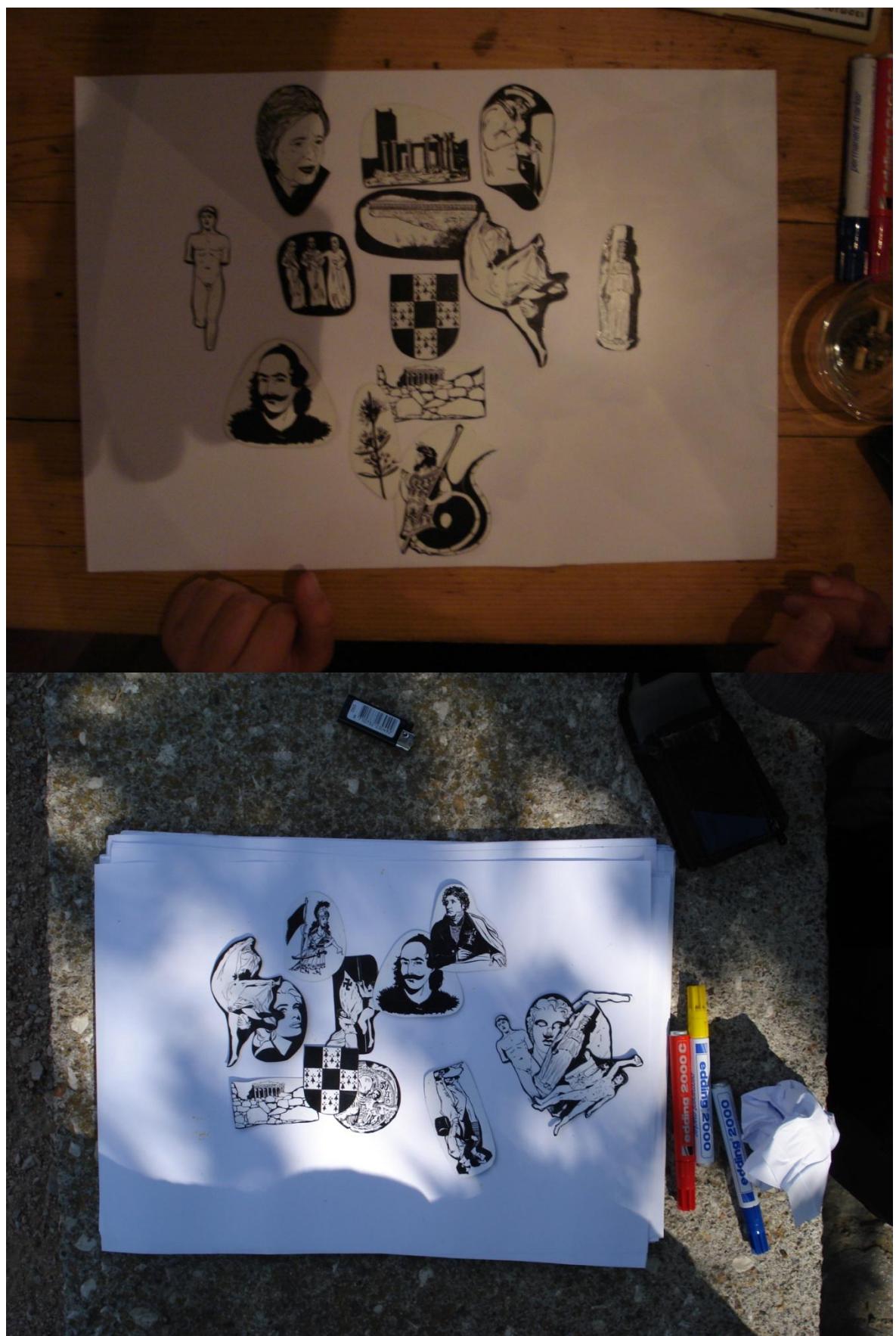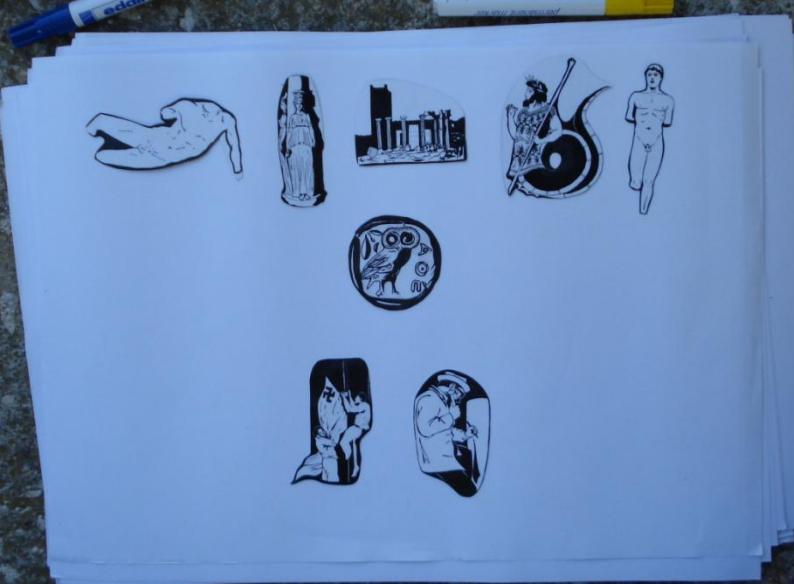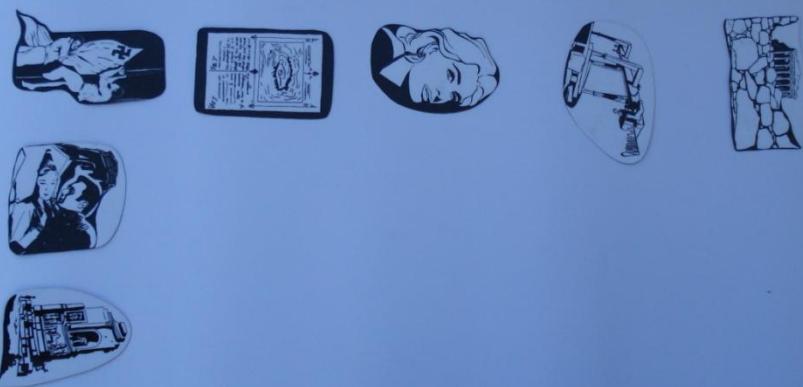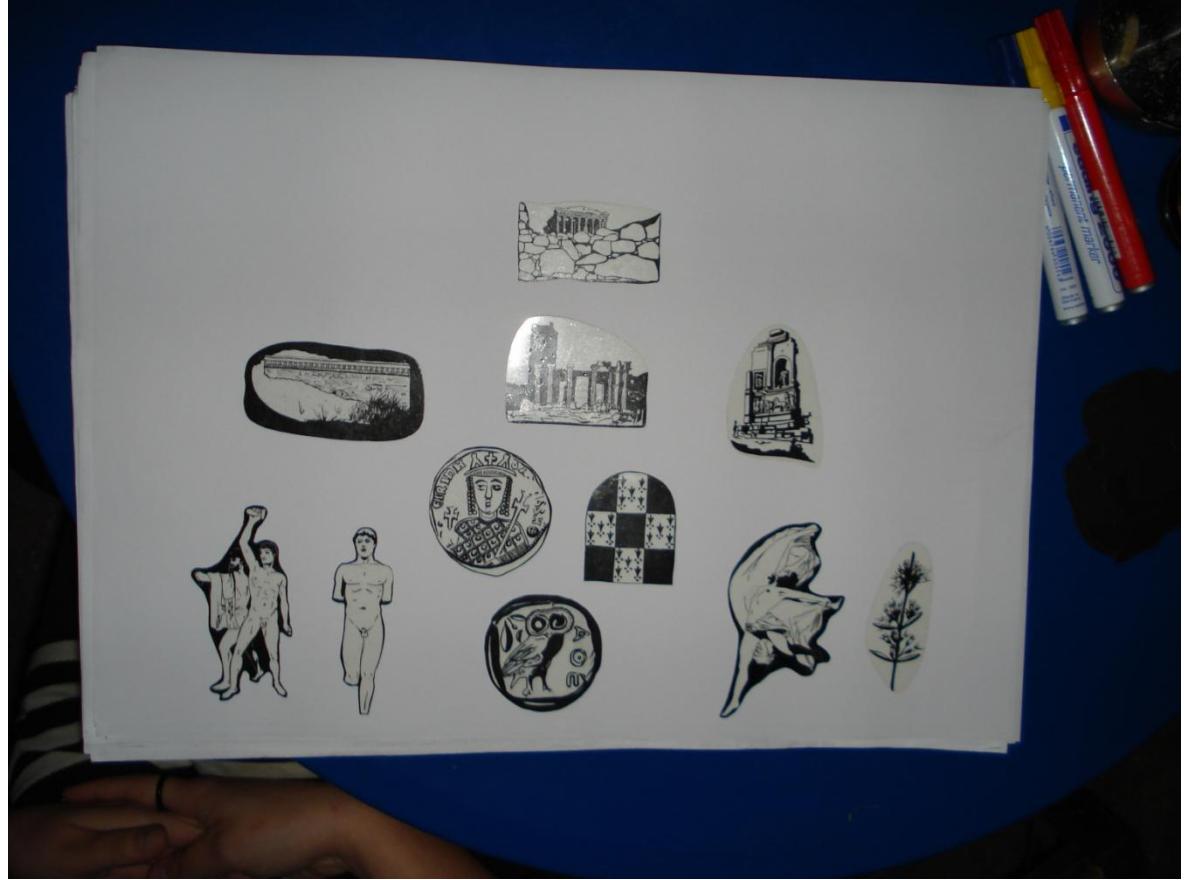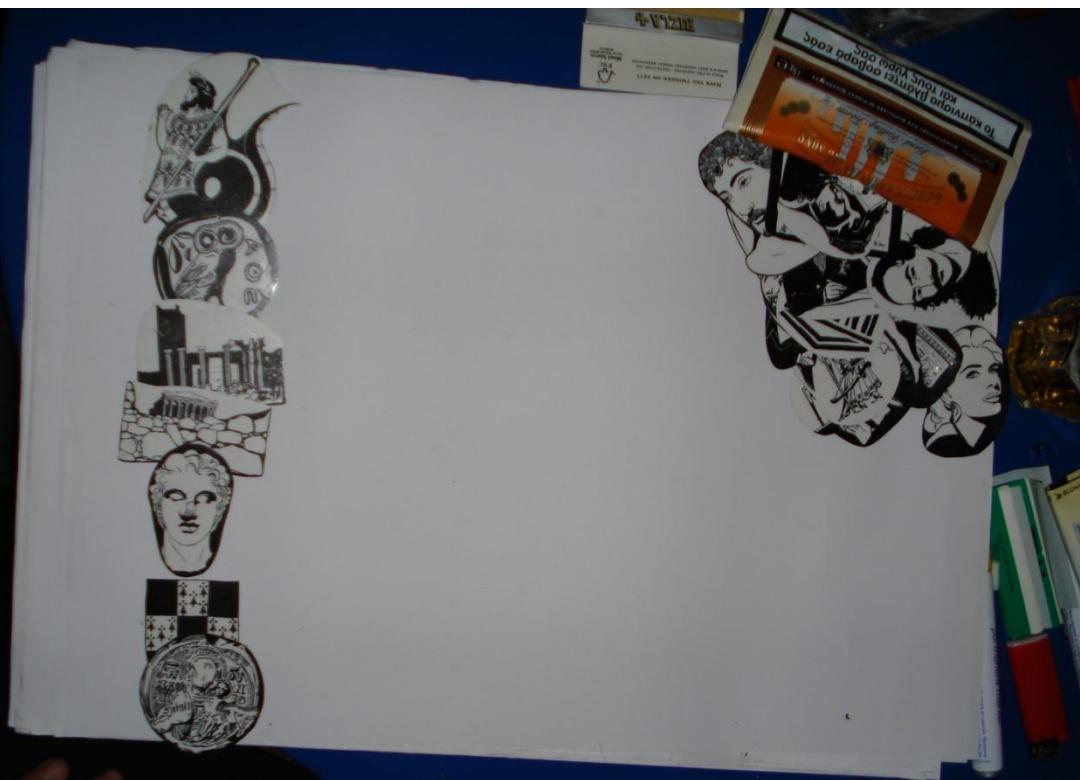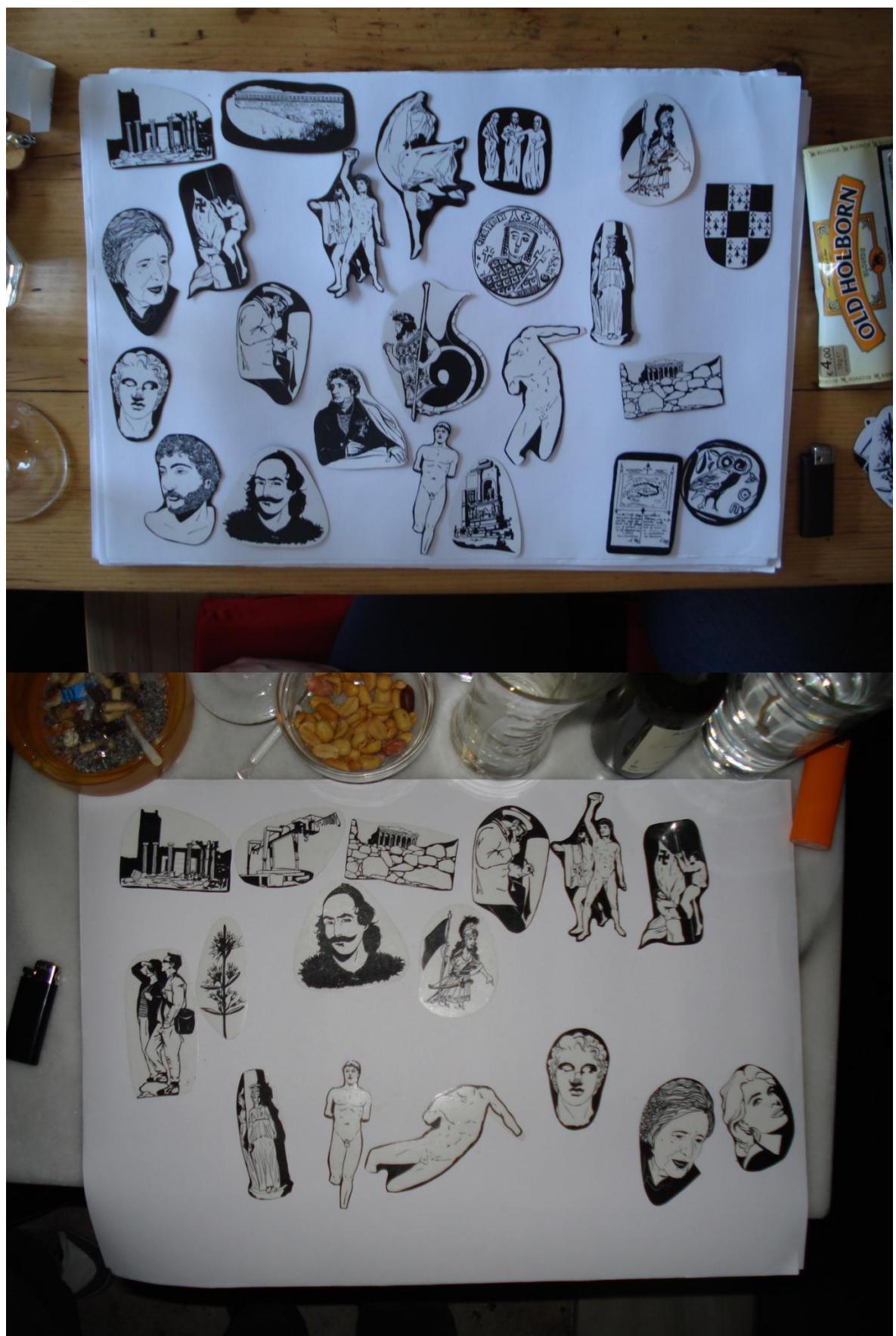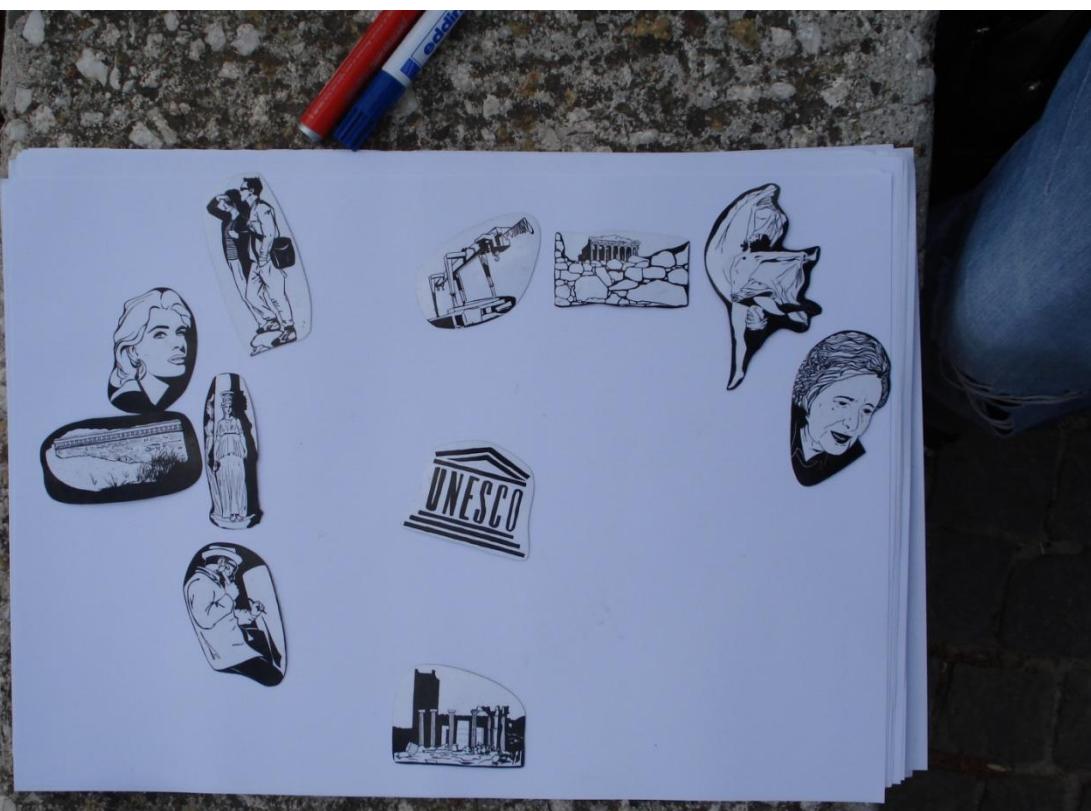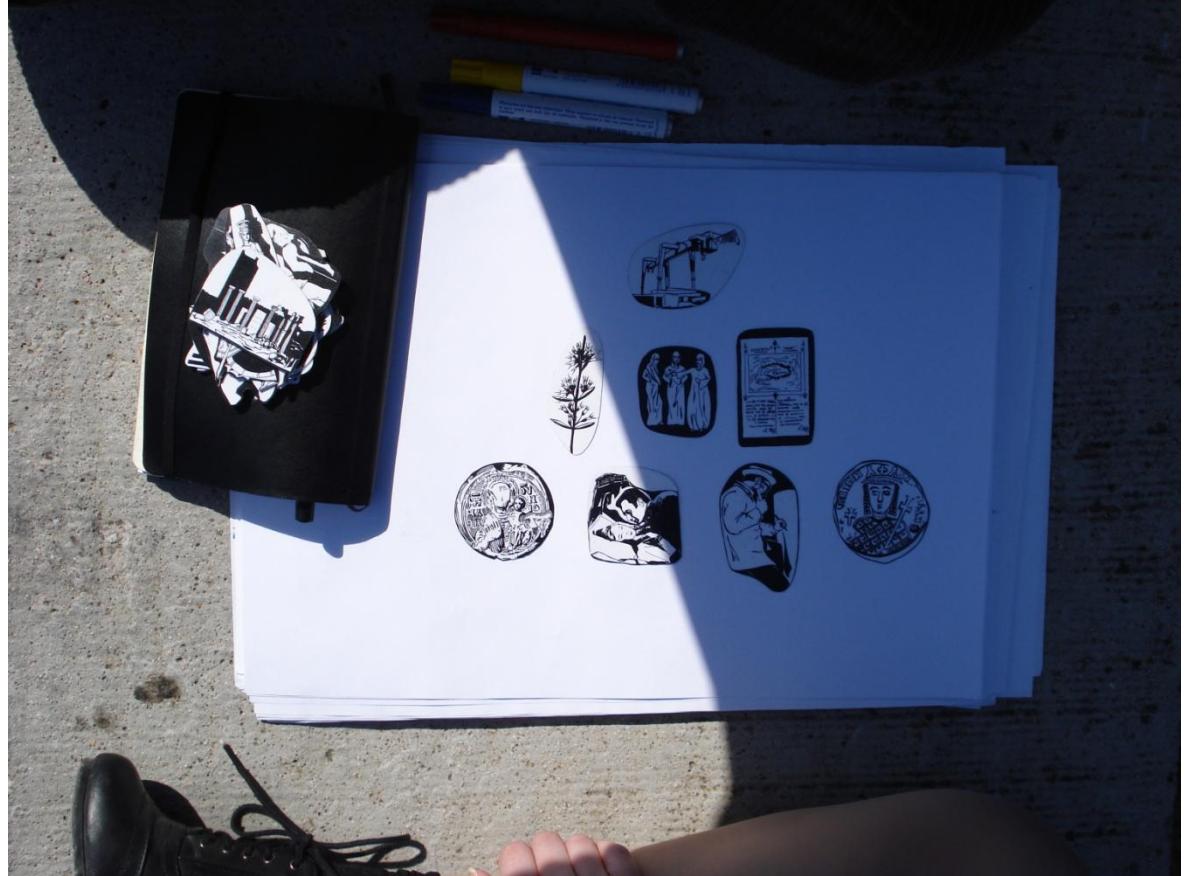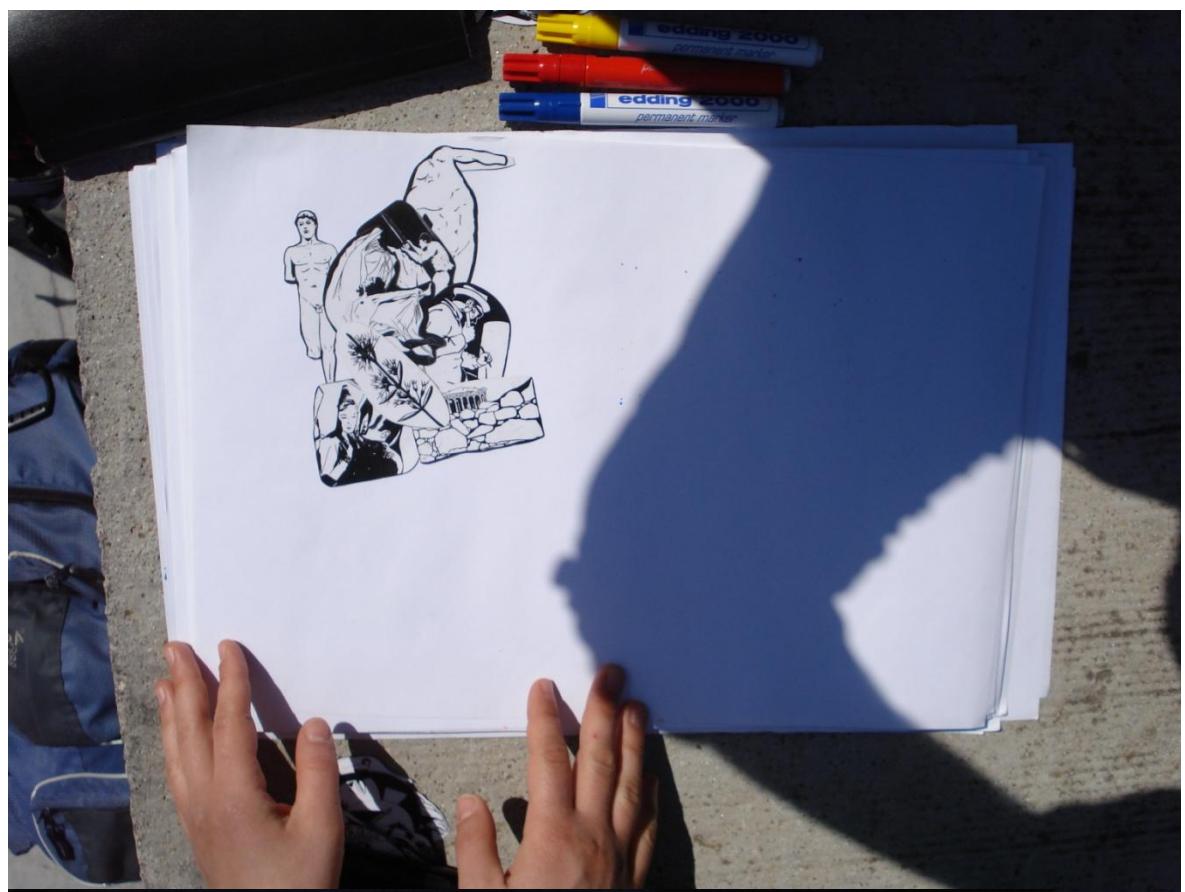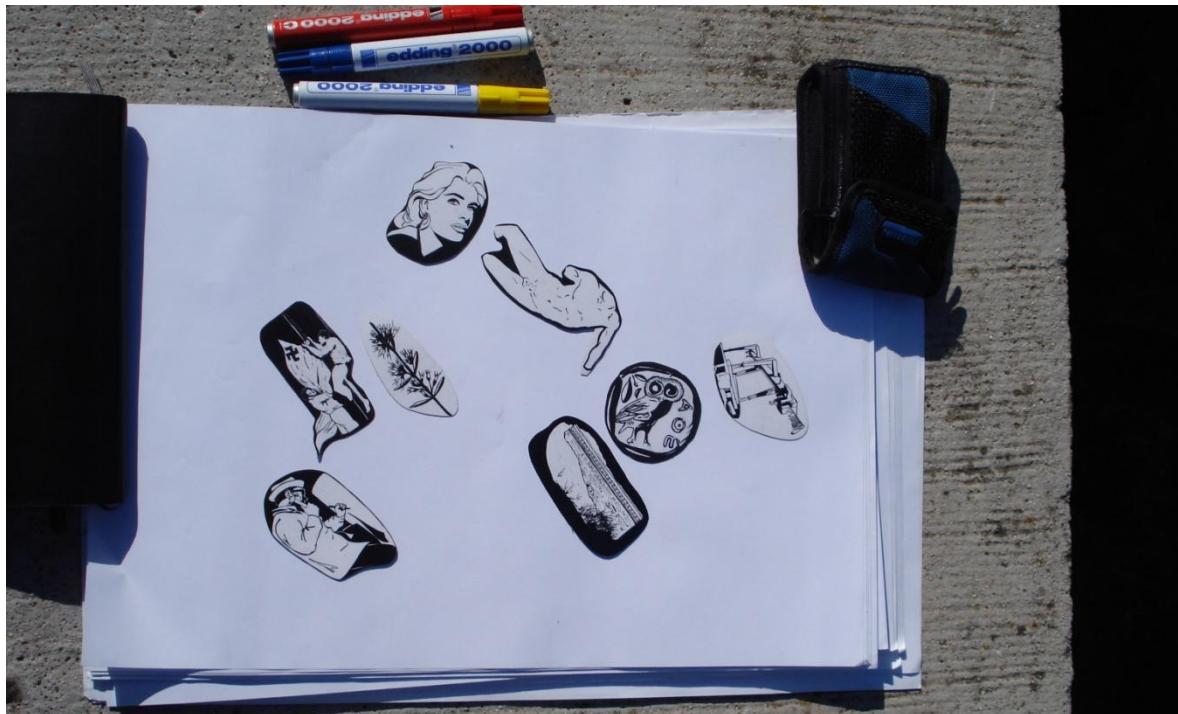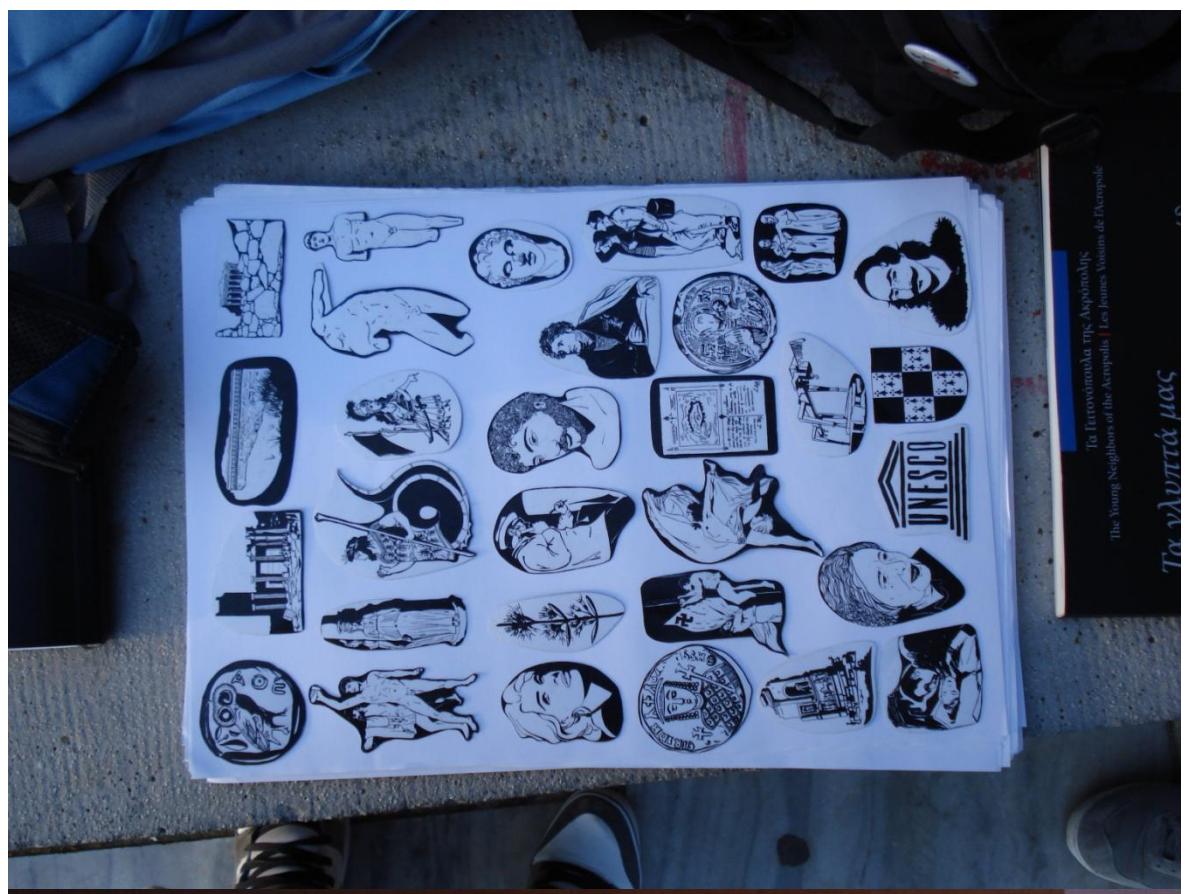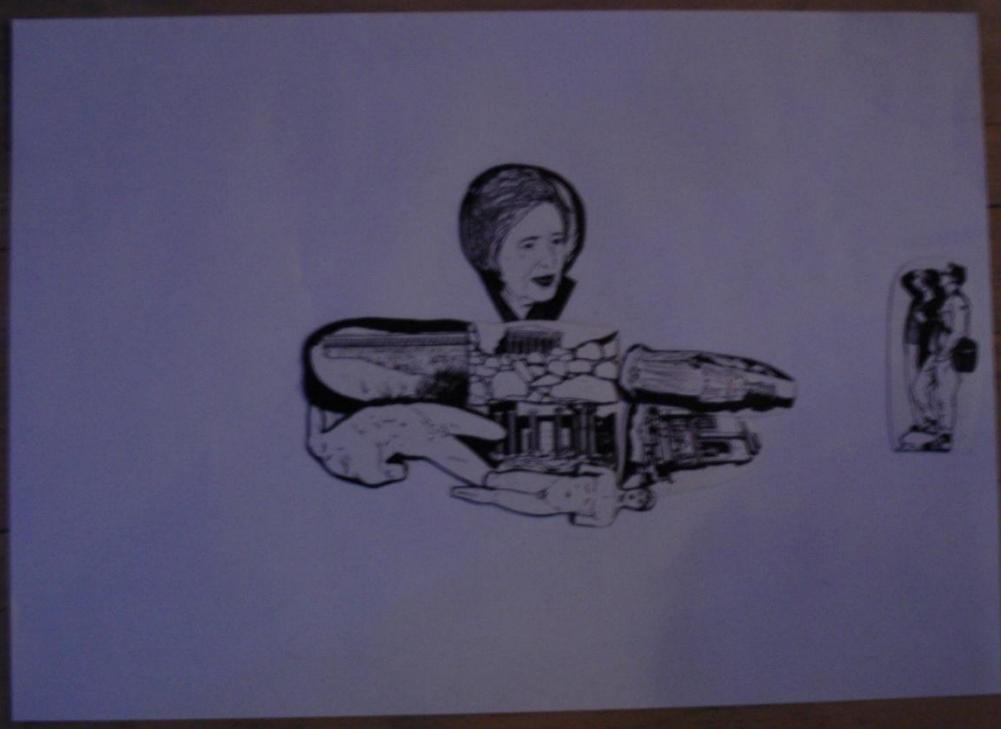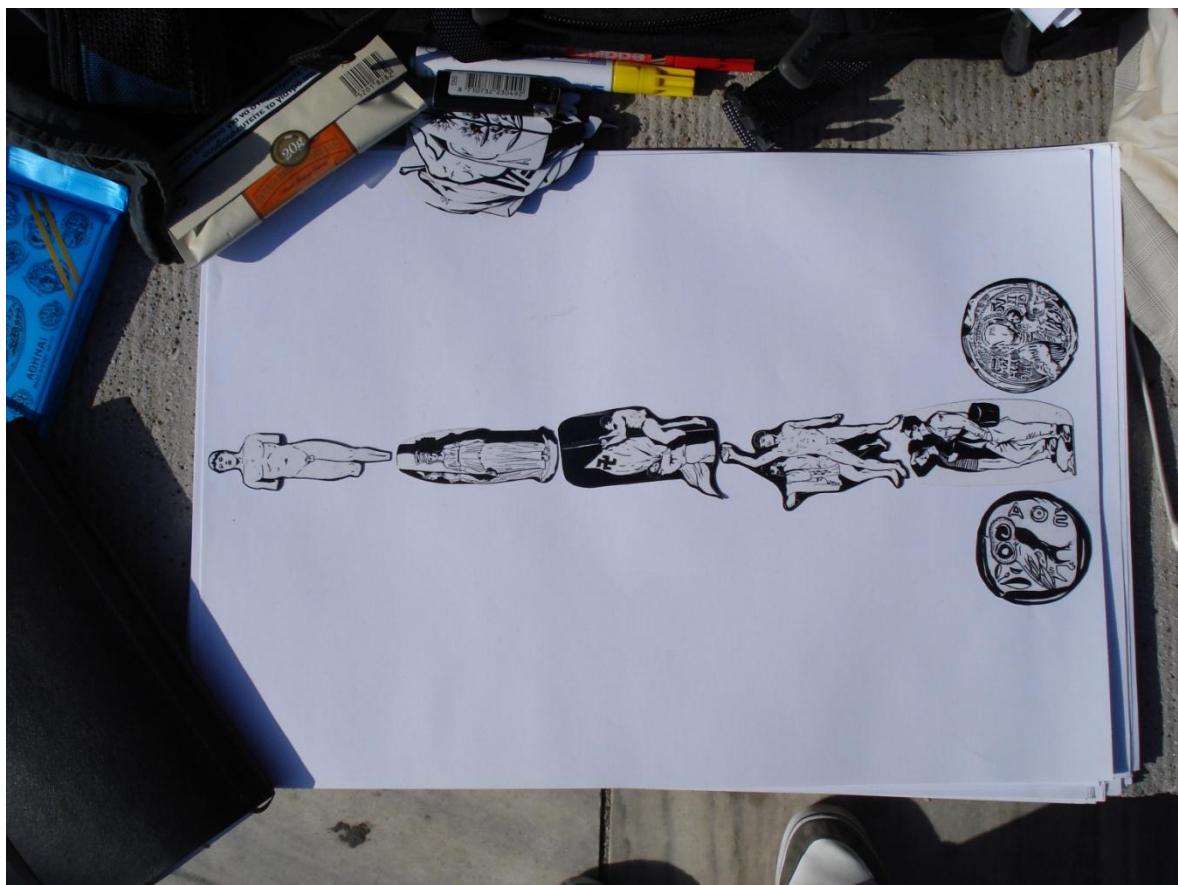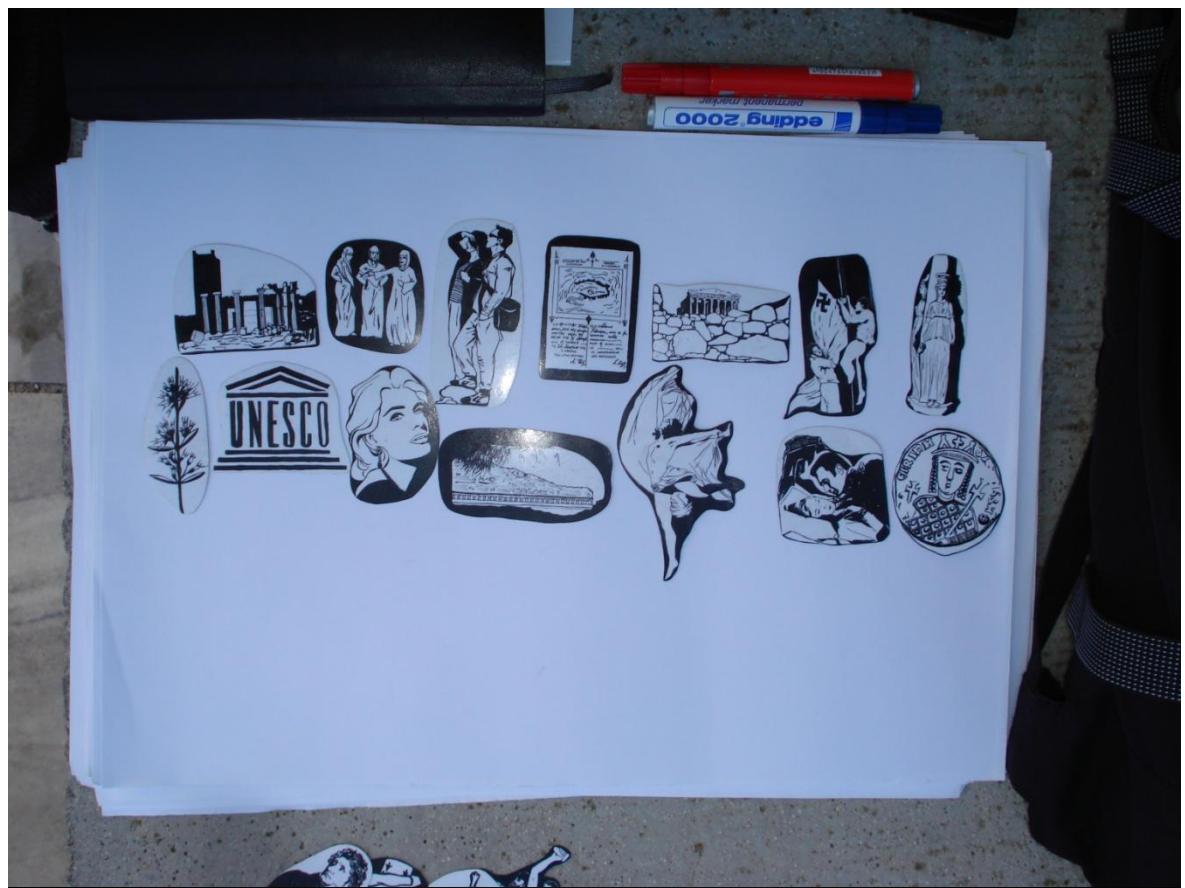
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