



MATERIAL CULTURES IN PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT

RE-INVENTING PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY
WITHIN MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

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Chapter 7

Re-inventing Public Archaeology in Greece

Nena Galanidou

Introduction

Archaeology has always fascinated people, with the captivating tension contained in historicised memories and the cultural past, and with the explosive ambiguity of its doubts and certainties. Its great power rests in the materiality of its finds, which originate from antiquity, tangible things that everyone can appreciate. This power is multiplied when it meets the existential human quest for identity and roots. This is why the heart of archaeology has always beaten in the present. The theoretical starting-points, questions, definitions, interpretations and narratives may depart from the archaeological universe but, in the real world of economic conflict and political struggle, they reach far further. In this study, I address how the public is engaged with the past brought to light by archaeology in Greece. Here sites and monuments are omnipresent, both physically in the landscape and the cityscape, and metaphorically as a symbolic entity in the landscape of identity. I explore the intricate relationship between the official bodies of archaeology and the public and the conditions under which this relationship is reshaped and transformed. Official archaeology in Greece has traditionally approached Public Archaeology's mission as one of knowledge dissemination, education and communication, recording an impressive output on this front (for instance see Eleftheriou *et al.*, Lagogianni-Georgakarakos *et al.* and Klonizaki in this volume; Soueref 2018). My aim is to examine two recent initiatives in Public Archaeology that have a different point of departure, mobilising civil society and forging a novel, participatory and more inclusive approach to archaeological heritage protection. They readdress the interactions and power relations between the material culture of the past, groups and individuals.

From Archaeology and the Public or Archaeology for the Public to Public Archaeology

There is an interactive process and a dialectic relationship between the archaeologist, the archaeological evidence and the public, that is the citizens' body that constitutes public opinion (Habermas 1962; Melton 2001). This process scientifically and experientially defines and shapes Public Archaeology, in its core conceptualisation. Within this frame, Public Archaeology is the vehicle conveying scientific research to the public; its primary mission is to act as an intermediary, making archaeology familiar and accessible to all. In a magical and deterministic way, a large part of archaeology escapes from the excavation trenches, the laboratories and the specialist journals or conferences, the fora where archaeological science is produced and touches the public sphere, by which it is reproduced. Public Archaeology is also in a constant dialogic relationship with the zeitgeist, even being privileged, occasionally, to create it. The interpretations, the stresses, the suppressions and underlining that convey the thread from archaeology to the public sphere and vice versa, often converge with critical national and political issues at the forefront of public opinion. Public Archaeology is thus capable of founding or undermining group memory and identity, whether national or local.

In the last decades of the 20th century, a distinct sub-field of scientific specialisation arose, with its own subject matter and its own methodology, under the general title of Public Archaeology. The publication by McGimsey (1972) was the ideal starting-point of what was, for the first time, named Public Archaeology: an archaeology that pursues active public participation in the protection of monuments and cultural heritage, utilising education, knowledge and participation. Since then, the intellectual fruits of Public Archaeology have gradually ripened, in the form of conferences, monographs, printed and digital journals, university courses, curricula and doctoral dissertations.

The main landmarks along this road, which started earlier – in fact prior to the coining of the term – with the first, strongly politicised World Archaeology Conference (WAC), held in Southampton in 1968 (Ucko 1987; Gero 2009), are: the 1999 thematic issue of the *European Journal of Archaeology*, with an editorial by Schadla-Hall, who defines Public Archaeology 'as any area of archaeological activity that interacted or had the potential to interact with the public' (1999, 147) and other relevant papers; the Public Archaeology MA course offered by UCL Institute of Archaeology since 1999; the launching of the *Public Archaeology* journal with an editorial by Ascherson (2000); the collective volume *Public Archaeology* edited by Merriman (2004a), originating from a session in the 1999 WAC in Cape Town; the European Association of Archaeologists Public Archaeology Working Group, established in 2013 as a network of professionals to work on both the refinement of Public Archaeology definition and the exchange of best practice examples (Richardson & Almansa-Sánchez 2015); and the publication of the proceedings of the *Sharing Archaeology* conference (Stone & Zhao 2015), where writing in a style suited to the different audiences of archaeology is deftly spelled out as an obligation rather than a choice (Stone 2015).

A creative polysemy is at play in the definition of Public Archaeology (see also discussion in Merriman 2004b; Carman 2002). According to Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez, Public Archaeology 'can be defined both as a disciplinary practice and as a theoretical position, which can be exercised through the democratization of archaeological communication, activity or administration, through communication with the public, the involvement of the public or the preservation and administration of archaeological resources for the public benefit by voluntary or statutory organisations' (2015, 195). It follows that, as a group of theories, methods and practices, Public Archaeology inspires and mobilises the whole range of the archaeological process. Conversely, the reception of archaeological activity by the public sphere and their interaction are also objects of Public Archaeology. In short, and very much like tango, it takes two to Public Archaeology. Archaeologists, museum people and all who play a part in the process of obtaining, interpreting, protecting, conserving, restoring, exhibiting and promoting archaeological remains are inextricably and actively paired with the public, which embraces, internalises, adopts or rejects the archaeology, exploits it financially or ideologically, creates myths and beliefs out of it, or merely deconstructs it.

A flexible definition of Public Archaeology addressing the polysemy of the term is that of *archaeology in the public sphere*. Within this definition, Public Archaeology embraces and handles a wide range of subjects, which arise both where archaeology intersects with and penetrates the public sphere, and where it is permeated by it. Both the public sphere and archaeology are context-specific and historically defined.

Beyond its core definition, Public Archaeology has received many alternative and at times, complementary treatments. Merriman (2004b) identifies two models. The *deficit model* stresses the importance of experts in encouraging better public understanding of the science of archaeology, both for its economic value and for the benefits it offers to citizens. This model recognises the importance of agency where archaeology meets the public sphere, as well as the need for the public to come to grips with certain essential values and principles of archaeology. The *multiple perspectives model* proposes that archaeological finds could be used by archaeologists to engage with the public, with the ultimate aim of enriching people's lives to stimulate thought, emotion and creativity.

Holtorf, in his thoughtful work *Archaeology is a Brand* (2007), elaborates on the relationship between science and society and identifies three competing yet non-mutually exclusive ways to approach public archaeology, ultimately deriving from different political philosophies. The *education model* asserts that archaeologists must help familiarise the public with both the past and the archaeologist's profession in the same terms as professional archaeologists themselves. It is an elitist approach that grants the monopoly on truth to the scientific side alone. The *public relations model* asserts that an increase in social, economic and political support for professional archaeologists will only be forthcoming if archaeologists improve the public image of their research activities. (Archaeological) science is one of many players in the public

arena and, its presence and authority can only solidify through integrated interaction and dialogue with the public. At the opposite pole to these two models, which treat the public as a passive recipient of archaeological achievement, the *democratic model* is in line with an open and democratic science that works to restore society's trust in it. This model suggests that everyone, regardless of education, profession or training, can develop their enthusiasm and interest in archaeology. Archaeology needs to move beyond either acting as a gatekeeper of the past or branding itself as the sole authority permitted to make plans relating to the material culture of the past. Instead, it must engage with the people, local or indigenous, in working cooperatively on heritage management or archaeological projects (Broadbent 2004; Holtorf 2007, 119–21). The model treats non-scientists as potential active participants in the archaeological process and interpretation and relies on the rules of democracy to operate as a problem mitigation strategy. The first two models approach the public as people, ignorant and incompetent to make valid judgements about science and reality without archaeological agency, whereas the third model approaches the public as citizens, with the critical capacity to judge maturely and thus to be part of archaeological agency.

The Greek Experience of Public Engagement with the Archaeological World

Official archaeology in Greece forms part of the public sector and rests on two pillars: I. the Antiquities Service (AS) and II. academics and researchers working in universities and research institutes. The former is the state-appointed administrative body in charge of archaeological heritage management (research, conservation, restoration, protection, exhibition and promotion). Founded in 1833, it was originally part of the Ministry of Religious and Public Education to excavate and preserve acquisitions and to prevent the illegal export of antiquities (Kokkou 1977; Mpihta 2008, 23). Today it operates at prefectural and national level under the Ministry of Culture and Sports. The second pillar is formed of the employees of the Ministry of Education, Research and Religious Affairs. They are responsible for teaching archaeology, providing expert consultancy to state councils, conducting research and, intermittently, training professional tourist guides (Galanidou 2012). In 2012–14 they formed one-tenth of the total of employees in the Antiquities Service (https://www.discovering-archaeologists.eu/national_reports, table 1).

The enactment of laws regulating the relationship of archaeology to and its integration into the social and economic process, based on the protection of monuments and cultural heritage, has played a catalytic role in the integration of archaeology in the public sphere. In Greece, as early as 1830 the Administrative Circular 953 drawn up by Andreas Moustoxydis (Kokkou 1977; Haralambides 2008), and a little earlier or later in other countries (e.g. 1802 in Italy and 1882 in the UK), expressed the demand of knowledgeable and educated legislators that antiquities should be

respected and protected from damage, destruction and looting in order to hand them down to future generations. Almost two centuries later, official archaeology in Greece is now armed with a constitutional and legal framework that explicitly spells out its mission and operation. The archaeological law of 2002 classifies work in the field as either 'salvage' or 'systematic'. Salvage work can only be conducted by the employees of the AS. Systematic work comprises large-scale, long-term projects that, besides archaeologists working for the AS, can also be conducted by Greek and foreign academics or researchers – the latter on condition that they are attached to one of the foreign schools of archaeology operating in Greece and only under the supervision of the AS. The state is responsible for archaeological heritage and any archaeological activity, no matter who is directing or funding it requires the permission of the Culture Minister.

The early 20th century witnessed an attempt of the utmost importance to conceptually and ideologically define the canon and refine the priorities of archaeology in Greece. The International Archaeology Conference held in Athens in 1905 was a landmark in this process (Alexandri 2008). Until the late 1960s, official archaeology had established its authority to set the rules of excavation, curation and protection of antiquities in Greece. Its institutional mechanisms gave rise to a protected authenticity area, a symbolic and literal barrier to the reception of and access to the archaeological past. The spatial delimitation and fencing off of archaeological sites and monuments, or the museum displays that permitted visitors only visual contact with the exhibits, served the authentication, protection and exhibition of antiquities. By rendering visible the remains of the past, they underscored their importance in the present, filtered through the expert eye. Monitoring the citizens' encounter with the past was achieved by various means. A token of this is the standard closing paragraph of any archaeological permit to conduct systematic research: 'In order for research results to be announced in the media or on the internet, information must first be provided in writing to the Ephorate of Antiquities and the General Directorate of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage, accompanied by indicative visual material.'

In the last 30 years of the 20th century as the urban and tourist development, coupled with large-scale public and private construction work, put immense pressure on the natural and archaeological heritage of Greece, the concepts of 'authority' and 'authenticity' reached their peak. In 1971 the Ministry of Culture and Sciences was established, formed by the General Directorate of Cultural Affairs and the Directorate of Antiquities and Restoration (<https://www.culture.gr/el/ministry/SitePages/history.aspx>). The legal framework granting the AS the scientific authority to define and protect sites and monuments, coupled with the continuation and reproduction of a firmly hierarchical public administration, allowed the AS to fulfil its primary mission and, as a side effect, also save the natural setting of archaeological sites. Yet it alienated many potential partners, not only from other branches of the public sector but also from the private and civil sectors. In parallel, as democratic rules of

governance were established and more stakeholders were introduced to the public scene, mostly narratives about the past produced in the context of official archaeology were considered, as opposed to local, indigenous, collective, tourist, commercial or literary narratives about the same past.¹

Archaeology in Greece essentially remains a closed profession which has lacked, for reasons of political patronage, a steady influx of scientists selected based on unified criteria (https://www.discovering-archaeologists.eu/national_reports). Insufficient staffing has had detrimental effects on the speedy processing of citizens' cases and the effective protection of the monuments. The division of the AS into two different local Ephorates (one of Ancient and one of Modern Heritage), means that in some cases citizens are required to run the same bureaucratic gauntlet twice in an attempt, for example, to obtain a demolition permit if the building, or its ruins, is located atop both a Byzantine and a 19th-century monument. As a result, the public is often wary of archaeology. For many Greeks, archaeology is synonymous with bureaucratic difficulties and delays in everyday life, despite all they learned in school or the wonderful finds occasionally showcased by the media.

At the dawn of the 21st century there was a large gap at the point where archaeological science meets the public. This was due to the historical rift between the official archaeology and anyone outside it. The obvious pressures exerted on sites and monuments, both by politico-economic factors and by ordinary citizens, under the convenient guise of public development or personal prosperity, had turned archaeologists into saviours of sites and monuments and enemies of the people. But this heroism during a crisis of values came at a cost. In its attempt to defend itself, the AS had erected walls of introversion. The peril of heritage destruction had given rise to the equally perilous attitude of heritage possession.² Through this attitude, the AS secured the ideological and ethical apparatus to produce and reproduce itself and maintain its status. Yet it became socially ostracised. This ostracism may be understood as the ultimate defensive weapon against a society greedy to trample the rules underfoot in the name of development, collective and individual.

This rift between official archaeology and the public has not escaped the magnifying lens of Konstantios (2003), Labrinoudakis (2008) and Themelis (2015), who articulate a non-mainstream vision of cultural heritage protection. These three precious volumes of collected essays contain a wealth of ideas, initiatives and legislative changes required to demolish the wall that separates archaeology from its stakeholders. It is no coincidence that all three authors originally addressed the wider public, not only their peers, publishing their work in magazines and newspapers or making oral presentations.

The dominant view of Public Archaeology in Greece was that this is solely entrusted with conveying to the public the scientific and experiential knowledge acquired through archaeological work, from the expert, to the non-expert. While individual archaeologists of the AS worked together with the public to fulfil the aims of archaeology, the agenda of Public Archaeology was identified as knowledge dissemination;

this was the *raison d'être* of archaeological museum exhibitions and educational programmes. This approach fits well with Merriman's deficit model (2004) or Holtorf's education and public relations models (2007).

Public Archaeology in Greek Universities

Public Archaeology has also remained low on the list of educational and research priorities of Greek universities, where archaeology is taught and reproduced. Although it is taught as a seminar and as a course in the University of Crete, Public Archaeology still seems, at first glance, to be outside the core subjects of the other three Departments of History and Archaeology, which bear the chief burden of archaeological education within the Schools of Philosophy. In these departments the chronological breakdown into Prehistoric, Classical and Byzantine Archaeology and the focus on monuments and artefacts form the backbone of archaeological studies, which are supplemented by lectures in History, Art History and Literature. Demands for renewal and innovation in Archaeology curricula have only begun to be diffidently expressed in recent years, with proclamations of new, thematically specialised teaching and research staff positions. Courses in Museology are offered, limited to fruitful collaborations, *e.g.* between Archaeology, Architecture and Cultural Resources Management, but only in the context of interdepartmental and interuniversity postgraduate curricula. Schools of Philosophy apart, if we include in our discussion the three new departments in the service of archaeology – at the Universities of Thessaly, the Peloponnese and the Aegean – we observe that substantially different Archaeology curricula to those of the Schools of Philosophy are articulated. Students are taught, among other things, Museology and Cultural Resource Management. The time is ripe for Public Archaeology to become an organic part of archaeological education in undergraduate and postgraduate curricula. Archaeologists, responding to the needs and interests of modern society, must be taught about Public Archaeology in a systematic and coordinated way, absorbing elements of the international and Greek experience. One cannot expect professional attitudes to Public Archaeology to change unless we pave the way to this change, starting from archaeological education.

In 2013 the launch of a series by Kaleidoscope Editions, Athens, intended to harness Public Archaeology in Greek language, was an academic initiative in tune with the broader effort to bring the archaeological community into contact with its multifaceted and multivalent audience while remaining in step with international attempts to provide a systematic scientific approach to all the elements that make up Public Archaeology. The editors intend to host original studies by Greek and international authors on the convergence and conversation between archaeology and the non-expert. We hope that the series will form an active part of the Greek contribution to the cultivation of Public Archaeology and a teaching tool for Public Archaeology in Greek universities.³

Re-inventing Public Archaeology

For almost two centuries, the task of site and monument management and their protection has been undertaken by the Greek public sector through the delimitation and monitoring of the archaeological past. Such an approach does not entail but benefits from the involvement and assistance of ordinary people and stakeholders. Many different voices, both from the official archaeology and outside it, are making a case for revising the roadmap for the protection of the archaeological heritage. Simply put, citizen empowerment is emerging as a further tool in reinforcing monitoring. In this section, I examine two recent initiatives that have sprung from the academic world and the civil sector to articulate a new approach to archaeology in the public sphere.

The first initiative flags the importance of empowering a local community to engage with its Palaeolithic heritage. Every summer since 2012, the University of Crete has conducted systematic excavations at the half a million-year-old site at Lisvori – Rodafnidia on the island of Lesbos. This is the first Lower Palaeolithic site in Greece to yield compelling evidence for the presence of hominins using Acheulean technology (Galanidou *et al.* 2013; 2016). It is situated on a spur of a low hill, where a large olive grove, segmented into numerous properties, extends today. The site is extensive, and the team has made the deliberate choice to explore different parts of it by digging only in those fields whose owners grant permission. The people's consensus to authorise excavation is deemed a prerequisite to research. A total of 35 archaeological trenches have thus far been explored in 21 properties owned by people living in the nearby villages. At the end of each field season we backfill the trenches and we return the fields to their owners to carry on with the agricultural activity. The archaeological work has been incorporated in the annual cycle of village life. Excavation and surface survey take place in the very same place where agricultural work is conducted, complementing rather than replacing each other. When the fieldwork began in 2012 the team encountered mixed feelings of hostility or indifference by the locals. The research objective and requirements of the project were indifferent to the small and elderly agricultural community. The Greek public views archaeology with an attitude of subversion and a fear of loss or freezing of property and the project was conducted by non-locals, members of a far-flung university. Over the years, the team's all-inclusive approach to the community has addressed these reservations and brought about a remarkable shift in a different attitude.

The public programme embraces the village people, the immediate neighbours and the islanders of Lesbos, both those living on Lesbos and in Athens, and is structured in two phases. During each field season, citizens of all ages and backgrounds – from school children to local fishermen, medical doctors, tourists or clergy (Fig. 7.1) – are encouraged to visit and, when possible, participate in the excavation, supervised by a senior team member. The head of the village council is encouraged to be daily present in the trenches to oversee the progress of work and help carry or maintain the excavation equipment, given that the excavation team consists solely of archaeologists and students and does not employ any workmen. Every evening the archaeology lab



Figure 7.1: The clergy of Lesbos engaging with the Palaeolithic heritage and the University of Crete field crew at a Lisvori – Rodafnidia trench in summer 2015 (image: Nena Galanidou/University of Crete).

housed in the local primary school is open to anyone interested in seeing the yield of the day, helping to wash finds or simply wanting a friendly chat. Those who come to the lab obtain hands-on experience of Palaeolithic artefacts and are encouraged to bring in objects found in the fields when the archaeological team is absent. Every time the team returns to Lisvori, stone objects with potential archaeological value collected by locals are submitted for evaluation. Where these proved to be artefacts rather than natural rocks, the citizens are praised and given further information on their finds. In this way, they become active participants in the archaeological discovery and provide valuable information on unknown sites. Before closing the trenches there is an annual open meeting with the local community to share the results of the fieldwork and answer questions (Fig. 7.2). This is an event that unites the different gender and age groups of the community whose public space is spatially differentiated. These meetings function as a social and cultural platform for both sides, archaeologists and locals, to exchange views and feelings (*sensu* Fan 2015, 186), alleviate tensions and confrontation, openly discuss problems encountered by the team and plan fundraising or communication strategies.



Figure 7.2: Lisvori – Rodafnidia: A member of the archaeological team encourages visitors to have a hands-on experience of Palaeolithic large cutting tools in the laboratory. The laboratory is housed in the Lisvori primary school which is now closed; the archaeologists stay and work in it during the field expeditions every spring and summer (image: Nena Galanidou/ University of Crete).

Once the fieldwork is over, the communication thread is maintained through press-releases in the local and national press, TEDx presentations, radio and television interviews and oral presentations of the findings at Lesbos Association gatherings in Athens. Senior team members share the canon of their discipline as well as the uncertainties and difficulties encountered during research in the field. The members of the community respond by taking an active part in this archaeological journey, seeing the finds as part of their own identity and heritage. They now share with the archaeological team the anthropocentric and ecumenical view of the past unveiled by Palaeolithic archaeology (Galanidou 2008). They often envision handaxes as the smartphones of prehistoric people, multi-purpose tools that fit in one's hand and contain the technological achievements of half a million years ago. The archaeological narrative about the Palaeolithic dispersals to Lesbos is also a means of linking the past with the present. In recent years, due to its close proximity to the Anatolian coast, Lesbos has assumed the significant burden of the refugee and immigrant wave after the Syrian war. The archaeological narrative that the findings at Lisvori – Rodafnidia are a testimony to the origins and roots of human migration in this part of the world helps place the recent wave in a deep historical perspective.

As a result of this public programme a relationship of mutual trust has been established. The local community not only welcome the archaeological team, providing accommodation in their homes, but people even ask why excavations have not yet

been conducted on their own properties. The community has gained respect for its own heritage through physical interaction with the site, the finds and the working team. Archaeologists and locals share the dream of giving Lisvori – Rodafnidia a brand name and turning it into a place that will keep its young people at home, allowing them a dignified life by means of a sustainable economy. They share the vision of turning the village's old oil-press into a Palaeolithic heritage information centre to complement the outdoor visit to the site. This dual destination scheme is expected to attract visitors and act as a core of local economic and cultural identity. It will also boost the primary sector, which includes small-scale yields of high-quality chickpea, onion, wheat, anise, cumin, sardines and salt. This interaction has helped the academic team, teachers and students alike, to realise the imperative need for archaeologists to gain exposure as a community through their multifaceted meeting with society, and to transform their peculiar introversion into a social and public good; to experience the liberating osmosis of the fascinating archaeological adventure together with society. Engagement with the public, *i.e.* the local communities of Lesbos, is not a research priority but a genetic trait of the University of Crete work.

The second initiative is Diazoma, a non-profit, non-governmental association working for the preservation and maintenance of Ancient Greek theatres. Inspired and run by former Greek Culture Minister Stavros Benos, it was founded by a group of intellectuals, scholars, artists and academics in 2008 (Fig. 7.3). Among the founding members were Vassilis Lambrinoudakis and Petros Themelis professors emeriti in Classical Archaeology who, as we saw earlier, had openly expressed their vision of establishing a closer bond between the archaeological heritage and the public in Greece (Lambrinoudakis 2008; Themelis 2015) (Fig. 7.4). Today, people in local government, proactive citizens and corporate members of the Greek business community also embrace Diazoma. In its 12 years of life it has been successful in raising funds for the research, study, protection, enhancement and, wherever feasible, the use of ancient theatres and other venues, such as ancient odeia and stadia, for performances and music events, art exhibitions and educational activities. The people involved in Diazoma work together, as helpers and supporters of the state and the services responsible, in the major task of including ancient monuments in modern social, intellectual and economic life (<http://www.diazoma.gr/en/our-mission/>). According to its founder, 'Diazoma aspires to be a model association in the way it functions, in the transparency of its economic management, the effectiveness of its actions, the achievement of its goals. Our aim is not to find, nor simply to persuade, but to inspire the big sponsors, to assist the services responsible, to mobilize the Ministry of Culture, to draw more and more of our fellow-citizens along with us in our work.' (<http://www.diazoma.gr/en/our-mission/>).

The ideological precepts and the organisational tools to achieve the coming together of monuments, nature and culture with real life and people throughout their full range of activities are *universal protection* as an ideological arsenal and *synergy* as a programmatic philosophy and process. Universal protection is summarised in the

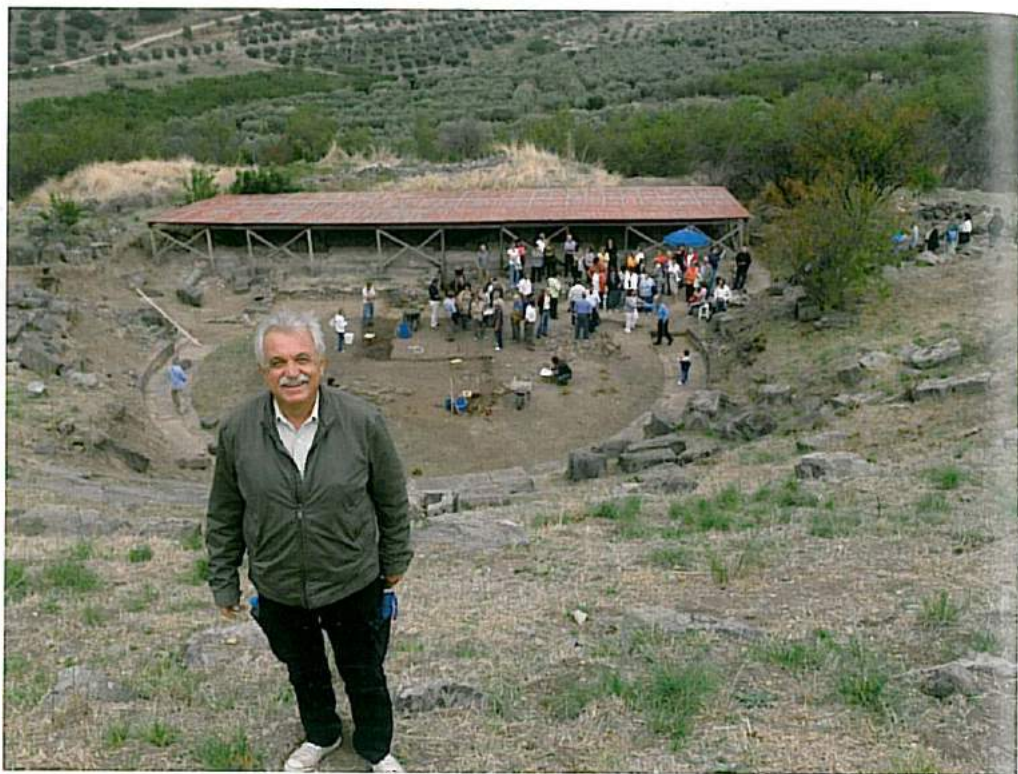


Figure 7.3: The president of Diazoma, Stavros Benos (foreground), with Diazoma members and friends at the Mikrothives ancient theatre, Thessaly (image: Nena Galanidou).

motto 'monuments do not live, do not breathe, do not exist without human care and engagement'. By exploiting the results of synergy between citizens, institutions, local and prefectural authorities, sponsors and European funding schemes, Diazoma plans and proposes the implementation of new programs, whose aim is on the one hand the monuments' maintenance and restoration, on the other hand their connection with sustainability and sustainable development. These programmes, known as *Cultural Itineraries & Archaeological Parks*, are gradually expanding to almost all regions of Greece.

What is special about Diazoma is that not only does it provide new ways of bringing together ordinary people and archaeological heritage, but it does so in an innovative and holistic way, beyond the limits of state provision. The second major contribution of Diazoma is that it has challenged the perception that monuments are sacred places detached from contemporary society, and has helped bring them back into daily use for people in various cultural and educational activities. Through this path, it has raised public awareness of the archaeological heritage, while supporting contemporary artistic creation (see for instance *Tuned City, Ancient Messene*, 1-3 2018 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R9WIJEffMHQ>).



Figure 7.4. The first general assembly of *Diazoma* in ancient Messene, Peloponnese in October 2008. The excavator of the site Petros Themelis and Stavros Benos talking to the participants (image: Nena Galanidou).

The third significant contribution of *Diazoma* is that, in its attempt to mobilise both citizens and state, it has clarified the concepts of the *state* in combination and association with the *public good*.

The constitutional duty of the state may be to defend the monuments, but at the same time, the protection of the natural and cultural environment is everybody's "right" (Article 24 of the Greek Constitution). So, every citizen bears the state within himself or herself, is part of it both as an active citizen and as a producer. The Archaeological Law (Law 3028/2002, Article 3) states that the protection of the country's cultural heritage lies in – among other things – citizens' awareness. It follows that public and therefore cultural goods are not just state goods, as one might mistakenly suppose, based on a common identification of the public sector and the state; they are, by definition, public in the sense that has always permeated democratic thought and deed, institutionalised or otherwise: that of the citizen's personal right to and duty towards the public good. Those who believe that it is their duty, apart from using and experiencing the public good, also to contribute according to their capabilities, individually or collectively, to the protection and promotion of that good, will always be ideal citizens. (Benos pers. comm. 13.11.2008).

Discussion

Acknowledging that the protection of monuments is ensured through legislation and monitoring, but also through public awareness of their significance, the initiatives described above work towards securing the protection of Greece's archaeological heritage first and foremost by activating forces drawn from the civil sector. They have different genotypes, but their phenotype shares the view that the protection of archaeological heritage power cannot ignore civil society. They fall within Holtorf's *democratic model* of Public Archaeology and signal changes with profound effects in the relationship between official archaeology and the public in Greece. First and foremost, they reinvent Public Archaeology as an all-encompassing, dynamic process of interaction between the expert and the non-expert that develops over time. Secondly, they breathe new life into the fundamental mission and alliances of official archaeology. In effect, they work to change the socio-political power relations in the negotiation and implementation of archaeological practice and interpretation.

We have argued elsewhere that archaeology has never been an ivory tower, separate from the world, but a window on the great problems and questions facing humanity (Dommasnes & Galanidou 2007). Having recently emerged from a recession in which archaeologist unemployment reached its century peak, and as we are preparing for the next global crisis one due to the coronavirus pandemic, life is changing rapidly. Many traditional jobs are lost and will not be regained; wider political consensus is promoted to save the economy and the welfare state, e-learning platforms are widely used to maintain education, while Information Technology will speed up the fourth industrial revolution. What might be the future of official archaeology in Greece, in terms of the subjects, the people who serve it, and the objects, the role of antiquities in society and the economy? As a university teacher, I cannot but wonder what is the point of educating archaeology graduates and post-graduates if there are no archaeological jobs regularly available on the basis of a transparent selection procedure. What might be the future of antiquities and the museums that house them if they remain things to admire but 'not touch'? Okamura (2011) in line with theorists of cultural heritage management who claim that the value of cultural properties is contingent, questions the inherent value of archaeological objects and makes a strong case for communication and negotiation. He argues that (Japanese) society could attribute more meaning to archaeology if Public Archaeology shifted its emphasis from cultural properties, *i.e.* objects, to the public, *i.e.* the people (2011, 85).

Founded upon the principle of citizen empowerment, Diazoma and the University of Crete Palaeolithic Lesbos Project have carved a new path towards promoting a holistic view of the archaeological heritage in the 21st-century social and economic setting. Both have worked to achieve an advanced level of cooperation between official archaeology and the public, based on education, trust and a vision of sustainability. The members and friends of Diazoma and the people of Lesbos have tested the two initiatives and have chosen to work together to fulfil their aims and methods. Through these

two initiatives, they have thus demystified archaeology sharing a new vision centred around sites and monuments, that could potentially help Greece protect its antiquities and fight poverty, especially during the impending recession. Archaeological heritage, natural environment and local economy, the three together form a unique resource around which new job opportunities could be created, and an alternative kind of development to building new hotels and cementing over the countryside could be offered. These initiatives contribute to the healthy and dynamic development of a reinvented Public Archaeology. It is no longer approached as synonymous with mere 'dissemination', but as 'participation', inclusive rather than exclusive. The large gap at the point where antiquities meet the public is gradually being filled, and a healthy interaction and engagement with the non-expert serves heritage and society rather than the reproduction of archaeology itself. Archaeology is approached as a source of knowledge on the human condition and culture, aesthetic pleasure and prosperity.

Notes

- 1 The history of the interaction of the AS with the public in the second half of the 20th century in Greece is the subject of systematic research conducted in the University of Crete post-doctorate and PhD programmes. Despoina Nazou works on 'Archaeology, Tourism and Island Communities: Perception, conceptualisation and appropriation of the archaeological record in island Greece', Ariadne Gazi examines 'Archaeology in Greece from the Civil War to the Period of Political Transition through the Archive of Stylianos Alexiou', and Georgia Beka examines 'Palaeolithic Heritage: Reception, perception and appropriation by the local communities of island and rural Greece'.
- 2 The possessive mentality is undoubtedly not only a Greek but a global phenomenon. Regarding the Chinese experience, Ling notes that, while archaeology is an academic discipline, it 'is not the exclusive property of archaeological experts, but is an integral part of the study of human culture' (2010, 51).
- 3 The first book, *Telling Children about the Past: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Galanidou & Dommasnes 2007), is a translation of the original published in Ann Arbor (now available through Berghahn Books). Interdisciplinary in character, it brings together knowledge and ideas produced in academic ecosystems in the USA, France, Greece, the UK, Norway, Brazil and Romania. After a gestation period coinciding with the economic crisis in Greece, the second book, entitled *Museum Sites in the Twenty-First Century: Practices of Interaction* was published in 2018 (Soueref 2018). In tune with Holtorf's democratic model (2007), the collective volume brings together archaeologists working in the AS to explore the fertile ground of interaction between the expert and the other rather than dissemination in a strict hierarchical expert – audience scheme.

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