CHASING THE IMAGINARY

The Classical Past of Ancient Greece: Colonial and National Fantasies

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Cover Figure:

Monument of Philopappus in Athens. James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The antiquities of Athens, measured and delineated, Volume III,* London: John Nichols, 1794.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 PROBLEM SETTING AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This thesis investigates the development of the discipline of archaeology in Ottoman Greece in step with colonial and national imaginings, and contemplates the existence of potential colonial echoes in recent museum exhibitions.

By virtue of the recent global resurgence of nationalist movements and warfare, the close relationship between archaeology and its political implications has repeatedly been stressed within academia, concurrently criticizing the manipulation of the science and its data for nationalist interests (Atkinson *et al.* 1996; Díaz-Andreu and Champion 1996; Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Kohl 1998; Kohl *et al.* 2007; Silberman 1989). In this regard, the importance of the diverse sociopolitical context within archaeology emerged has been stressed (Trigger 1984, 356; Kohl 1998, 224), including the role of the materiality of antiquities as a means of interacting between cultures and formatting national identities (Gosden 2012).

Still, according to Hamilakis (Hamilakis in Damaskos and Plantzos 2008) and Lydon and Rizvi (2010, 24), discussions about the relationship between archaeology and national imagination often fail to embrace the colonial subtleties that usually typify the imperialistic ambitions of West's most prominent powers. Such imperial project entailed the production of specific discourses about the 'other' that legitimized invasion, hegemony, or looting, and all of which proved essential in structuring a particular European identity. Within this scheme, it can be assumed that Trigger's (1984) influential formulation of the three distinctive types of 'nationalist, colonialist and imperialist or world-oriented' archaeology played a role in this oversight of the colonial undertones (Hamilakis in Damaskos and Plantzos 2008). Yet, Trigger forewarned that this classification of ideal types fails to respond fully to the complexities and variations that characterize specific cases' social contexts (Trigger 1984, 358).

Greece constitutes such a complicated and peculiar case, since it has never been officially colonized, and as a result, it is scarcely included in colonial or postcolonial studies (Hamilakis in Damaskos and Plantzos 2008). However, the historical

trajectories of the foundation of the discipline of archaeology and the formation of the modern Greek nation expose the interplay of diverse and complex forms of colonization. Besides, with the rise of nationalism and imperialism in the 19th century, the traditional colonial ways of territorial expansion and economic exploitation began also to involve the imposition of western-shaped ideology and culture as a naturalized norm to the colonies (Díaz-Andreu 2007, 209-210). Along these lines, some recent discussions on the links between antiquities, archaeology and Greek national imagination show that the colonial discourse theory starts to draw more academic attention (Carastathis 2014; Díaz-Andreu 2007; Ruibal 2010; Hamilakis 2007; Herzfeld 2002; Mitsi and Muse 2013; Tziovas 2001). Still, the focal point in the majority of these discussions centers around the period that followed the establishment of the modern Greek nation, since the clearest manifestation of western intervention in the Greek state of affairs had been the imposition in 1832 of the Bavarian Otto, the first king of the newly-founded Greek state. Together with his administrative and academic circle, they consolidated the institutional archaeology in Greece. Ludwig Ross, for instance, was the first professor of archaeology and supervised the 'catharsis' of the Acropolis fortress from any foreign and non-classical material existence, whereas Maurer was the designer of the first official archaeological law (Hamilakis in Damaskos and Plantzos 2008, 2; Kokkou 1977).

The foundation, however, of this course of events had been laid down well before the Bavarian government rose in power. From the Ottoman period already (1453-1821), the land of contemporary Greece and its residents had been subjected to various conceptual classifications and appropriations. However, despite the gradual inclusion of the Greek case within the discourse of postcolonial studies, van Dommelen (van Dommelen 2006 in Lydon and Rizvi 2010) argues that by prioritizing cultural and ideological hegemony over material exploitation, we run the risk of overlooking political aspects of colonialism such as asymmetrical power relations and looting. In this respect, along with the imposition of specific western ideologies, values and systems, this thesis asserts that the race for antiquities inaugurated by European antiquarians in Ottoman Greece as well as the nature of the involved processes at play, attest to that of formal colonization. On that note, European travellers that regularly visited the classically relevant territory of Greece, along with

the travel narratives they produced as an outcome of their journeys, constitute an exceptionally informative source which is systematically explored by academics. Yet, the major part of the relevant studies concerning travel literature is primarily fixated on Western perspectives towards the ancient material remains, the landscape and local residents. That is, aspects which were fundamental on the developmental stage of the discipline of archaeology such as the relationship of the indigenous population of Ottoman Greece with the ancient material remains, together with the sociopolitical context affecting the interaction between locals and western travellers, are to a large extent dominated either by a Western-European or a Greek ethnocentric point of view. In addition, the academic spotlight regarding the accumulation of classical Greek archaeological collections by travellers and European museums falls almost exclusively on England, France and Germany; the three main agents of this action. Other lesser participants, such as the Netherlands, a country the collecting activities of which played a practical and symbolic role in the Greek national dream, are for the most part overlooked.

The theoretical basis of postcolonial archaeology has offered a more integral and nuanced understanding of the complex effects of colonialism, stressing the close interrelation of cultural and economic domination (Gosden in Hodder 2012, 255; Van Dommelen 2005, 115 in Ruibal 2010) . Within this framework, the scope of this thesis is to merge the existing literary criticism on colonial discourses and the material effects of colonialism that took place in Ottoman Greece into a colonial context of exchange that framed archaeology's modernization and consolidation. As also Gosden stresses, postcolonial archaeology includes "Indigenous archaeologies in which Indigenous people use and change the tools of archaeology to create their own histories" (Gosden in Hodder 2012, 252-253). Therefore, by recasting attention on both western and local values and culture, I aim to give prominence to power relations rather than taking European structures of thought as *a priori* dominant.

Within this socio-political context of the evolution of archaeology, the presentation of some new archival sources regarding the way of enrichment of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden with classical antiquities by Bernard Rottiers (1771-1857), is set to disclose the diversity and the complex processes involved in the reception of both modern and classical past in Greece. Taking also into account that

"postcolonialism's concern with the past is guided by that past's relationship with the present" (Lydon Rizvi 2010, 19), the inclusion of a critical analysis of two recent exhibitions about Ottoman Athens intends to reveal colonial echoes veiled in continuing archaeological practice. Museums, "founded on the colonial impulses to collect, order, and define", are very important sites regarding the reflection of both localized and global colonial legacies in the present (Lydon Rizvi 2010, 25-26). As some recent studies indicate (Hamilakis 2011, 625-628; Taylor 2012; Damaskos 2011), Greek museums tend to present a singular national identity, thus excluding historical periods which are not conforming to the purported continuity and homogeneity of Greek culture. The Ottoman period in particular, is frequently treated as an aberrance to the ostensibly unbreakable line of communication and influence that links the modern Greek nation with its glorious classical past. Consequently, the colonial legacies concerning the relationship of contemporary Greece with both its classical cultural heritage and its long standing Ottoman past, and most importantly, the way that Greek museums use travel material as narrative tools in order to represent such relationship, are to a large extent unacknowledged.

Taking into account the above considerations, the research questions that this thesis plans to address are as follows:

In what way did the emergence of archaeology in Ottoman Greece intersect with colonial and national imaginings and what are the ramifications of this intersection in recent museum exhibitions?

- What was the historical and socio-political background of travel in Ottoman Greece and how is it related to the reception of the classical past and the contemporary reality of Greece respectively?
- What was the relationship of local population of Ottoman Greece towards the material past and how did colonial and national imaginings affected that relationship?
- In what way did the second expedition of Rottiers take place and what are the symbolic meanings of his actions for the Greek national dream?

- In what manner do Greek cultural institutions represent the relationship of modern Greece with both classical antiquity and its Ottoman past and to what extent do they correlate with national and colonial ideas?

1.2 RELEVANCE OF THE THESIS

European scholars' and travellers' interest on Ottoman Greece not only reflects the development of professional archaeology and European Museums, it also mirrors the ideological, political and cultural contexts that framed this development. From the time of the 'rediscovery' of Greece to the emergence of nationalism and colonialism in Europe, the dialectic processes centered around antiquity between western Europeans and local or expatriated Greek population played a key role in the representation as well as in construction of cultural identities.

Within this sphere of transnational power relations, the disclosure of rather unrecognized players in the rush of antiquities in Greece, such as the Netherlands, brings to light some hitherto unseen agencies which had a big impact on both the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities and the reception of the classical and contemporary past in Greece respectively. At the time of the consolidation of nation-states and the establishment of national museums, the presentation of unrevealed stories of interaction between conflicting national and personal desires, can shed light on some yet unexplored research fields. To illustrate, the story of the second expedition of Bernard Rottiers (1771-1857) that took place in Greece in 1824-26 and resulted in the acquisition of antiquities for the R.M.O. constitutes one of the most peculiar and obscure case stories in the chronicles of the museum (Halbertsma 2003).

In view of this, the presentation and analysis of some historical documents unknown for the museum (Halbertsma, Interview 22 June 2016) could potentially illuminate the somewhat misty conditions under which Rottiers acted in Greece. With respect to the main research question of the thesis, the case study of Rottiers reflects the development of the discipline of archaeology in Greece within an ideological, economic and political context. To emphasize, Rottiers' case story is set at the intersection between colonial structures of thought, material appropriative desires

and Greek national fantasies about historic past. Furthermore, it signifies the transitional era from the pre-modern, indigenous values and practices regarding ancient material heritage, to the modern, "universal principles underlying cultural heritage" (Gosden 2012, 254 in Hodder 2012).

All in all, the case study of Rottiers additionally serves as a connecting link with the last part of my research concerning the identification of colonial legacies in recent exhibitions. As recent studies indicate, Greek museums tend to present a homogenized and unbreakable continuity of the Greek nation, emphasizing specific historical periods, and they do so by excluding or oversimplifying elements of national history, especially the Ottoman occupation, which are not in line with the dominant national narrative (Hamilakis 2011, 625-628; Taylor 2012; Damaskos 2011). In addition, the colonial undertones regarding the association of modern Greece with both classical antiquity and its Ottoman past, remains to a large extent unacknowledged. Hence, the inclusion in my research of two recent exhibitions that chose to represent the 'sensitive' topic of Ottoman period of Athens takes a different kind of dynamic, considering that the main narrative tools at play are the western travellers' material and work.

Museums play a significant role in the construction and preservation of national identities (Bennett 1995, 142; Kaplan 1995, 2006; Lydon and Rizvi 2010; MacDonald 2003). As Kaplan (1995) argues, museums' role works often as a tool for inspiration and unification of the nation through the realization of a common past. Nevertheless, instead of national narratives, museum exhibitions represent also diverse cultural identities and groups. According to Karp (1991, 15), "when cultural 'others' are implicated, exhibitions tell us who we are and, perhaps more significant, who we are not". Exhibitions are privileged arenas for presenting images of self and 'other'. Over the last decades, Greece is becoming again a multicultural country, since a remarkable proportion of its population consists of immigrants or refugees with dissimilar perceptions of national identity, religion and history. At a time of a growing xenophobia, racism and closed borders, it seems of particular importance to see if museum exhibitions about the history of Athens, a predominately multiethnic, multilingual and multicultural metropolis, promote national homogeneity, continuity

and bias, or they try instead to evoke meanings of social inclusion and communication with other nations and cultures.

Finally, as Taylor (2012) points out, national museums often encounter dilemmas regarding the representation of historic or current cultural 'others' that do not identify with the national ambition. In this framework, a comparative case study concerning the way of representation of Ottoman Athens in exhibitions between the National Archaeological Museum of Athens and the Gennadius Library of the American School of Classical Studies can be particularly insightful in terms of the way that the two institutions narrate the Greek national history and its relationship with the classical past.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

My fieldwork as an intern at the Gennadius Library of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA) proved to be more influential than initially expected. A substantial part regarding the collection of the research data as well as the conception of the central idea of this thesis derived during my participation in the preparation of the exhibition "Ottoman Athens", which took place in January 2015 and lasted for one month. During this period of time, I was given the opportunity to actively participate in many aspects of the exhibition's organizational processes, including the research and translation of primary sources, the edition of the exhibition's texts, the writing of labels for the artifacts showcased and their installation in the exhibition area. Moreover, my first experience concerning the planning phase of an exhibition happened to coincide with a research object, which, as mentioned above, has been systematically bypassed by Greek museums. The Ottoman period of Athens is a research field that has not been thoroughly investigated. The organization process of the exhibition, in combination with Gennadius' rich and rare collection of travel books and manuscripts provided a unique research tool regarding the study of the history of Ottoman Athens, the historical and discursive processes of construction of the Greek national identity, as well as the way of their representation by modern Greek cultural institutions.

In addition therefore to the method of participant observation, Gennadius provided a highly fertile ground as regards the other section of my research, which was the study of primary and secondary sources. The primary sources used are the travel narratives of the European scholars and antiquarians who visited Ottoman Greece between the 14th and the 19th centuries in order to explore the cultural legacy and treasures of Classical Antiquity and the Renaissance (Vroom and Kondyli 2011, 15). A contrapuntal reading (Said 1993) through postcolonial lenses of this very interesting body of work, instead of providing invaluable information on the diverse perceptions on material culture at the time, reveals also dialogic series of action 'from below' that took place in pre-modern Greece between ancient material remains, local population, western travellers and European museums. Still, in order to better define my research field and the existed theoretical debates around it, I had to study a wide-ranged bibliography concerning the history of western travel and collecting in Ottoman Greece, the ideological-cultural discourses of the time about the 'other' and the way they framed archaeological research and the construction of identities.

During therefore my literature research on travellers and collecting in Greece, I found some historical documents which provide some hitherto unexplored data concerning the way of enrichment of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden with classical antiquities, complementing to some extent the in-depth research of Ruurd Halbertsma on the process of creation of the museum. In order to gain a deeper insight into the subject, I conducted an interview with Ruurd Halbertsma (Appendix 1), the Curator of the Classical Department at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. The outcome of this interview provided me with useful information about the significance of the aforementioned documents for the museum and the special historical and cultural background behind the acquisition of the antiquities by the R.M.O. The new data that came out from Rottiers' case story proved to be very relevant to the main topic of my research; they demonstrate the turning point as regards the reception of the Greek classical and contemporary past and their material evocations, and moreover, they indicate the intersection between western colonial discourses and Greek national fantasies.

Taking therefore into account the symbolic role of Rottiers' case in representing the new era of engagement with the past in Greece, I used it as a suitable connecting

link with my research in Gennadius and the exhibition "Ottoman Athens". Finally, an unexpected opportunity to achieve a comparative study concerning the way of presentation of the Ottoman past of Greece through European travelogues by two different in nature cultural institutions, derived through the temporary exhibition "*a dream among splendid ruins…": Strolling through the Athens of travellers, 17th – 19th Century,* that took place in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens at September 2015. Recognizing the need to incorporate the exhibition in my research, I had to travel two times in Greece. The first time, I visited the museum in an attempt to record and carry out a critical evaluation of the exhibition. The second time, and after various bureaucratic obstacles, I managed to conduct a semi-structured interview (Appendix 2), mainly using a notebook, with two of the main curators of the exhibition; the Director of the National Archaeological Museum, Dr. Maria Lagogianni-Georgakaratos and the Curator of the Hellenic Parliament Art Collection, Dr. Theodoris Koutsogiannis. Subsequently, I transcribed the gathered data from both the semi-structured interview and my personal evaluation of the exhibition, and compared them with those of the corresponding event in the Gennadius as well as with recent studies on the issue.

One of the main obstacles encountered during the course of my research happened at the time of my internship at the Gennadius Library, where due to university commitments, I had to return back to Leiden a few days before the official opening of the exhibition. Because of this unexpected incident, I was not able to get a fully comprehensive view of the final form of the exhibition and moreover, I had to cancel my scheduled survey concerning visitors' perception of the event. Furthermore, I had to travel once more at the Gennadius in order to complete my research on primary and secondary literature. Finally, since the main body of travel material took place between the 17th and 19th centuries and included also French and German instead of English bibliography, I faced some linguistic difficulties which nevertheless did not significantly affect my research process.

1.4 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In an effort to define nation, Hobsbawm (1992, 8) argues that it is "a sufficiently large body of people whose members regard themselves as members of a nation". According to Anderson (2006, 6), this body of people constitute an imagined political community since they have a subjective perception of belonging in a communion, without however an active interaction between its members to take place. Nationalism on the other hand, is the construction process of these imagined communities and consequently, a prerequisite of the nation (Hobsbawm 1992, 9-13). It is the dynamic procedure of continuous naturalization, of making undeniable to the society the national ideals that gives might to the nation and makes it an ideological entity, a kind of secular religion (Hamilakis 2007, 16). An essential characteristic of nationalism is the elaboration of an actual or fictitious remote past (Kohl 1998, 223), or as Díaz-Andreu and Champion (1996) phrase it, "the past should be known and propagated". In this context, the antique material landmarks constitute the primary means regarding the nationalization process, since they provide the undisputable tangible evidence of the consistent and unbroken existence of the nation (Hamilakis 2007, 17). It is therefore through the socio-political process of naturalization of the nation's beliefs and principles, that the close ties between archaeology and nationalism become evident. Taking into account the importance concerning the socio-political procedure of the formation of the nation, Kohl (1998) proceeded to a distinction between national and nationalist archaeology. In contrast to the former, which refers to the assembled archaeological record within the nation, nationalist archaeology refers to the policies adopted by the state with regard to the application of archaeology for national-building processes; such courses of action often extent beyond the national borders, become instruments of interaction with other states and often result to the construction of national identities (Kohl 1998, 226). As a result, the reciprocal action between states provoked by nationalist archaeology makes impractical Trigger's (1984) influential classification of nationalist, colonialist and imperialist archaeologies. In fact, as Dirks (1990, 25-32) states, the links between those types are stronger than their distinctness.

The ideological movement of nationalism that emerged in Europe after the French Revolution of 1789 was closely associated with Enlightenment's ideals such as equal rights for all citizens and universal education (Smith 1991 in Diaz-Andreu 2001, 432). Correspondingly, the perception of the significance that education had for the nation led to an extensive accumulation of antiquities, mainly from the classical period, and their subsequent exhibition in special institutions (Diaz-Andreu 2001, 432). As also Hamilakis (2007, 17) argues, actions such as excavation and museum display serve the need for continuous production of the national materiality and topos. Besides, the excavation of the antique remnants of the great ancient civilizations, provide a "tangible evidence that 'we' had a civilized past, and by displaying them and visiting them, 'we' have a civilized present" (Swain 2007, 3). The institutionalization therefore of archaeology inaugurated in museums, and it is directly related with the concepts of nationalism and imperialism (Diaz-Andreu 2001, 432-434).

Napoleon's looting of Egyptian antiquities and their transportation at the Louvre at the end of the 18th century can be directly linked with the notions of colonial imperialism prevailing at the time and most importantly, with the power that classical antiquities held as regards both the legitimation and glorification of the nation. The materiality thus of classical antiquities as timeless symbols of power and tangible proofs of the truths of the nation worked as a support for colonial imperialism; it led to the inauguration of organized archaeological expeditions towards the countries where the most prominent ancient civilizations have been developed and ultimately to the appropriation of their most valuable material culture (Diaz-Andreu 2001, 434). The competition therefore between the major European states and their national museums regarding the collection of classical antiquities is indicative of the close interconnection between nationalist, imperialist and colonial archaeology. As Kohl (1998, 227) phrased it, "archaeologists, employed as colonial officers in imperialist settings, were engaged in a form of nationalist archaeology in the sense that their work was used to puff up the glory and sense of self of their employer".

According to Díaz-Andreu (2007, 209), colonialism is "a policy by which a state claims sovereignty over territory and people outside its own boundaries, often to facilitate economic domination over their resources, labor, and markets". In a conventional

picture, the term ‘colonialism’ is restricted to describing military force and economic power as the essential means of impoverishing the lands and people under control, without taking into account the importance of the various modes of power that compose the interactions between colonizers and locals (Gosden in Hodder 2012, 256; Lydon and Rizvi 2010). Postcolonial studies have contributed to the critical reevaluation of the notion of colonialism and imperialism, stressing that cultural domination and economic exploitation should be perceived as “two sides of the same coin” (Van Dommelen 2005, 115 in Ruibal 2010). In addition, the admission by postcolonial archaeology of an analytical system ‘from below’, questions the centrality of Eurocentric processual forms of thought and grants local cultural variations and agency to emerge (Gosden in Hodder 2012, 253-257; Lydon and Rizvi 2010). This shift on interest towards local differences and perspectives was part of a gradual questioning of the ostensible progressiveness of the Enlightenment epistemologies. Postcolonial studies, disclosed the essential interdependence between colonial practice and Enlightenment concepts such as universality of reason, human progress and secular humanism, stressing therefore the need for both a cosmopolitan and a local standpoint (Gosden in Hodder 2012, 251; Patterson in Lydon and Rizvi 2010; Pratt 1992). The study thus of colonial histories started to include an awareness regarding diverse shapes of colonialism such as the dependence and imposition of Western ‘superior’ modes of thought and intellectual schemes upon subordinated cultures (Díaz-Andreu 2007, 209). Or as Chatterjee (1986, 11) simply put it: “ … it is not just military might or industrial strength, but thought itself, which can dominate and subjugate” and more specifically, the “bourgeois-rationalist conception of knowledge, established in the post-Enlightenment period …]”. In this regard, the process of the nationalization of society has been conceptualized as analogous to that of colonialism. Nationalism thus, as well as colonialism, constitute ideological products of western modernity and most importantly, they share the firmly held belief that by character, as ethically and culturally superior and unquestionable norms, they can exercise their civilizing-nationalizing mission for the best interest of both western and nonwestern societies (Chatterjee 1986; Hamilakis 2007, 20; 2008, 3). Postcolonial critique therefore, by perceiving colonialism as a succession of both material and cultural enterprises, aims to identify and confront heterogeneous, cloaked legacies of colonialism in the

present, including those based on neocolonialism, gender, class or nationalism, such as inequality and the desertion of diverse forms of identity (Lydon and Rizvi 2010).

Such analyses have followed Edward Said's influential arguments concerning the interpenetration of power and knowledge in colonial rule through discourse and the significance of representation in legitimizing Western sovereignty over colonized people and defining European identity (Said 1978). Based on Foucault's notion of discourse and Gramsci's analysis in *Quaderni del calcere* of hegemony and consent, "Said's Orientalism demonstrated how management of the peoples of the Middle East was effected through a Western discourse of orientalism organized through such academic disciplines as anthropology, archaeology and history" (Lydon and Rizvi 2010, 20). Orientalism therefore, instead of revealing the crucial role of representation in colonial domination, stressed the significance of Western institutions, including archaeology, as colonial tools of generation and circulation of certain cultural forms and bias and their subsequent ratification through consent. In other words, it was western institutional framework that repackaged profit-making and socio-political motives into a Eurocentric civilizing enterprise. The significance of consent in the perpetuation of this cultural leadership relies upon the persuasion of the dominated to accept and adopt the standpoint of the dominant (Gramschi 1975 in Oscar Moro-Abadía 2006).

Travel literature, being often the main instrument of writing about, depicting and circulating western systems of thought about 'other' people, lands and cultures during the colonial era, has been directly linked with Said's discourse analysis and the research framework of postcolonial studies. By using discursive strategies such as the application of stereotypes and the establishment of conceptual binaries and antitheses between the superior West and the inferior East (Lydon and Rizvi 2010, 21), travel narratives emulate colonial ideology, constituting "an essentially imperialist mode of representation" (Korte 2000, 153 in Youngs 2013). According to Said, the prevalence of Orientalism during the 18th and 19th centuries was such influential, that all the western writings about the Eastern 'other' were just mere intertextual representations of consistently circulated ideas about the Orient based on a binary way of thinking (Said 1995 in Lindsay 2015, 26-27).

However, postcolonial theory goes beyond the monolithic approach of oppression, critically emphasizing on mediated, cross-cultural relations of power and agency rather than domination (Clark 1993 in Youngs 2013, 116). To illustrate, Mary Louise Pratt allows the possibility of indigenous resistance through 'transculturation'; a phenomenon of the 'contact zone' where indigenous people have the ability to adapt and incorporate selected elements of the colonizer's culture rather than being totally subordinated to it (Pratt 1992, 7-8). In an analogous way, Homi Bhabha (2004) distinguish himself from Said's structuralist thesis of a superior-inferior binary, arguing that cultural and political formations that take place within a colonial context of exchange are inevitably dynamic processes characterized by interconnectedness and hybridity. The cultural interaction thus of more than one mindsets creates a double consciousness for the subaltern; "an excess that comes through colonial mimicry and produces a threatening, subversive hybridity in cultural forms" (Bhabha 2004 in Lydon and Rizvi 2010, 21). Still, as Porter and Routledge suggest, hybridity can evolve into a "more fruitful concept for archaeological interpretation if used not simply to signify the formation of new cultural forms, but rather to represent the struggle over the production of diverse cultural forms, especially cultural forms that diverge from those linked to dominant forms of political power" (Porter and Routledge 2008, 3 in Lydon and Rizvi 2010, 25).

Before discussing therefore the case of Greece, it is important to note that colonialism is a diverse, non-coherent phenomenon, characterized by political and geographical heterogeneity (Lydon and Rizvi 2010). As also Said (Said 2003 in Vasunia 2003, 96) notes, colonial background is not always an issue when it comes to the identification of certain strategies of colonialism, "but as with any history of a complex experience that involved many actors, the worst thing – even in the name of critical impartiality – is to empty that history of its existential residue in the present ....". Examining thus the Greek case, one should take into consideration the intersection process between nationalism, colonialism and archaeology, the local incorporations and deployments of western imposed discourses and ideologies including the idealization of the Greek classical past and the way of its appropriation by the major western powers, as well as the existential residue of this experience in the present.

Despite Said's rejection of a parallelism between Orientalism and Hellenism as "radically incomparable" (Said 2003, 342 in Carastathis 2014), there are voices that argue for a conceptual interrelation between the two discourses. Phiroze Vasunia for example states that the Greek case constitutes Said's premise of binarism problematic, stressing the need for a more sufficient critique concerning the reception of the classical past through a deepening in European colonial history (Vasunia 2003, 88-97). In a similar framework, Koundoura points out the function of Greece as the 'axis' of binary distinctions; a liminal positioning which places Greece between exterior Orientalist and Hellenistic discourses and leads to its ironic representation as both Europe's origin and otherness (Koundoura 2012, 5-8). Correspondingly, Anna Carastathis (2014, 1-14) argues for the Orientalist structure of Hellenism as an exterior discourse which denies self-representation of Greeks securing at the same time imaginaries of European superiority.

In a similar context, Yannis Hamilakis (2007) stresses the central role of the materiality of antiquities on the production and reproduction of the Greek national dream. He underlines the incorporation by the Greek national imagination of the material, sensory and sensuous attributes of the ancient material remains, as well as the close association between European ideological colonization and national imaginings and practices, including the invention of archaeology in Greece and its consequent efforts to produce a national archaeological record through various strategies, such as sublimation and purification of the classical land, designation and exhibition (Hamilakis 2007). In a similar post-colonial context, Tziovas (2001) aims to interpret the Neo-hellenic substance, focusing mainly on the hybrid and dialogic character that the Modern Greek nation gradually acquired after its independence by the Ottomans. Finally, in the field of anthropology, Michael Herzfeld characterizes Greece as a 'crypto-colony', and defines this phenomenon "as the curious alchemy whereby certain countries, buffer zones between the colonized lands and those as yet untamed", and which countries "were compelled to acquire their political independence at the expense of massive economic dependence", a form of relationship which was "articulated in the iconic guise of aggressively national culture fashioned to suit foreign models" (Herzfeld 2002, 900-901).

This thesis argues that the foundation of the modern Greek nation-state and the nature of its relationship with classical cultural heritage and the Ottoman past were not only subjected to exterior ideological and cultural impositions and appropriations, but also to direct, profit-oriented forms of European colonialism. Still, the consideration of the Greek case as a mere binary conception between colonizer and colonized is at least over-simplistic. According to Kohl (1998, 226), the construction of nations is a continuous process which is inaugurated by intellectuals and politicians, who in turn find support in social classes that have financial and political interests from this construction. In the case of Greece, it was the ideological and economic interests of the Greek middle class of scholars and merchants from the diaspora that led them to support and incorporate ideological aspects of western European imagination (Hamilakis 2007). The diverse and heterogeneous nature of colonialism is therefore manifested in the case of Greece, where, in contrast to common colonial ways, the indigenous past was not considered as of inferior level of quality than that of other 'superior' cultures (McNiven and Russell 2005; Trigger 1984) but in contrast, it was glorified and spiritually and practically appropriated (Hamilakis in Damaskos and Plantzos 2008; Ruibal in Lydon and Rizvi 2010). Moreover, colonizers' institutions and Greek nationalism went hand in hand in the imposition of modernist structures of archaeology often with the utmost apathy in indigenous traditions and practices towards the material past (Hamilakis in Damaskos and Plantzos 2008; Ruibal in Lydon and Rizvi 2010).

After therefore the founding of the new state in 1830, a constant effort took place by Greek nationalism regarding the demonstration of an unbreakable national continuity which stemmed from the western imposed idea of an 'Aryanised' and purified from Asian and African 'contaminations' ancient Greece (Bernal 1987; Shohat and Stam in Carastathis 2014). The western Hellenist and Orientalist ideological inclinations of the Bavarian government of king Otto facilitated the national endeavor for demonstration of continuity (Damaskos 2011, 75-88). This construct of continuity was greatly reinforced by the national historian Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos (1815-1891), who, through his monumental work *History of the Hellenic Nation* (1860-1874) presented a coherent and uninterrupted through time

Greek race, by giving prominence to the spiritual, rather than the genetic ties with ancient Greeks (Hamilakis 2009). According to Damaskos (2011), the imposition of national continuity constitute common ground to states which have gained their independence after being under the influence of a greater force or which undergo the process of decolonization. Moreover, as Herzfeld (2002, 919) argues, the scheme of an uninterrupted national continuity that has been applied in Greece, "as articulated in the crypto-colonial and nationalist discourses, cannot now be allowed to disappear, because it would apparently take awareness of the living population away with it as well".

Recent studies on the way that Greek museums narrate the nation through exhibitions confirm the above point of view, reflecting at the same time legacies of both western and inner forms of colonialism in the present. As Anderson (2006, 163-164) states, museums, together with the census and the map, are the three state's institutions of power which play a central role in the process of continuous nationalization. It can be assumed, that museums' nationalizing role is closely related with Foucault's assertion about the "indefinitely progressive forms of training" (Foucault 1995, 169) that state applies in order to secure harmony in its social body. Museums' formal and didactic character can thus be applied as an implicit tool of colonialism as regards the creation and preservation of national identities and ideals (Preziozi and Farago 2003 in Lydon and Rizvi 2010). As also Macdonald (2003) states, museum exhibitions give visitors the chance to engage themselves in a shared cultural heritage but at the same time, the choice of the objects displayed allows visitors to identify their national identity as distinct from the others. The modern formation however of multicultural societies guides museums to question the long-established mode of single narration and to gradually include in their narratives multiple and sometimes competing cultural groups (Kaplan in Macdonald 2006, 168). Within this framework, Cuno (2008) puts himself against the nationalizing and biased character of those museums that prevent the acquaintance and appreciation of different cultural values. In a similar context of colonial encounter, James Clifford (1997) challenges the established relationship of museums regarding the representation of diverse cultures and stresses their socio-political role as "contact

zones", where negotiations over different national identities and cultures can take place.

On the other hand, perpetuating Enlightenment's tradition concerning the memorialization of ancestral heritage, museums often adopt the status of "Eurocentric regimes of memory" (Butler and Rowlands 2006 in Lydon and Rizvi 2010 25-26), presenting a singular national identity as an antidote to today's feeling of anxiety and imbalance (MacDonald 2003, 3). As a matter of illustration, studies on modern Greek cultural institutions show that the narrative of a single and uninterrupted through time national identity is still going strong (Damaskos 2011; Hamilakis 2011; Taylor 2012). Taylor's (2012) research on the exhibits of three cultural institutions of Athens, the National Archaeological Museum, the Benaki Museum and the Museum of Islamic Art, reveals that Greek museums attempt to present a singular and consistent through time national identity, where the Ottoman period is mainly considered as an interruption in the national course. The first two museums in particular serve the model of a coherent national continuity which stems from an idealized classical past and last to the present day (Taylor 2012). As regards the Museum of Islamic Art, the striking lack in its exhibits of Ottoman-era material derived from Greece indicates a national culture which managed to remain unaffected from the 400 years of Islamic influence (Taylor 2012). In a like manner, Damaskos (2011) points out that the construct of national continuity affects essentially the way in which national history is being presented in Greek museums and consequently determines visitors' perception about the distant and more recent past. Benaki museum for example, reproduces the ideological orientations of the 19th century bourgeoisie, leading supporters of the creation of national continuity (Damaskos 2011). Clearly influenced by the national narrative of Paparigopoulos, the museum emphasizes on the unbreakable line of the development of Hellenism, while the Islamic objects had to be segregated from the museum and transferred in a separate institution (Damaskos 2011). As regards the Acropolis museum that opened its gates in 2009, Damaskos (2011) postulates that it serves loyally the propagandistic purpose of the Parthenon marbles' return; it depicts the evolution of Athenian civilization up to the glorious classical antiquity and any time periods that followed the classical era are downgraded in a prominent way (Damaskos 2011).

Finally, in an analogous way, Hamilakis (2011, 626) indicates the missed opportunity of Acropolis museum to display the fragment of the Erechtheion with its 1805 Ottoman inscription; a piece that evokes feelings beyond nations, languages and religions, and bears a symbolic and interactive value to the contemporary multicultural city of Athens. He emphasizes on the deep-rooted reality of Greek museums where any material remains that precede or follow the 5th and 4rth centuries BC are condemned to be overshadowed by the classical sublime and the western classical ideals (Hamilakis 2011, 626).

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

In the following chapters, I will make use of postcolonial scholarship in order to provide my main research question with an answer. Within this context, in Chapter 2 of the thesis, I discuss the historical and socio-political background that framed the gradual idealization and appropriation of the Greek classical past as a core component for both European and Greek civilizational dream. Through specific paradigms of European travellers' and scholars' action, I relate the current nationalist perceptions on the classical and more recent Greek past with specific colonial structures of thought that were imposed upon Ottoman Greece between the 14th and early 19th centuries.

While, therefore, Chapter 2 discusses the ideological-cultural appropriation of Greece, Chapter 3 focuses on the actual colonization by European travellers and museums of the Greek classical material past. Through the chronological juxtaposition of specific case studies of colonial usurpation and local reaction, I aim to correlate the development of Greek national archaeology in its embryonic phase with colonial enterprises and ideas. Moreover, by focusing attention and agency on both western and indigenous beliefs towards antiquities, I attempt to question the centrality of European forms of thought and challenge the colonialist and nationalist basis of the modern archaeological discipline.

Finally, in Chapter 4 of the thesis, I present a comparative study of two recent exhibitions that took place in the Gennadius Library of the American School of Classical Athens and the National Archaeological Museum of Athens respectively.

Through a critical evaluation of these exhibitions, I aim to unveil possible colonial legacies in the ongoing archaeological practice.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF HELLENISM: THE IDEOLOGICAL APPROPRIATION OF GREECE AND THE ROLE OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARS AND TRAVELLERS

Buildings and restaurants erected in magnificent neo-classical style, street names recalling ancient feats and ancestors, exhibition of antiquities in the metro rail stations, travel brochures advertising splendid monuments; these are only a few examples of the central role that the classical past continues to play for the modern Greek national narrative. It is also in this classical past and its material manifestations that the Greek heritage industry has relied upon as its basic capital. In this chapter, I offer a historical background concerning the underlying ideological and socio-political parameters that led to the gradual elevation of the Greek classical past as a keystone for both European and Greek imagination. Taking postcolonial studies as a reference, I relate the prominent position that ancient past holds today for the Greek national dream with discursive strategies that took place between Western Europe and Ottoman Greece from the 14th until the early 19th centuries.

2.1 THE EUROPEAN INTEREST IN GREECE BETWEEN THE 14TH AND THE 17TH CENTURIES

The Italian Renaissance introduced crucial transformations in the political and cultural landscape of Europe. In a quest for new patterns of intellectual discourse and power expression, classical antiquity served as the metaphorical tool that would judge the standards of the modern world against those of ancient wisdom and dissociate monarchy from the medieval religious power (Augustinos 1994, 1-6; Díaz-Andreu 2007, 32-40). Renaissance humanism as expressed itself in 14th century Florence focused its attention on a classically inspired cultural rebirth primarily based on the Roman Empire and the imitation of ancient Latin (Celenza 2009). Historical circumstances such as the invention of printing, the creation of libraries and the fall of Constantinople in 1453 gave the impetus on the gradual appropriation of the Hellenic world as a cultural capital, especially through the accumulation, translation and study of ancient Greek texts as rediscovered authentic wellsprings of wisdom (Augustinos 1994; Celenza 2009). Leonardo Bruni (1370-1444), the popular humanist author and Greek-to-Latin translator of the 15th century, expresses the

gradual cultural and political power that Hellenism gained at the time: “For seven hundred years now, no-one in Italy has been able to read Greek, and yet we admit that it is from the Greeks that we get all our systems of knowledge (Bruni 1926, 341-342 in Celenza 2009). The general canon thus that shaped the current perception of Greek literature and buttressed the emergence of classical studies further north to France and the Netherlands was a result of the Italian Renaissance (Celenza 2009).

The acceptance and gradual domestication by western nobility, papacy and the emerging middle classes of this symbolic language of the past, led during the 15th century to the earliest travel for antiquarian purposes in Greece; the Italian merchant Cyriac of Ancona (1391-1455) visited Athens on two occasions (1436 and 1444) while the city was still under the command of the Florentines Acciaiuoli (Giakovaki 2006, 130). He was the first who copied inscriptions, measured and drew the city’s monuments, considering them as more trustful testimonies of the classical past than the ancient literary texts (Díaz-Andreu 2007, 34). Still, in attempts for visual presentations of Athens, the innovative work of Cyriacus was not taken into consideration, but rather the unrealistic terms of the visual culture which the iconographers of manuscripts were familiar with (Koutsogiannis in Lagogianni-Georgakarakos and Koutsogiannis 2015, 75).

By the middle of the 15th century and with the fall of Constantinople, the land of current Greece was cut off from the West and incorporated into the Ottoman Empire, which until the 17th century faced European travellers with skepticism and rather hostile mood. This state of affairs did not only exclude Athens from the planned journeys, but also created rumors of complete abandonment of the city something which operated as a deterrent for any potential traveler. As a result, the 16th-century travel literature presents an unrealistic view of Athens and its monuments (Fig. 1), portraying mainly fantastic buildings of Roman instead of Greek architecture (Koutsogiannis in Lagogianni-Georgakarakos and Koutsogiannis 2015, 80). The so-called ‘armchair travellers’, who, by combining often authentic narratives with imaginary events, played a central role on the representation and dissemination of this imaginary picture of Ottoman Greece (Constantine 1984, 202).

Figure 1: Imaginary views of ancient cities: Athens. Jacobus Gronovius, *Thesaurus Graecarum Antiquitatum*, vol. 4. Venice 1732 (Hellenic Parliament Library).
"The Dutch classist Jacob Gronovius compiled and edited the antiquarian composition *Thesaurus Graecarum Antiquitatum* which was published originally in Leyden (1697-1702) and reprinted in Venice (1732-37). The fourth volume includes Gerbel's study with explanatory comments on the antiquarian map of Greece (*Totius Graeciae Descriptio*, Rome 1540) of Nikolaos Sofianos, a 16th century humanist from Corfu. The study of Gerbel is here re-edited, illustrating etchings that present imaginary views of Greek cities, such as Athens, rendered in a vividly antique oriented character." The photo was taken by the author in 2016 in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens during the exhibition ""A dream among splendid ruins…" strolling through the Athens of travellers 17th-19th century.

One of the most important and extensive attempts to systemize the information on the ancient city of Athens took place in the early 17th century by the newly founded University of Leiden and the historian and Professor of Ancient Greek Johannes Meursius. His *Athenae Atticae* was a worthwhile effort to reintroduce the sights of classical Athens through literary sources, among which Pausanias held a central position (Meursius 1624). For over a century, Meursius' work was regarded as a significant compilation of data on the topography of Attica, which also served as a valuable guide for prospective travellers to Greece (Koster 1995, 63). Of exceptional interest is the way that Meursius celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the university; in 1625, he outlined in detail its faculties and facilities through a publication entitled *Athenae Batavae* (the Dutch Athens), which was regarded as a breakthrough among intellectual circles (Grafton 1992, 222-223). The University of Leiden was founded in 1575 in order to produce educated people who would be capable to take over the reins of the country's administration. At the same time it marked Dutch

independence from the Spanish occupation (Parker 1977, 145). Soon, the university became one of the most radical and renowned European institutions, taking a leading position in the renewal and reorientation of European culture (Grafton 1992, 222-224).

On the one hand, this symbolic correlation between classical Athens, the city par excellence of schools, arts and letters, with the neoteric Leiden, may indicate the gradual acquisition and domestication by Europe of the classical ideal of Athens as a moral and cultural exemplar of modernity. Moreover, it can be suggested that it was the Renaissance humanists and scholars that produced the fundamental cultural foundations upon which the later allure with Hellenism was built and gave the initial impetus that attracted western travellers to Greece. On the other hand, it can be argued that from the Renaissance onwards and with the *restitution antiquitatis*[1] established in Europe, the visual perception of Greece was imaginatively conceptualized by European scholars and institutions as a classical monumental place.

2.1.1 1670'S: REVISING THE RELATIONSHIP WITH GREECE AND ITS ANCIENT MATERIAL REMAINS

"Enslaved and moribund, Greece had fallen into oblivion and was erased from the chronicles of the nations, and it was only in 1674 that it was discovered almost anew by Nointel, Spon, Wheler and those after them" (Archaeological Society of Athens 1837 in Kefallinaiou 2004, 35).

The thirst for classical literary sources and knowledge that fueled Renaissance scholars was followed during the second half of the 17th century by a growing interest in the material remains of antiquity, as equal testimonies of the past (Schnapp 1996, 179-185). The classical cultural revival called for a desire to establish a new theoretical model towards antiquities, which included the examination and interpretation of their function and use through archaeological autopsy (Schnapp 1996, 179-185). In this early transition from the Renaissance antiquary to archaeologist, travel was essential (Schnapp 1996, 179-181).

[1] Restoration of antiquity

The consolidation of the Grand Tour, the popular journey undertaken by upper-class European men to discover the cultural heritage of the classical past, is usually associated with the first recorded use of the term by Richard Lassel in 1670 (Vroom and Kondyli 2011, 15; Youngs 2013, 44). Its primary destinations were Italy, France and Switzerland, while initially Greece and the Ottoman Empire were not included. The symbolic value that classical antiquity had acquired, mobilized travellers to explore Greece again after the journey of Cyriac of Ancona in the 15th century[2]. The real picture of Athens, a poor province of the Ottoman Empire surrounded by ruins, will be presented for the first time in about 1670. Jesuit and Capuchin monks settled in Athens mainly with the objective to convert the schismatic Greeks and promote the interests of the institutions and the country they acted for (Augustinos 1994, 50-73). Apart from providing hospitality to the first European travelers, the map of the city of Athens (Fig. 2) they designed included all its ancient monuments[3], which benefited therefore the travelers' archaeological inquiries (Frazee 1983, 124).

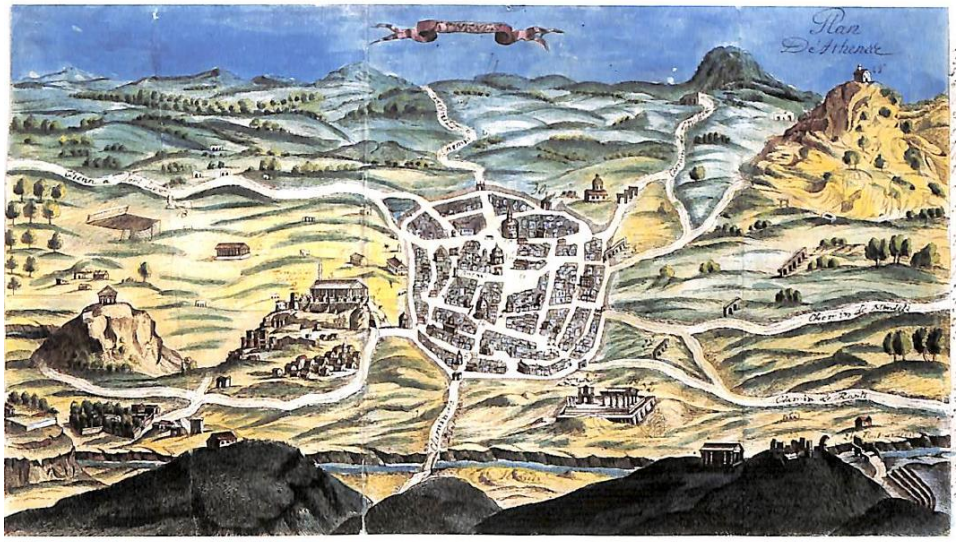

Figure 2: A drawing of Athens by the Capuchin monks, 1670, tinted copperplate (Kefallinaiou 2004, 29)

[2] A journey to Ottoman Greece during the 17th century was a highly risky venture. There were a lot of lethal dangers lurking at sea as well as on land; pirates, storms, brigands, plague and malaria were the most common among them (Arbuthnott in Soros 2006, 68).

[3] Their work included the first drawing of the Acropolis and the Parthenon from the Hill of the Nymphs in 1670. A copy of this drawing is located in the Kunstmuseum in Bonn (Kefallinaiou 2004, 29).

In December 1674, the French ambassador in Constantinople, Charles Marie François Olier, marquis de Nointel (1635—1685), arrived in Athens (Fig. 3) with the political aim to increase the French influence in the Orient and to reconcile the relations between the Catholic and the Orthodox Churches (Schnapp 2014). The case of Nointel shows that the antiquarian culture of the time was closely interweaved with political ambitions. Yet, apart from his keen collecting action on behalf of the king, he recorded various aspects of the Orient including antiquities, plants, landscapes, clothing and other curiosities (Schnapp 2014, 221). Despite the fact that antiquities did not yet hold a central place in his study of the "picturesque" (Schnapp 2014, 221), Nointel and his fellow artist Jacques Carrey (1649-1726) offered the last draw of the Parthenon's frieze before its vast destruction by the Venetian artillery in 1687 (Vandal 1900, viii).

Figure 3: Jacques Carrey, The Marquis de Nointel visiting Athens in 1674, oil on canvas (Stoneman 1998, 15)

One year after Nointel, the French doctor Jacob Spon (1647-1685) arrives in Athens (Fig. 4). In contrast to the French ambassador, Spon identified travel and diplomatic missions to the Orient with the methodical study of the past through its material remains (Schnapp 2014, 222). Indeed, as also Augustinos (1994, 62) states, the admiration of this early wave of travellers-antiquarians for the past, unlike the romantic Hellenists of the 18th and 19th centuries, was expressed through the sketch and measurement of the ancient ruins. Spon's particularly methodical approach towards the identification and description of sites and monuments constituted a milestone for the antiquarianism of the era, marking the transition from the purely literary study, to the on-site examination of antiquities (Pollard 2015, 119). As a

result of his pioneering approach to the identification and investigation of sites, Schnapp bestows upon Spon the title of the "inventor of epigraphy as positive science" (Schnapp 1996, 185). His work *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant* which was first released in 1678, except that it brought Athens to the forefront of European touring, it contributed greatly to the gradual incorporation of Greek ancient material remains within the discourse of Hellenism.

Figure 4: SPON, 1689, Jacob Spon and George Wheler examine the ancient monuments of Athens (https://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=53765)

Although Spon and his English travel companion George Wheler [4] (1650–1723) were not the first voyagers who visited Athens, they were the first who chose the Greek city as their main travel destination (Augustinos 2003, 157): "Nous étions fort irresolus sur le choix de la route que nous pourrions prendre pour aller à Athenes, pour laquelle proprement nous avions entrepris notre voyage[5]" (Spon 1678, 273). The widespread therefore affinity with the ancient past makes Greece a substantive subject of European observation. But the 1670's is not only the period in which the city of Athens emerges out of the shadows. It is also a tipping point regarding the renegotiation of the relationship of Western Europe with the Hellenic world and its cultural and material heritage. During a scene that took place in the middle of the

[4] From the four companions who initiated the journey to Greece in 1675, only Spon and Wheler managed to survive. Sir Giles Eastcourt died of a disease on the road and Francis Vernon was murdered, after having survived captivity and slavery from Tunisian corsairs (Crook 1972, 4).
[5] We were very indecisive on the choice of the road we could take to reach Athens, for which we actually undertook our journey (own translation).

sea in 1675, and considering that he is located at the gateway of Greece, Spon proceeded to a revealing remark:

"Nous commençâmes alors de nous voir à l'entrée de la Grece, ce qui nous donna autant de joye qu'Enée eut autrefois de chagrin lorsqu'il passa en ces quartiers-là. Car il consideroit les Grecs comles destructeurs de son pays; & nous, nous les regardions comme des gens, aux ancêtres desquels nous avons obligation des Sciences & des Arts[6]" (Spon 1678, 120-121).

Through the above statement, Spon seems to ignore the prevailing climate of antipathy towards Greece, marking at the same time the end of cultural distance between Greece and the West. Indeed, negative stereotypes had existed in Western Europe since Roman times against Orthodox Greeks, who were considered as servant and unreliable (Koster 1995, 3). Characteristic is the Virgilian (Virgil in Koster 1995, 3) phrase: "Timeo Danaos, et dona ferentes[7]". These preconceptions were intensified in the Middle Ages due to the East-West Schism of 1054 (Koster 1995, 3). Since the Greeks belonged to the eastern part of the former Roman Empire, their name was associated to a negative definition of the Eastern Christians (Prevelakis 2003, 9). After the fall of Byzantium, the schismatic Greeks and the Muslims were sharing similar negative prejudices. In fact, some Western theologians perceived the heretic Greeks as even worse than the Muslims (Prevelakis 2003, 9).

An additional note worth mentioning derives from Spon's reference to Aeneas; Virgil's 'Aeneid', the ancient Roman myth about the Trojan origins of the Romans and their cultural superiority over the Greeks (www.britannica.com), fueled since early medieval times the imagination of the western world. Interestingly, Spon distances himself from the mythical genealogies and the stereotypical images that followed Greeks as the destroyers of Troy, the place of origin of Romans and most of the western peoples. Spon's identification of Greece as the birthplace of western civilization and his metaphorical demarcation between Romans and "we", modern Europeans, seems to launch a new type of cultural and political relationship between

[6] We began then to realize that we are at the entrance of Greece, and this gave us so much joy, as grief Aeneas had felt once he passed by these places. Because he considered Greeks as the destroyers of his country; as for us, we perceived them as those people, to whose ancestors we owe the Sciences and the Arts (own translation).
[7] I don't trust Greeks, even those bearing gifts (Koster 1995, 3).

Greece and Europe; it indicates the gradual appropriation of the Hellenic world as principal component of western identity formation while it points out the conceptual distinction between Greece and the Orient. Moreover, the identification of the modern inhabitants as the direct descendants of classical Greeks reveals that before European travellers even set foot on the Greek land, certain preconceptions regarding the essence of the identity of Greek inhabitants had already been formed (Augustinos 1994, ix).

It is also noteworthy that the construction and circulation of this western discourse towards Greece and its modern population, which was also the foundation stone of the ideological movement of Philhellenism that would prevail in the following two centuries, took place at a time when the focal point of Greek people regarding their collective identity was not Hellenism but Christianity. Indeed, the ancient Hellenes were perceived by the contemporary inhabitants of Ottoman Greece as different and distant from the people, who existed in a past, mythical time (Kakridis 1989 in Hamilakis 2009). During the Ottoman period, the multiethnic and multi-religious Greece was organized under the system of the *millet*, whose primary identification form was based on religion, rather than any national or ethnic consciousness (Hamilakis 2009; Augustinos 2003, 424). The Orthodox and Greek speaking members of the *millet* called themselves 'Romioi', while the term 'Hellene' did not prevail since it was indicative of the ancient pagan doctrine (Hamilakis 2009). The propagation besides of the Orthodox Church towards the clear differentiation of the Christians Greeks with the atheist and heretic Hellenes is essential in understanding the chasm between contemporary populations and their pagan classical past (Hamilakis 2007, 67).

The experience therefore of the actual acquaintance with Greece was not what this early wave of travellers expected. The contemporary underdevelopment of its modern residents came in stark contrast to the idealized image they had made for them. Thus, negative comparisons between the culturally degenerated, characterized by "deceit, perfidy and vanity" (Du Loir 1654, 166 in Augustinos 1994, 67) Greeks and their glorious ancient past became common theme even in the earliest European travelogues, placing them eventually in the shadows of their ancestors (Augustinos 2003, 64-67). The persistence since Roman times of the

negative prejudices against Greeks is clearly reflected also in Nointel's letter to M. De Pomponne. According to the French ambassador:

"All that remains from their past domination consists of their criminal ruses, whose use is the only consolation they have in their enslavement. [… I can assure you that every day they do their utmost to harm one another, which makes them unworthy of any protection. Truth and the desire I have always had to make them gentle force me to make this assertion" (Nointel 1674 in Augustinos 1994, 67-68).

The creation and dissemination of certain stereotypes is evident in Nointel's words, who, considering himself as a representative of the Western supremacy, has the task of reforming the culturally and ethically aberrant Greek population. It can be assumed therefore that, as early as 16th and 17th centuries, certain discursive strategies between Western Europe and Ottoman Greece had taken place in the sense that Western conceptions of culture, history and identity gradually framed the way in which Greece and its people were understood and conceptualized in the following centuries.

2.2 18TH CENTURY: PERCEPTION OF THE HELLENIC DURING THE ENGLIGHTENMENT

The 18th century was the age of reason; philosophers, artists and scientists, turned their gaze back to classical past during an effort to comprehend how rationalism, what they regarded as the paramount human reason, ever came to be realized. The philosophy and political thought of the Enlightenment promulgated a generalized perception and universal principles for all human beings (Gosden in Hodder 2012, 251). This global concept ran up against historical and local variations and traditions of any kind, diminishing them as superstitions and prejudices that come in contrast with the desired civilizing progress as a whole (Patterson in Lydon and Rizvi 2010). Monarchy and nationalism were therefore promoted against the prevalent religious structures of thought while the manipulation of the classical past provided a meaningful tool for social and cultural legitimacy of this western secular project (Díaz-Andreu 2007; Hamilakis 2007).

The emergence of 18th century travellers-antiquarians and learned societies such as the Society of Dilettanti in 1734 can be directly linked with the wider climate of rationalism of the era as well as with the quest by ruling elites of the idealized past they desired (Díaz-Andreu 2007, 58). As also Youngs (2013, 41) postulates, 18th and 19th centuries' travellers and their narratives, despite their contribution to the evolution of archaeology, were "neither objective nor innocent" (Youngs 2013, 41); they tamed the meaning of the past according to the interests of the political and social upper class (Díaz-Andreu 2007, 58) and furthermore, they were integrally connected to the Enlightenment's project for expansion and consolidation of European power across the globe (Porter 1991 in Youngs 2013, 41).

The past which the early 18th century antiquarians accommodated and used as an exemplar was initially the Roman past. The excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum and the discovery of the Etruscan tombs made Rome an indisputable destination of the Grand Tour, enhanced further the worship of classical antiquity and had a great effect on the development of the Enlightenment project (Díaz-Andreu 2007).

As for the Ottoman Greece, it was still perceived through the view of the exotic and mysterious Orient. In this light, the English Richard Pococke (1704-1765) traveled in Eastern Mediterranean and Athens between the years 1737 and 1740, recording extensively both the Athenian monuments and many aspects of life in the East, such as the Turkish administration, architecture and customs (Louvrou 1979, 108). The numerous translations of his work including Dutch, German and French, reflect the great success of his publication (Koutsogiannis 2014, 82) as well as the gradually growing European interest in the comprehension and evaluation of the exotic and unfamiliar Orient through the nexus of their own standards.

In addition to the attraction for the unknown Orient, travel narratives of the period reflect a set of the socio-political and artistic values of the time. In 1755, the French architect Julien David Le Roy (1724-1803) traveled in Athens and with less than three months' research he published his *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce,* 1758 (Giakovaki 2006, 381). It was the first time that the European public could encounter the Greek classical monuments in such detail and aesthetics (Armstrong 2012). However, in Le Roy's work, the credibility of the representation is contrasted

with imaginative impressions, since the accuracy of the measurements gave place to the imposing atmosphere of the ruins (Fig. 5). Finally, he completed his work by adding hypothetical restorations of the monuments (Giakovaki 2006, 384). Thereby, Le Roy offers a picturesque view of the monuments seeking to impose an evocative atmosphere of grandeur instead of accurate presentations. The enhanced reissue of Le Roy's work, in conjunction with the emergence of numerous fake versions of it filled with visually attractive but imaginary views of the Athenian monuments (Koutsogiannis in Lagogianni-Georgakarakos and Koutsogiannis 2015, 104) demonstrates clearly the idealized perception of classical antiquity that western readership wished and demanded. Furthermore, it illustrates that travellers' representations of both the landscape and those who inhabit it are manipulated according to specific preconceptions drawn from their classical educational background.

Figure 5: J.D. le Roy, 1770**,** view of the Temple of Hephaestus (Thiseion), Athens (http://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=49634)

The interest in Greek classical antiquities was fostered by European societies such as The Society of Dilettanti, a club founded in 1734 by prosperous Englishmen with the intent to promote new artistic trends in their country (Cust 1914). They sponsored the expedition of the British architects James Stuart (1713-1788) and Nicholas Revett (1720-1804), which resulted in the influential publication in 1762 of the four-volumed *Antiquities of Athens* (Fig. 6*)*. In their *Proposals for publishing a new and accurate Description of the Antiquities* in 1748, they pointed out the significance of

Athenian antiquities as "… monuments of the good sense and elevated genius of the Athenians, and the most perfect Models of what is excellent in Sculpture and Architecture" (Stuart and Revett 1751 in Wiebenson, 1969, 77). Above all, they distinguished and praised the excellence and authenticity of the Athenian art over that of the dominant since the Renaissance Roman classical model, which they classified as a derivative of the Greek art:

"But Athens, the mother of Elegance and Politeness, whose magnificence scarce yielded to that of Rome, and who for the beauties of a correct style must be allowed to surpass her, as much as an original excels a copy" (Stuart and Revett 1751 in Wiebenson 1969, 77-78).

Figure 6: James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, 1787, view of the west end of the Temple of Minerva Polias, and of the Pandrosium (http://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=48133).

It is noteworthy that this promotion of the preference of the Greek art over that of Rome took place at a time when the conception of Greek art was principally based on Roman copies of Greek originals[8]. Within this framework, the debate over the true origin of the unearthed vases from Etruscan tombs and their final identification as Greek by Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768) and Sir William Hamilton (1730-1803), added higher value and appreciation to the Greek classical art.

[8] As Halbertsma points out, the realization that Greek and Roman art were essentially dissimilar to each other was achieved after long debates initially triggered by the arrival of the Elgin collection in London in 1806 (Appendix 1).

Still, the European interest in Greek art reached its peak with the landmark work of Johann Joachim Winckelmann *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* in 1764. Winckelmann imposed a novel approach of Greek antiquities, viewing them not only as aesthetically ideal forms of art, but also as historically significant expressions of transforming social and cultural standards (Stiebing 1993). In a period therefore between neoclassicism and romanticism where the idea of cultural diversity heralded the emergence of nationalism in Europe, Winckelmann correlated his main concepts of liberty and sublime that the Greek art represented with the claim for Greek independence from the Ottoman rule (Winckelmann in Schnapp 1996).

2.3 LATE 18TH AND EARLY 19TH CENTURIES: NATIONALISM, PHILHELLENISM AND THE CULTURAL APPROPRIATION OF GREECE

In the previous sections, the way in which the Hellenic classical past was gradually glorified and replaced that of Rome has been shown. However, according to Herzfeld (2002, 900), the prevalence of classicism and Hellenism among the ideological and cultural sphere of Europe was not unattached from western ideological aspirations for world hegemony.

In 1789, the French Revolution broke out and resulted in the gradual abolition of the monarchical and religious forms of power and the emergence of civic nationalism. Preserving the core principles of the Enlightenment such as neoclassical ideals of liberty, citizenship and utility, the political order that emerged from the French Revolution was based on "the body of citizens whose collective sovereignty constituted them a state which was their political expression" (Hobsbawm 1990, 18-19). As an outcome of Napoleon's centralized system of administration, romantic ideas of cultural diversity, tradition and national autonomy were spread across Europe (Díaz-Andreu 2007). Civilization, the level of cultural and social perfection of a society, emerged as the new core concept regarding the legitimization of one's own nation (Díaz-Andreu 2007). As ideological successors of the Enlightenment, the most 'civilized' European nations did not only reinforce the metaphorical power that the imagined Hellenic classical past held as cultural and moral exemplar, but appropriated it as their own symbol of national civilizational superiority and continuity (Gosden in Hodder 2012; Ruibal in Lydon and Rizvi 2010). As also

Nietzsche put it: "without myth every culture loses the healthy natural power of its creativity: only a horizon defined by myths completes and unifies a whole cultural movement" (Nietzsche 1872 in Porter 2009). Greece therefore was construed as the universal through which western Europe could mirror itself against the oriental despotism. In this regard, the mythical construction of Greece as the fount of western civilization was limited to its democratic "whitewashed ancient form", marginalizing its premodern and degenerated Ottoman reality (Carastathis 2014, 4). The cultural climate of the time is clearly expressed by the Irish traveler Edward Dodwell (1767-1832): "Almost every rock, every promontory, every river, is haunted by the shadows of the mighty dead" (Dodwell 1819a, iv). Modern Greece was thus downgraded by western Hellenist discourses as a frozen, fossilized residue of ancient glory while its modern inhabitants were either presented as the living proof of the ancient genius (Guys 1771 in Eisner 1991) placed "thus out of time and history, in a classic allochronic technique" (Fabian 1983 in Hamilakis 2007, 21), or as fallen-from-grace descendants of glorious predecessors (Hamilakis 2007, 77) legitimizing in a common colonial way European powers to apply civilizing and supplanting projects over them[9].

Philhellenism, whose main impetus derived from travellers who wanted to piece together their classical educational background with the real topos of Greece, "was one instance of the self-confidence, assurance, and unity with which Europeans saw their own civilization and of their desire to mold another people's character in their own image" (Augustinos 1994, 132-133). Indeed, the increased numbers of travellers from the late 18th century due to the cult of classical antiquity made Greece a site of systematic knowledge and facilitated in Foucault's sense the connection of imperial power with knowledge; travellers were the oracles from which generalized and ultimately common place ideas were consistently circulated and ratified as true knowledge (Said 1978). Angelomatis-Tsougarakis (1990, 9-11) confirms this characteristic of Orientalism in the way that philhellenic travel was intertextually constructed, stressing the reproduction of certain imaginary perceptions and motifs, especially with regard to marketable and recognisable expectations. Travelogues' delivered images are thus to a large extent exterior to the real world they narrate,

[9] Some scholars even associated the ingenuity of Greek civilization with the work of Aryan invaders (Trigger 1992, 155 in Ruibal 2010).

since "…there is no such thing as a delivered presence, but a re-presence or a representation" (Said 1978, 21). Within this orientalist context, philhellenic travel narratives often centered on the ancient sublime reflected by classical remains (Tsigakou 1981, 29), obliterating in the typical colonial trope of no-man's-land any signs of the disappointing reality of prerevolutionary Greece. The religious and oriental traits prevalent in modern Greek life came in stark contrast with the chimerical image that the western discourse of Hellenism had dreamed of. Correspondigly, the myth of origin which placed the western European civilization as the direct inheritor of classical Greece could not coexist with the Ottoman reality of its modern inhabitants. European Hellenistic and Orientalist discourses created thus an ironic representation of Greece as both Europe's origin and Otherness (Koundoura 2012). In this regard, the African and Oriental roots of classical Greece had to be purified or "hidden from view" in order western Europe to secure its relationship with an appropriate past (Bernal 1987; Said 1993 in Carastathis 2014, 6-7). This 'Aryanised' model of Greece, which, according Herzfeld (2002, 900), derived from "the same tradition of cultural eugenics that bred the Nazis' rare science", reveals the interconnectedness of Hellenism and Orientalism as mutual and interdepending western colonial discourses; Hellenism secures the imagined supremacy of the western European civilization while at the same time devalues and displaces both modern Greeks and those people defined as Oriental others. The parallelism between the two discourses is well put by Stathis Gourgouris (1996, 140), who supports that Philhellenism is "an Orientalism in the most profound sense" since it "engages in the like activity of representing the other culture, which in effect means replacing the other culture with those self-generated, projected images of the otherness that Western culture needs to see itself in".

Hellenism therefore, this complex set of meanings and symbolic codes that highlight the significance of ancient heritage for Western cultural identity, communicated European expectations concerning the resurrection of ancient Greece (Fig. 7) through a national liberation movement (www.greeknewsagenda.gr). The words of Chateaubriand reflect the public philhellenic and orientalist feelings of the time: "Will our century watch hordes of savages extinguish civilization at its rebirth on the tomb of a people who civilized the world?" (Chateaubriand 1825 in Tsigakou 1981,

Figure 7: Jean-Michel Moreau le jeune, 1782, allegory of enslaved Greece looking for someone to liberate her. From the cover page of *Voyage pittoresque* de la Grèce, Choisseul-Gouffier, 1782 (Kefallinaiou 2004, 49).

46). When therefore, under the modern ideological mantle of nationalism, the Greek War for Independence erupted in 1821, it took on dimensions of a fight between European civilization and Oriental barbarism, since it was deemed unacceptable for Greece, the founder of Western civilization and a Christian country, to be under the yoke of the Islamic Ottoman Empire (Díaz-Andreu 2007). These dominant across Europe ideological trends of Hellenism, oriental classicism and nationalism permeated the emerging Christian but multiethnic Greek-speaking middle classes and scholars, who, through their contacts with the west, 'rediscovered' their Hellenic heritage and presented themselves as the successors of ancient Greeks (Hamilakis 2007, 76). In place of the multilingual and multiethnic communities shaped around Orthodox religion, they imagined a homogenized nation-state through the formation of a direct genealogical link between contemporary people and classical Hellenes (Hamilakis 2009). The inclusion of Greece into the modern socio-political and economic European models, instead of the assurance it provided regarding specific political and financial interests that were held back by the existing Ottoman structures, it also secured the intervention of the great powers in the struggle for national self-determination (Kitromilides in Hamilakis 2007).

As Van Steen postulates: "The Great Powers, however, were more motivated by Greece's antiquity than by the fate of the 'earliest Christians'. Greece's very existence as a modern nation was thus 'owed' to its classical past. Revolution entailed a revolving back to past history, a tenacious investment in cultural, linguistic, and ethnic continuity, and a fierce denial of racial mixing" (Van Steen in Mitsi and Muse 2013, 166).

Still, it was the material remains of antiquity as the embodiment of the classical era that provided a powerful symbolic link between contemporary people with the ancient civilization and the tangible evidences that objectified the Hellenic national fantasy of continuity with the classical past. At the same time, the promotion of Greek classical antiquity by Western scholars and travellers to a vital element of European civilization intensified the collection of Greek antiquities and their export to major western museums. The agency of Greek classical material remains and their mediatory role in power relations is clearly evident during the beginning of the 19th century, since they became a contested resource for both Greek and European national imaginings. According to Gosden (2004, 81), "colonialism crucially concerns the grip that objects get on people", "leading them to expand geographically, to accept new material forms and to set up power structures around a desire for material culture" (Gosden 2004, 153).

Taking the above into consideration, the following chapter is focused on the agency of Greek classical material culture and its effects as regards the formation of complex relations of power and the construction of national identities. Within therefore this national and colonial context, and based on the analysis of primary and secondary travel literature combined with the presentation of archival material and the conduction of an interview with Ruurd Halbertsma, the way of establishment of the discipline of archaeology and European museums will be discussed.

CHAPTER 3: GREEK CLASSICAL MATERIAL CULTURE AND ITS GRIP IN COLONIAL AND NATIONAL IMAGININGS

"At the heart of museums are their collections. When a list of all the elements that make up a museum (collections, buildings, staff, public, researchers, etc.) is made, any one of them can be removed, except the collections, and the concept of a museum would still exist" (Swain 2007, 91).

3.1 THE TRADITION OF COLLECTING IN GREECE – AN OVERVIEW

Archaeology is an arrogant side shoot of collecting, and perpetually, collecting is an integral part of human nature (Pomian 1990). This innate instinct of human beings for collecting is interwoven with primary human needs such as the understanding of the world and the preservation of cultural memory (Ellis in Bintliff 2006, 454). In their epistemological quests concerning the nature and role of humanity in the world, men of letters focused their attention on the classical antiquity; apart from the literary revival of classical studies that took place during the Renaissance, humanists gathered up manuscripts, coins and inscriptions; in short, all the tangible evidence of an elapsed civilization (Impey and MacGregor 1985, 2). In this way, the objects could be juxtaposed to the classical literary sources and accordingly assist the verification of their reliability. The recovery therefore of antiquity is linked to the broader philosophical, educational and political framework of Humanism, which attempted to revive the knowledge as well as the ethical and aesthetic values of the past for study purposes. It was during the Renaissance that the concepts of *The Cabinet of Curiosities*, *Wunderkammern* and *Studiolos* were born, which together constituted the direct precursors of present museum collections (Swain 2007, 19). As a result, the first collections of Greek antiquities were born in the humanist libraries during the 15th and 16th century via a widespread desire towards an empirical and evidence-based approach of the past. An essential precondition in order to obtain a deep understanding of art and material culture of the classical past to be achieved, was the collection of a sufficient mass of material, the displacement from the place of its origin, and its integration into the hermeneutical microcosm of a collection. The value of these collections was primarily cognitive and didactic but one should not overlook the financial and personal-prestige incentives among the collectors.

This rapidly increasing status of classical past triggered the desire of European kings and wealthy patrons of the arts concerning the accumulation of its remains and sparked a fierce competition among their agents (Augustinos 2003, 88). Within this framework, the collections of works of ancient art were widely spread throughout the leading strata of Western Europe, taking soon the dimensions of a cultural competition for the elites.

It was mostly the private, upper-class collections that enriched the repositories of the first public museums (Lewis in Thompson 1984, 24). One of the first and richest archaeological collection worthy of discussion that has been created in England during the first half of the 17th century was that of Thomas Howard, 21st Earl of Arundel (1586-1646). Arundel was among the first who recognized the significance of Greece and Asia Minor as antiquity sources (Lewis in Thompson 1984, 24). With him, the new type of the Grand tourist with the chief purpose being "to transplant old Greece into England" (Peacham 1634, 107-108) manifests itself.

Arundel did not only disclose the upper-class approach towards the ancient past but he also signified a definitive example of the competitive spirit that prevailed among the cycles of aristocracy concerning the accumulation of classical past's remains (Brotton 2006). As Pollard (2015, 104) hints, one of the reasons that Arundel might had focused his energies on the ancient remains was that their study constituted an indication of righteous behavior. But apart from the prevalent inclination for classical morality, there were additional political motives behind the activities of Arundel, something which shows that the collection of antiquities provided a yardstick of measurement for high social status and political power. For instance, Arundel's complete career was dedicated to the restoration of his family title, which was deprived of the Dukedom of Norfolk (Vickers in Impey and Macgregor 1985, 226). Moreover, he formed the decoration of his house in such a manner as to recall the tradition of the previous century nobles, supporting in this way his social position claims (Vickers in Impey and Macgregor 1985, 226-227).

Financial reasons were an additional motivation regarding the shift of Arundel's attention to the Greek land. As Vickers (Vickers in Impey and Macgregor 1985, 227) argues, the services of Italian middlemen in the transaction of antiquities were

rather extravagant, something which led Arundel to obtain Greek antiquities directly from the source, by employing personal agents. Avid collectors therefore, such as the Earl of Arundel and the Duke of Buckingham, used agents to spot and purchase antiquities for them, like William Petty and the ambassador at Constantinople Thomas Roe. Arundel for instance had even hired a Greek employee, whose task was to collect and convey antiquities from all the Peloponnese to Patra (Gennadius 1997, 169). As Gennadius (1997, 169) postulates, he was probably the first Greek professional looter of antiquities.

Figure 8: Daniel Mytens, 1618, Arundel's portrait at his house, oil on canvas (www.npg.org.uk)

During the 1630's, Arundel's impressive collection (Fig. 8) consisted of 37 statues, 200 inscriptions, 128 busts as well as pottery, gems, coins, manuscripts and pictures[10] (Haynes 1975 in Pollard 2015, 136). Unfortunately, the abandonment and dispersion that Arundel's collection suffered after his death, attests the way that the scholar world of the first half of the 17th century perceived ancient material heritage. As characteristically Michaelis (1882, 35-38) describes:

"One fragment of a pillar actually came to be used as a roller for Mr Theobald's bowling-green at Waltham Place, Bershire. {…} Others, quite separated from their old companions, must to this day be sought in a damp basement room of the Ashmolean museum".

The French systematic interest regarding the collection of ancient artifacts also arose during the 17th century. As with the English, the French individual collectors were the first to act. Especially during the kingship of Louis XIV (1638-1715), the gathering of antiquities emerged as a high priority operation. The accumulation of ancient remains in France was not merely perceived as a means of aesthetic delight and

[10] Among them it was the popular Parian Chronicle, an ancient Greek inscription that recounts events and dates from 1581 BC until 264 BC.

contemplation but instead it reflected the mightiness and grandiosity of the king's authority. As Pomian (1990) argues, the integration of ancient heritage monuments into the newly founded centers of power builds ties of succession and marks the domination of the younger over the past. Thus, a well-organized transaction system had been established, composed of the French ministry, royal emissaries, merchants and even catholic monks. The directions that Colbert (1619-1683), minister of King Louis XIV, gave to the French consuls in the Levant are informative concerning the cultural and political context in which archaeology functioned at the time:

"You must be particularly aware that Greek manuscripts in parchment are preferable to others ….]. But, for greater precaution, it will be necessary to find someone, either a Capuchin or someone else, who is knowledgeable and therefore able to choose well. Moreover, be careful to obtain them at the best price possible" (Colbert 1672 in Augustinos 1994, 82).

At the same time, the inauguration as regards the creation and imposition of specific discourses upon 'other' people as a means of justifying acts of imperialist usurpation is vividly illustrated in Nointel's desire to bear away the Parthenon sculptures:

"All that one can say of the most elevated of these originals is that they would deserve to be placed in the cabinets or the galleries of His Majesty, where they would enjoy the protection this great monarch gives to the arts and sciences that produced them: there they would be sheltered from the abuse and the affronts done to them by the Turks, who, in order to avoid an imaginary idolatry, believe that they are performing a meritorious act by breaking away a nose or some other part" (Nointel 1674 in Augustinos 1994, 83).

Nointel therefore, approximately one century before Elgin, paves the way for the actions of the English ambassador, by expressing his strong desire concerning the transfer of the Parthenon Marbles from Greece to the West. It seems also fair to assume that Nointel's assertions introduce and articulate the future dominant European perspective towards the Greek monuments of antiquity. On the one hand, he is interested in the prestige and glory that the sculptures would offer to the French monarch, who is regarded as the rightful patron and protector of the arts. On the other hand, he underlines the necessity to protect the monuments from the local

negligence and mistreatment. Nointel thus, instead of being just a harbinger regarding the future removal and transportation of the Parthenon marbles by Elgin, also prefigures the principal argument about the safety of antiquities that western travellers and museums used in order to justify their collecting activities.

Due to Nointel's financial ruin, a big part of his collection, after continual changes of ownership ended up at the Louvre Museum (Chatzidimitriou in Matthaiou and Chatzidimitriou 2012, 42). During the French Revolution, the royal collections of ancient art were confiscated and housed in the Louvre, creating also the core of the current department of Greek antiquities of the museum (Chatzidimitriou in Matthaiou and Chatzidimitriou 2012, 41). The Louvre was enriched both with the seized antiquities of the royal collections as well as with the spoils that Napoleon carried from Italy. The inscriptions and the gravestones that had been purchased by Nointel in Greece during the late 17th century enriched the museum's collection of sculptures with some of its first original ancient Greek works[11] (Kauffmann-Samaras 2001, 35-36).

The ideological background of the Enlightenment framed the connection between the professionalization of archaeology and colonial processes, since for the first time, there was a way of discovering and assembling the past through the study of its surviving remnants (Swain 2007, 21). The culmination regarding the collection and exportation of Greek classical antiquities took place during the last pre-revolutionary decades and was primarily related to the nationalist competition between the two major powers and protectors of the Ottoman Empire; France and Britain (Hoock 2007). Their two ambassadors to Constantinople, Marie-Gabriel-Florent-Auguste Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier (1752-1817) and Thomas Bruce, 7th Earl of Elgin (1766-1841), epitomize the intense competitive atmosphere of the era and reflect the interconnection between the development of archaeology, museums and colonial practices. As men in government service, they organized archaeological expeditions and used their political privileges for specific political and financial interests. The looting of archaeological and artistic treasures from Italy and Egypt that took place during the Napoleonic expeditions leaves no doubt as regards the French intentions

[11] Two inscriptions of the collection, known as "Nointel marbles" and dated in 460 and 311 BC respectively, constitute important testimonies regarding fallen Athenians at various battlefields.

towards classical material culture: “Take everything you can. Do not neglect any opportunity for looting all that is lootable in Athens and the environs. Spare neither the living nor the dead” (Choiseul-Gouffier 1789 in Shaw 2003, 70). These were the ‘cynical’ instructions that Choiseul-Gouffier gave to his agent and subsequent consul Louis-François-Sébastien Fauvel (1765-1838). Through this triptych of diplomat, antiquarian and collector, the various attitudes and actions of ambassadors and consuls towards the ancient remains are disclosed, as well as the colonial implications of archaeological practice.

An interesting fact is that the majority of the travellers, including Choiseul-Gouffier, had deliberately concealed in their travel narratives anything that is related with their collecting activities. Still, as Stoneman (2008, 211) describes, Choiseul-Gouffier managed to gather such a large and valuable collection, that could nearly fill the ambassador’s palace in Constantinople. Lady Elisabeth Craven (1758-1828), who visited Choiseul-Gouffier in the French embassy, characterized his collection as the most unique and largest in the world (Craven 1789 in Koster 1995, 126). Among others, it included a segment of the Parthenon’s frieze which Fauvel managed to detach in 1788 on behalf of the French ambassador (Gennadius 1997, 205-206). Furthermore, Fauvel conducted excavations at Marathon, where he managed to discover three busts[12] (Petrakos 1995, 53-55). In 1789 they were transferred to Constantinople in order to join the collection of Choiseul-Gouffier (Chatzidimitriou 2015, 552). After the ambassador’s death in 1817, his rich collection, which was mainly assembled by Fauvel, was dissolved and sold to the Louvre Museum, to England and to private collectors. More specifically, the Louvre acquired the block from the Parthenon’s frieze and the busts of Marcus Aurelius and Herodes Atticus, while the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford the bust of Lucius Verus (Chatzidimitriou 2015, 552).

Fauvel therefore, as an envoy of Choiseul-Gouffier from 1780 and a French consul in Athens from 1803, managed to create one of the most organized and richest archaeological collections. According to the description of Pouqueville (1827, 46-54),

[12] In 1789 Fauvel discovered the bust of Emperor Lucius Verus and a few months later the busts of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius and of the rhetorician Herodes Atticus (Petrakos 1995, 53-55).

his house, close to the center of Ancient Agora, was an actual museum, filled with statues, vases, figurines, inscriptions, miniature works, casts and improvised relief maps of Athens and Attica. As for Lusieri's collection, it was equally rich and impressive with that of his rival. According to the English traveler Hughes (1820, 270): "The very court-yards of these two indefatigable excavators contained treasures in urns, hermae, sarcophagi, monumental tablets &c., sufficient to fill a museum". Fauvel's museum was destroyed during the Greek revolution, burying beneath the ruins a big part of its exhibits. What remained was sold in France; The National Library in Paris purchased the maps, the manuscripts and a relief plan of Attica (Stoneman 2008, 252), while the vases were acquired after auction by the Louvre (Clairmont 2007, 24).

Over the past three decades therefore before the Greek revolution of 1821, the chasing of antiquities in Greece reached its peak, since the acquisition efforts regarding the Greek relics were intensified and systematized. The Napoleonic Wars (1796-1815) undermined the alliance of French with the Porte, blocked Western Europe destinations for the English travellers, and turned the interest of the Grand Tourists towards the neutral Turkey and Greece. The "marbles fever" (Tolias 1996) spread among European travellers, who considered Greece as an unexploited and inexhaustible mine. The birth of National Museums in the 19th century is directly linked with the growing collecting activity in Greece; during the time that western countries were using archaeology and museums as development instruments concerning their national identity, they were also launching an extensive diaspora of antiquities especially from the Mediterranean to European Museums (Swain 2007, 24; Skeates 2005, 307). The creation of new museums was now essential in order the new acquisitions to be stored. The previous disordered and heterogeneous collections of Renaissance and 17th century, even the huge collection of Napoleon's Museum, were converted again into typological series and housed in the new public institutions of the proud nations (Skeates 2005, 305-306; Stoneman 2008, 253).

3.2 THE ELGIN DEBATE: AESTHETICAL, LEGAL, ETHICAL

After the breakdown of the alliance between France and the Porte, England emerged as the new guarantor of stability in the Ottoman Empire. In 1799, the British ambassador Lord Elgin reached Constantinople with the objective to defame the French and enhance the trust of the Ottoman Empire. As his architect Thomas Harrison (1744-1829) suggested him, Elgin sent the painter Giovanni Battista Lusieri (1755-1821) and his team to study and sketch the classical works of art (www.nicholls.edu). The ambassador considered the aim of his title should be "beneficial to the progress of the Fine Arts in Great Britain" (Cook 1984, 24). He also succeeded to obtain an extraordinary and ambiguous firman for archaeological operations on the Acropolis, something which reveals an exceptional friendly attitude on the part of the Turks' side (Eisner 1991, 91-92). So, the countdown regarding the transfer of the Acropolis marbles to the British Museum had already begun. The removal of the Parthenon sculptures (Fig. 9) took place between 1801 and 1804 under the supervision of Lusieri. Elgin incurred great debt since he financed all the project himself; the marbles cost him £74,420 and he eventually sold them to the British government for just £35,000 (www.nicholls.edu).

Figure 9: The removal of the Parthenon sculptures in 1801, watercolor by Edward Dodwell, Packard Humanities Institute, California (www.openedition.org)

With the arrival of Elgin's collection in England, for the first time there was given the opportunity of a direct contact with some of the finest pieces of the golden era of Greek art. However, this straight acquaintance with classical Greek antiquities caused quite a shock and confrontation among artists and connoisseurs. As

Halbertsma (Appendix 1) states, collectors during the 18th century used to purchase polished, restored and complete works of Roman copies of Greek originals. With the view therefore of the first Greek works of art in London, many art lovers were very disenchanted, since they came across with rough artworks, missing human parts[13], absence of polish on the stone (Appendix 1) and generally a spectacle which was in stark contrast to the hitherto established perspective of art critics concerning how Greek art really looks like. Besides, a probable revision of the classical ideal would damage the connoisseurs' assertions about taste and underestimate their collections.

Among the main disbelievers of the aesthetic and monetary value of the marbles were Richard Payne Knight (1750-1824) and the Society of Dilettanti. By developing various unfounded arguments, they attempted to reduce the marbles' value:

"These […] are merely architectural sculptures executed from Phidias designs and under his directions probably by workers scarcely ranked among artists. They can throw but little light upon the more important details of his art" (Payne Knight 1809, XXXIX).

Misguided by Spon's work, Payne Knight also tried to underestimate the Elgin's collection by classifying it to the second century A.D.: "You have lost your labours, my lord Elgin; your marbles are overrated. They are not Greek, they are Roman of the time of Hadrian" (Payne Knight 1816 in Gennadius 1997, 55).

On the contrary, the artists who attended Elgin's public exhibition at Park Lane in 1807 could not curb their enthusiasm. Ecstatic by the sight of the sculptures, the British painter Haydon exclaimed:

"My heart beat! […]. Here were principels which the great Greeks in their finest time established… Oh! How inwardly I thanked God that I was prepared to understand all this!" (Haydon 1926 in Gennadius 1997, 46). As Haydon also describes (Haydon 1926 in Gennadius 1997, 47), his Swiss instructor Fuseli, astonished during his examination

[13] Restoration of the missing parts was considered a common tactic at that time. However, the lack of money and the outright denial of the sculptor Canova prevented Elgin from restoring the marbles.

of the pediment sculptures cried out with a German accent: “De Greeks were Godes! De Greeks were Godes!”

The importance of this aesthetical debate lies in the fact that an all-new idea was derived about how Greek art really looks like. Scholars, artists and audience, had now available for study authentic samples of classical architectural styles and decorative patterns. Through this confrontation between artists and connoisseurs, an appreciation of the actual nature of Greek art was brought forward, leaving therefore aside the hitherto theoretical doctrines of Winckelmann and Goethe.

Apart from the aesthetical, the arrival of Elgin’s collection to England raised additional ethical discussions regarding the legality and the manner through which the British ambassador had acquired the marbles. During the Parliamentary investigation that took place in 1816, Elgin was accused of abusing his status as ambassador to obtain his collection. The statement of Sir John Newport, one of the Parliament members, constitutes a representative sample of the expressed disapproval about Elgin’s case:

“… had availed himself of most unwarrantable measures and had committed the most flagrant acts of spoliation. It seemed to have been reserved for an ambassador of this country to take away what Turks and other barbarians had always held sacred” (Newport 1815 in Gennadius 1997, 52).

Elgin defended his colonial desires in espousing an extensively used ethnocentric argument. According to his assertions, he proceeded to the removal of the sculptures in order to protect them from the mistreatment of the other travellers and the barbarity of the Turks (Eisner 1991, 94-95). The president of the Committee, Henry Bankes, although he accepted that Elgin had abused his office, refuted the argument of spoliation of the sculptures, claiming that travellers and locals were so unconcerned concerning the fate of the antiquities that they even used them as shooting targets (Bankes 1816 in Gennadius 1997, 57-58).

On the contrary, fierce reactions were expressed regarding Elgin’s destructive practices, especially from those who attended the four-year plunder of Acropolis like the travellers Edward Dodwell, Edward Daniel Clarke and Sir William Gell. Among

them, one could add the popular works of Lord Byron, who, through the publications of *The Curse of Minerva* (1811) and *Child Harold* (1812) expressed the widespread public indignation about Elgin, indelibly stigmatizing the English ambassador as well as the supporters of his actions. The most common argument of those who reacted against Elgin's activities was based on the view that the removal of a part reduces the aesthetic value of the whole, depriving thereby the possibility of a future enjoyment of the monuments by artists and travellers (Hobhouse 2014, 299). As also Williams (1820, 323) states:

"That the Elgin marbles will contribute to the improvement of art in England, cannot be doubted. […]. What can we say to the disappointed traveller, who is now deprived of the rich gratification which would have compensated his travel and his toil? It will be little consolation to him to say, he may find the sculpture of the Parthenon in England".

On the other hand, citing the words of Athanasios Psalidas, John Cam Hobhouse (1786-1869) did not exclude the possibility that a politically independent Greek nation may claim the ownership of the monuments:

"Yet I cannot forbear mentioning a singular speech of a learned Greek of Ioannina, who said to me: You English are carrying off the works of the Greeks our forefathers -preserve them well – we Greeks will come and re-demand them" (Hobhouse 2014, 300).

A notable exception concerning the stereotyped reactions against Elgin was the British politician Frederic Sylvester North Douglas (1791-1819). Douglas did not consider the aesthetical loss of the monuments as the most decisive issue concerning the Elgin's case. On the contrary, he set purely ethical and social justice issues, stressing the significance of the symbolical and economical value of the monuments for the country of their origin:

"Independently of the harm which has been done to the arts themselves by this mistaken zeal for their advancement, it appears to me a very flagrant piece of injustice to deprive an helpless and friendly nation of any possession of value to

them, even of that value should alone consist in attracting strangers and riches to their country" (Douglas 1813, 89).

The intense controversy therefore around Elgin's collection, underlines a gradual shift of attitude that started to take place, not only in terms of the aesthetical conception of classical art, but also regarding the perception of antiquities as an integral part of a national cultural heritage. The refusal of Canova to restore the missing parts of the marbles constitutes a prominent indicator concerning a gradual recognition of the historicity of the monuments.

Furthermore, the reproduction by Hobhouse of Psalida's quote, which defended the right of ownership of the Greeks over their ancestral heritage, reveals the gradual politicization of the issue. Besides, during the parliamentary investigation on the purchase of the sculptures by the British Museum, for the first time there were clearly raised legal, ethical as well as restitution issues (Hammersley 1816 in Greenfield 1995, 61).

But most importantly, the Elgin marbles seems to acquire a new symbolic meaning and value; that of the signifiers of imperial power and national identity (Hamilakis 2007, 253). During an era that modern Europe claimed the Greek classical past as its original place of origin and aimed to appropriate it for self-definition (Sofos 2010, 81-82), the Parthenon marbles provided the material evidence to back up the colonial strategy that Britain, which managed to rescue them from the backward Turks and the indifferent Greeks, is the rightful descendant of the Golden Age of Athens and Pericles (Hamilakis 2007, 253). The all controversy therefore that was sparked by Elgin's collection, did not only constitute an important first step forward towards the alternation of taste, but also actively contributed to the shaping of the concept of archaeological cultural heritage and highlighted the symbolic value of antiquities as tangible proofs and signifiers of cultural and national identity.

Still, it should not be underestimated the irreversible damage that Parthenon suffered during the detachment of its sculptures by Lusieri. A more rational planning would have prevented the fall of the cornices and the amputation of several triglyphs. In addition, the popularity of Elgin's case played a key role in the emergence of a new wave of rapaciousness by travellers in Greece, encouraging

thereby the various destructive practices (Williams 1820, 212). Following the footsteps of Elgin, the majority of those travellers, in order to justify their collecting activities, accused the native Greek population of indifference regarding the preservation of the monuments. On the contrary, it is a common place in Greek national historiography to try to prove that prior to the independence of Greece, its inhabitants conscientiously treated the remained antiquities as heritage of their ancient ancestors, hence protecting them with whatever means they had and despite the existing difficulties and their lack of education (Hamilakis 2007, 64-65). Before thus the dissemination of the concept of Greek national identity and continuity becomes widespread, a discussion is necessary regarding the relationship of local population with the ancient remains of the past, as well as the various relations of power that were formed around antiquities.

3.3 THE RELATIONSHIP OF LOCAL POPULATIONS WITH MATERIAL HERITAGE

It was quite common during the 18th and 19th centuries the circulation, especially through the popular western travel narratives, of certain bias which attributed to the local population of Ottoman Greece an apathetic and destructive attitude towards the antique remains. As discussed above, the argument of saving the ancient relics from the ignorance and abuse of the local Greeks and Turks was already present during the 17th century and became a stereotype after the collection of classical Greek sculptures by Elgin at the beginning of the 19th century. This strategy of knowledge-power reflects the well-known colonial scheme that "subject cultures required management and regimes to articulate, map, and control resources, specifically their monumental past" (Meskell 2003, 51 in Ruibal 2010). According therefore to several travellers' testimonies, Greeks and Turks were engaged in systematic destructions of monuments mainly to avail themselves of raw building materials and lime mortal. The popularity that this destructive mania discourse gained at the time is reflected on the quite successful theatrical work that took place in Paris at the end of the 18th century with title *Palma ou le Voyage en Gréce*, where one of the main characters was a Greek who chopped ancient pillars to build millstones (Lemontéy 1798 in Tolias 1996, 32). In similar fashion, local population was accused by travellers of re-using the buildings, or parts of them, and of converting the ancient temples into mosques and churches, with the Parthenon being a typical example. According to Kondyli and Vroom (2011, 27), this transformation often required the addition of an apse or a dome, something which brought about considerable architectural modifications to the ancient temples. Furthermore, the Irish traveler Dodwell (1819b, 324-327) reports several destructions of ancient monuments in Athens, Sounion, Corinth, Olympia, etc., in order for the ancient stones to be used as constructive materials of newer buildings. In an analogous way, Stuart and Revett (1762, 57) described the situation in Delos:

"The number of curious marbles here is continually diminishing, on account of a custom, the Turks have, of placing, at the heads of the graves of their deceased friends, a marble column; and the miserable sculptors of that nation come here every year, and work up the fragments for that purpose".

In addition to the relatively well-known custom of converting marble columns into tombstones, travellers were witnessing ancient pillars to be used as stable supports, statues to be deformed by Turkish spear hits, and sarcophagi to be converted into well buckets or watering holes for sheep and goats (Castellan 1808).

In short, the travellers' testimonies usually reproduce the conventional image of a generalized Greek and Turkish indifference towards antiquities. However, the engagement of local inhabitants with the material antiquities of their land was much more complicated than that represented by European travellers and institutions. The Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi (1611-1682) for instance, testified the veneration that both Greeks and Turks showed for classical ruins and the use of certain monuments as places of worship (Biris 1959, 47-51 in Hamilakis 2007). According also to Laborde (1854), the Turks were moderate conquerors and after the conquest of Athens in 1454 they showed that they appreciate the value of the antique artworks. Still, as Beulé (1855) postulates, because of their religious aversion to every kind of anthropomorphism, the Ottomans were often proceeded to various amputations of statues and antiquities, especially to those that they could reach with their hands. Fauvel, however, contradicts this point of view by asserting that the majority of the destructions that the classical monuments suffered were made by the barbarous zeal of the early Christians (Fauvel in Thomasson 2010, 505). Indeed, the Christians had a horror relationship with the naked human body and its depiction, something which led them to various acts of barbarism against antique statues (Constantine 2011, 8). The case of the Duc de Mazarin (1632-1713), who destroyed with a hammer all the naked parts of the ancient statues of his collection, proves that such practices were not abnormal for the fanatic Christians. As for the case of the Acropolis, Dodwell (1819a, 323) declares that "… the Athenians in general, nay, even the Turks themselves did lament the ruin that was committed; and loudly and openly blamed their sovereign for the permission he had granted!". Similar observations are also made by another eyewitness, Edward Daniel Clarke (1769-1822), who describes the difficulties that Lusieri encountered during the removal of the sculptural decoration of the Parthenon, due to the respect that the Turks had for the temple (Clarke 1817, 223-224). The same traveller recorded also the reaction of the Turkish military commander at the sight of the monument's destruction: "The Disdar, seeing this,

could no longer restrain his emotions; but actually took his pipe from his mouth, and letting fall a tear, said, in a most emphatical tone of voice, «τέλος[14]!» …]" (Clarke 1817, 224).

There are also infrequent cases where travellers' testimonies reveal that ordinary people were interested in antiquities and tried in their own way to protect them. Manousakis for example, the Greek guide of Dodwell, mentioned that it was a received tradition to overturn and conceal the ancient inscriptions at the ruins of Mystras "because many years ago a French *milordos* who visited Sparta, after having copied a great number of inscriptions, had the letters chiselled out and defaced" (Dodwell 1819b, 405). According to Dodwell, this French was undoubtedly Abbe' Fourmont, who was sent in Greece by Louis XV during 1729 and caused irreparable damage to the antiquities of Sparta: "[… since the time of Alaric, Greece never had so formidable an enemy" (Dodwell 1819b, 406). The case of Fourmont, the destruction caused by Elgin during the removal of the Parthenon sculptures as well as the unpleasant ending of the collections of Arundel and Gouffier, are only a few examples disclosing that the travellers' argument about rescuing the antiquities was to a large extent a mere pretext in order to support their collecting ambitions.

Still, contrary to the claims of national historiography, the Greek people did not consider the remaining ancient monuments and objects as relics of a shared national cultural heritage, especially in the manner they are considered nowadays. The ancient ruins were for the local Greeks an integral part of their everyday life; a pre-existing constructed background, which they used and reused for buildings, shelters, tools, landmarks, and among which they daily worked and lived (Kondyli and Vroom 2011, 33). For example, the discovery of ancient and Byzantine storage jars during the excavations in the Athenian Agora proves the timeless re-use of antique objects throughout Ottoman and even more modern times by the local population (Kondyli and Vroom 2011, 35). The ancient monuments that travellers collected and transported to European museums, could often be incorporated by local Greeks in their houses and churches, could be destroyed by them, safeguarded, admired, or even attached with supernatural or magical powers (Camp 2013, 26). In short, the relationship of local Greeks with antiquities, compared to that of European travellers

[14] "The end" (own translation).

who repeatedly accused locals of barbarism and unconcern, was quite different, and thus, it should be perceived from a different point of view.

To illustrate, a frequent spectacle encountered by travellers was the incorporation of ancient architectural parts into contemporary buildings. John Morritt, who undertook the Grand Tour during the years 1794-1796, described this widespread practice of *spolia*:

"It is very pleasant to walk the streets here. Over almost every door is an antique statue or basso-rilievo, more or less good though all much broken, so that you are in a perfect gallery of marbles in these lands. Some we steal, some we buy, and our court is much adorned with them" (Morritt in Marindin 2011, 179).

Figure 10: Agios Ioannis church with embedded spolia, 13th century, Keria, Greece (https://www.flickr.com/photos/orientalizing/46220217122)

Interestingly, this alternative way of exhibiting of antiquities in private houses and churches (Fig. 10) was carefully weighted following a certain reasoning; for example, ancient inscriptions or sculptures usually framed meaningful passages of private homes and churches such as windows or doorways (Hamilakis in Bahrani and Celik 2011, 57-59). Kyriakos Pittakis (1798-1863), one of the first Greek modern archaeologists, was surprised during archaeological investigations at Propylaea by the great care and precaution regarding the embedding of the intact archaeological remains within the buildings (Pittakis in Kokkou 1977, 23). However, as Camp (2013, 27) suggests, this method is quite controversial since it may be related either to an attempt to rescue the antiquities, or rather to benefit from the various supernatural and protective qualities often attributed to them by the locals.

Indeed, travellers systematically reported the various superstitious attitudes and ascribed their cultural distance with the local population in order to legitimize their rights in antiquities and to justify their removal. It seems that in many cases the

native inhabitants associated their fate with that of the monuments and hence resisted in cases of their removal.

"Inscriptions we copied as they fell in our way, and carried off the marbles whenever it was possible; for the avarice or superstition of the inhabitants made that task difficult and sometimes impracticable" (Wood 1751 in Thomasson 2010, 502).

According also to Hamilakis' (2009) investigation on folk stories from 19th century about ancient Greeks, an attribution of human-like properties and emotive reactions on ancient things can be observed. To illustrate, the long-established local tradition puts it that after the removal of Caryatid by Elgin, every evening the lamentations from her sisters in Acropolis were audible (Douglas 1813, 85-86). Stories like the above as well as the practices of *spolia* were deployed by national historiography as proofs of an unbroken genealogical continuity between 19th century Greeks and the ancient Hellenes. As Camp (2013, 27) also argues, the fact that in the early 19th century people baptized their children with ancient Greek names, and named their ships inspired by ancient Greek history and mythology adds up to this idea.

Nevertheless, the various cases of reverence towards antiquities and the active engagement with them do not provide sufficient evidence regarding a conscious genealogical association of local residents with their ancient ancestors. To emphasize, the aforementioned widespread use in the early 19th century of names derived from classical antiquity, took by great surprise the Ottoman governor of Epirus, Ali Pasha:

"You have something big in your head: you do not give to your children names like Yannis, Petros, Kostas any more, but Leonidas, Themistocles, Aristides! You are planning something for sure" (Ali Pasha 1819 in Hamilakis 2007, 77-78).

In addition, according to Koutsogiannis (Lagogianni-Georgakarakos and Koutsogiannis 2015, 65), the inhabitants of Athens began gradually not only to forget the history of the city's ancient monuments, but they also ignored their original use and names; the tradition of 'soubriquets'[15], began to take place already from the Byzantine period and was maintained until the 17th century. Historical links and

[15] Tradition of nicknames which mistakenly linked the monuments' names with famous men of the Athenian antiquity.

remembrances were more likely to exist with the recent medieval past than with the bygone classical era (Politis 1997, 13 in Hamilakis 2007). The fact that people of Greece did not consider the ancient ruins as feats of their ancestors is testified also by the traveler Otto Magnus Baron von Stackelberg (1786-1837). According to his records, the Greeks of Arcadia believed that antiquities were Frankish creations which foreigners were trying to retrieve and repatriate (Stackelberg 1826).

Still, local beliefs and practices such as the incorporation of antiquities often in prominent places such as the churches, as well as the attribution to them of animate characteristics or supernatural qualities, speak of a distinctive perception of the materiality of the antique remains and their agency on people, which came in a dialogue and often in conflict with the modern European archaeology represented by both travellers and Greek nationalists (Hamilakis in Bahrani and Celik 2011). In the following case studies, the complex relationship of local population with the ancient material remains as well as the asymmetrical power relationships and the various transcultural interactions that were shaped around material culture will be further analyzed. Moreover, the links between archaeology, museums and national and colonial imaginings will be revealed.

3.3.1 THE CASE OF EDWARD DANIEL CLARKE AND THE STATUE OF DEMETER AT ELEUSIS

Among the first travellers who visited Greece in the early 19th century was the British Edward Daniel Clarke (1769-1822). Together with his fellow traveler John Marten Cripps (1780-1853), they managed to assemble a big collection of antiquities during their travels in Asia Minor, Attica, the Aegean islands, Cyprus and Egypt (Clarke 1809, 32-37). Within this collection, the most prominent acquisition was the statue of Demeter (Fig. 11) which got removed from the sanctuary of Eleusis in Greece in 1801. Despite its bad state, the colossal statue was venerated by the local people, since they had associated it with the fertility of their fields and in front of which they used to place a candle in a similar way as with the Christian icons. Indeed, it is said that the bonds between the inhabitants and the statue of the goddess were strong to such a degree that the local people needed to arm themselves in order to protect her from a Venetian admiral who tried to take her away (Bracken 1975, 76).

Figure 11: The"Ceres of Eleusis", caryatid from the Temple of Demeter, Fitzwilliam Museum (www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk)

Despite thus the local resistance, the two travellers were committed to remove the two-ton statue from the pile of dung where it was placed and transport it to England. In order to succeed, they obtained a firman by bribing the Turkish governor of Athens with Lusieri's telescope (Tsigakou 2007, 134). But then something unexpected happened; an ox which managed to escape from its yoke, stood before the statue and began for a long time to butt it with its head before running quickly to the plain of Eleusis (Clarke 1809, 35-36). As expected, there was a great commotion among the inhabitants of Eleusis who considered it as a negative sign. Moreover, fear prevailed that whoever touched the statue would lose his arm. Under the circumstances, Clarke recruited the local priest to strike the first blow with a mattock, in order to persuade all eyewitnesses that no harm would happen to the laborers (Clarke 1809, 36). Finally, the colossal statue was loaded onto a large ship bound for England. However, as noted by Clarke (1809, 37), the inhabitants had foreseen that the ship would be wrecked, and by strange coincidence, their prophecy was fulfilled. Clark's collection was recovered and transferred with honors to the University Library of Cambridge in 1803, where it was proved that the statue did not represent the goddess Demeter, but a Roman period caryatid (Bracken 1975, 82). As Stoneman (2008, 233) points out, little attention is now being given to this massive, faceless marble on the lower floor of the Fitzwilliam Museum where it was transferred in 1865.

The above case study reflects clearly the colonial ambition of European travellers to appropriate the prestigious for western imagination classical material remains, in an era characterized by intense nationalist competition; "In the course of our absence we sent home more treasures than those sent so far by any travellers hired by kings and rulers" (Clarke in Tsigakou 2007, 134). The donation of Clarke's collection to the University of Cambridge, which also signaled the end of the hitherto great private

collectors, for the purpose of national edification (Bracken 1975, 82-83), is directly related to the institutionalization of archaeology and to the emergence of museums as national educational devices (Díaz-Andreu 2007).

Within this framework of nationalist antagonism and colonial usurpation, the case study of Eleusis reveals also a broader conflict that took place between two culturally dissimilar approaches towards the material past. As Hamilakis (Hamilakis in Bahrani and Celik 2011) argues, the indigenous people of Eleusis were enacting their own archaeology; giving attention on the actual context of the statue's finding and based on its sculptural features such as the ears of corn, they had created an active and multisensory discourse around it; a distinctive perception of the materiality of the artifact that was full of agency and integrated in the web of their daily life. Clarke, as a representative of the 'superior' European modernist archaeology, faced the local culture and archaeological practices in a plainly pejorative fashion, reproducing the well-known colonial tactic of saving the antiquities from the underdeveloped and 'superstitious' inhabitants legitimizing in this way their expatriation to the safer environment of western institutions.

An additional point of interest though derives through the impact that the local inhabitants' identification of the statue as the goddess of fertility Demeter had on European antiquarians' mistaken judgment about it. On the one hand, it can be argued that antiquities which are now considered of relatively low importance were once very valuable for local people. On the other hand, despite the general Orientalizing and superior attitude by travellers towards the indigenous cultures and practices, it has been shown that they did not remain completely unaffected by them. In fact, a radical interdependence of cultural and political formations is indicated; an interconnectedness which, according to Bhabha's (2004) criticism of Said's work, undermines the premise of cultures as pure and static entities characterized by binary oppositions, exposing in this way the core of the justification of colonialism.

Finally, the collecting action of Clarke is connected, partly as a reaction to it and mainly because of the adoption by Greek national imagination of the European discourse of Hellenism and the idealization of classical material past, with the first

organized reaction regarding the protection of antiquities. Adamantios Korais (1748-1833) in particular, proceeded to the first clear statement regarding the property rights of the Greeks over the material remains of their ancestors: "[… How else can we convince the accusers of the nation, if we do not inform them in a firm and irrevocable decision that we neither give, nor sell the ancestral estates?[16]" (Korais 1807 in Kokkou 1977, 28). Through a series of proposals, the prominent scholar and merchant from the Greek diaspora developed his ideas and suggested measures that he deemed necessary for the preservation of the ancient remains. Among them, he proposed the establishment of a Greek Museum, which would function as a center of national collection and preservation of Greek manuscripts and antiquities (Korais 1807 in Kokkou 1977, 30-31). An additional interesting fact is that Korais considered the uneducated Greek people as the main responsible concerning the lack of protection of their heritage (Matthaiou in Matthaiou and Chatzidimitriou 2012, 19). Within this framework therefore of transplantation of the western classical ideals to Greek reality, the local inhabitants were subjected to various modernizing projects for the upper purpose of national consolidation. This form of inner colonial cultural policies (Ruibal in Lydon and Rizvi 2010) included an alternation in the attitudes towards antiquities, from daily life objects attached with magical powers, to tangible evidences of the relationship between classical Greece and the establishing homogenized national community;

"… but it was the materiality of ancient sites, buildings, remnants, and artefacts, their physicality, visibility, tangible nature, and embodied presence, that provided the objective (in both senses of the word) reality of the nation. It was their sense of longevity, and their aura of authenticity that endowed them with enormous symbolic power" (Hamilakis 2007, 79).

[16] Own translation

3.4 THE CASE STUDIES OF APHAEA IN AEGINA AND APOLLON EPICURIUS AT BASSAE

It was in 1811, when the British architects John Foster (1786-1846) and Charles Robert Cockerell[17] (1788-1863) met the German Carl Haller von Hallerstein (1774-1817) and the Swabian painter Jacob Linckh (1787-1841). Together with the Estonian archaeologist and painter Otto Magnus Baron von Stackelberg (1786-1837) and the Danes Peter Oluf Brøndsted (1780-1842) and Georg Koës (1782–1811), this international fellowship of travellers formed a philological society named 'Xenion', prerequisite of which was the passion for classical studies, eternal friendship and solidarity between its members (Tolias 1996, 25; Tsigakou 1981, 23).

In April 1811, Cockerell, along with Foster, Hallerstein and Linckh, reached the island of Aegina in order to study the architecture of the Temple of Aphaea[18] (Cockerell 2013, 50). Additionally, they gathered some Greek workmen to help them "in turning stones" (Cockerell 2013, 51). As Cockerell (2013, 50) describes in his personal diary:

"We got our provisions and labourers from the town, our fuel was the wild thyme, there were abundance of partridges to eat, and we bought kids of the shepherds; and when work was over for the day, there was a grand roasting of them over a blazing fire with an accompaniment of native music, singing and dancing".

[17] Cockerell was the designer of Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. According to Bracken (1975, 106), the view of Elgin's marbles in England triggered Cockerell to undertake the Grand Tour and study closely the remaining Greek architectural achievements.
[18] At the time, Aphaea was erroneously considered to be the Temple of Jupiter.

Figure 12: C.R. Cockerell, 1860, the excavation of the Temple of Aphaea in Aegina (https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cockerell1860/0030)

On the second day of the excavation (Fig. 12), one of the excavators struck on a piece of Parian marble, something that drew his attention, since the rest of the temple was made of stone (Cockerell 2013, 51). In brief, they managed to unearth 16 statues and many other fragments, all of them highly preserved (Cockerell 2013, 52).

As happened in the case of Eleusis, the main difficulty that the western antiquarians faced was the refusal of local population to comply with their colonial desires; "It was not expected that we should be allowed to carry away what we had found without opposition" (Cockerell 2013, 53-54). The primates of the island, by articulating a statement made by the council and by invoking arguments based on the antiquities' protective properties, claimed their property rights over the findings and begged the fellowship to abandon their operation (Cockerell 2013, 53-54). In a conventional colonial trick, Cockerell and his company downgraded the local protests as irrational prejudices of illiterate and greedy peasants: "Such a rubbishy pretence of superstitious fear was obviously a mere excuse to extort money …]" (Cockerell 2013, 53-54). In any event, the company had predicted the reaction of the inhabitants and had already called a boat to transfer the finds to Athens (Hallerstein 1811 in Tolias 1996, 89). The marbles were carried in the harbor at night in absolute secrecy with the help of 20 people and 6 donkeys (Bracken 1975, 119). They also employed bribery methods in order to pass with safety from the Turkish customs post (Bracken 1975, 122).

Still, reflecting the wider climate of intense nationalist competition, the new owners of the Aegina collection did not agree regarding the disposal of their discovery. Foster and Cockerell desired the British Museum to acquire the marbles, while Hallerstein and Linckh wanted to reserve them for a German hegemonic collection (Hallerstein 1811 in Tolias 1996, 90). Nevertheless, with the mediation of the French consul Fauvel, the fellowship finally signed a contract of honor, which defined the collective ownership of the findings (Cockerell 2013, 52; Hallerstein 1811 in Tolias 1996, 91). However, for fear of the Turkish authorities, they agreed upon letting the whole case in the experienced hands of the Austrian consul Georg Christian Gropius[19] (1776-1850) who accordingly decided to transfer the collection to the British-occupied island of Zakynthos and from there to the safest Malta in order to avoid any impending attack by the French (Cockerell 2013, 65). The marbles were surreptitiously transferred to the port at night on horses and mules (Cockerell 2013, 65). The sale was set to take place through a public auction in Zakynthos in November 1812 and the news was published in the press of all major European states (Tolias 1996, 27). Visconti, the keeper of antiquities at the Louvre, expressed his strong interest in the acquisition of the Aegina marbles (Bracken 1975, 129). The British, likewise, allocated the keeper of antiquities of the British Museum, Taylor Combe, in order to purchase the collection (Bracken 1975, 130). However, Gropius was unclear as to where the auction would take place. Although the marbles were in Malta, the auction took place in Zakynthos, in the absence of the British representative who insisted on seeing the statues in Malta first. Eventually, the collection was acquired by Martin Wagner, on behalf of the Bavarian prince Ludwig. He did not have to travel to Malta to evaluate the collection, since he could see Fauvel's casts of the marbles at Athens (Bracken 1975, 132). Despite the strong objections concerning Gropius' biased attitude, the collection was housed in the Glyptothek of Munich, after having been restored by the Danish sculptor Thorwaldsen (Bracken 1975, 134).

But even before the auction took place, part of the fellowship decided to visit Bassae in the Peloponnese, in order to study the temple of Apollon Epikourios (Fig. 13). Stackelberg, who describes in detail the work at the temple, mentions a comical

[19] Georg Gropius came to Greece in 1803 as agent of Aberdeen and later he served as consul of England and Austria until his death in 1850 (Protopsaltes 1947, 90-91).

incident where thanks to a fox who left her burrow, Cockerell managed to discover an embossed centaur from the inner frieze of the temple (Stackelberg 1826, 13). Once more, the inhabitants and the local authorities reacted fiercely to the excavation and forced the antiquarians to bury again the findings until they were equipped with the necessary permits (Foster 1812 in Tolias 1996, 161). As also Cockerell's son describes:

"All the same, he seemed to have given some orders to our guide against digging; for the shepherds we engaged kept talking of the fear we were in, and at last went away, one saying the work was distasteful to him. They were no great loss, for they were so stupid that I was obliged to be always with them to work too, in doing which I tore my hand and got exceedingly fatigued (Cockerell 2013, 75).

Figure 13: C.R. Cockerell, 1860, the excavation of the Temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae (https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cockerell1860/0071)

The granting of an official permit for excavation was given after Gropius's financial negotiations with Veli Pasha, the son of the Ottoman governor of the Pashalik of Ioannina, Ali Pasha (Foster 1812 in Tolias 1996, 162). Under further reactions and obstacles instigated by the locals, antiquities were carried on the shoulders of 150 shepherds to the port and loaded on a ship to Zakynthos (Stackelberg 1826, 23-24). Eventually, the collection was placed on an auction and after strong negotiations it was purchased by the British Museum for the sum of 15,000 pounds (Bracken 1975, 153-154).

The aforementioned commercialization of antiquities comes in sheer contrast with the initial 'noble' intentions of the travellers. Furthermore, Cockerell's accusations regarding the greediness and rapacity of the local people of Aegina and Bassae seem rather deceitful. As Cockerell stated in a letter to his father, it was reputation rather than financial compensation that constituted the pivotal motivation for his activities (Cockerell in Watkin 1974, 7-8). Yet, the binding contract of the fellowship with Fauvel concerning the non-individual sale of the antiquities contradicts Cockerell's view. Taking also into account that the sale of the Aegina and Bassae collection brought a substantial profitability to the members of the society (Bracken 1975, 180), it can be inferred that European antiquarians' initially supposed 'rescuing' or 'civilizing' motives were not detached from the pursuit of material gain.

European travellers' investment of ancient artifacts with financial value contributed also to a shift in attitude towards the ancient material remains, especially by the local Ottoman rulers. Indeed, as Stackelberg (1826, 22) postulates, the reputation of the success of the excavation at Bassae had transformed the white marble of the findings into pure silver, something which significantly raised Veli's expectations. In 1810, he conducted excavations in Mycenae, Argos, Mantineia and Myloi (Bracken 1975, 96-97). According to Fauvel's manuscripts (Fauvel in Gennadius 1997, 38), some of his findings, about 30 statues and other antiquities, were sold in 1810 to Lord Sligo for 1,000 chekinia[20]. The partial mimicry by Ottoman rulers and in several cases of local population of the so-called universal principles regarding material heritage is vividly illustrated in Holland's (1815, 263) description of Veli Pasha:

"I may mention it as a curious fact, that in one of his journies from the Morea to Thessaly, he turned aside to visit the ruins at Athens. He pitched his tents without the city, that no umbrage might be given to the inhabitants, and desired them to consider him *as enas Milordos,* come to look at the curiosities of the place".

Still, despite the apparent influence that western culture and manners had upon the local reality of Ottoman Greece, Ali's exaggerated copying of them can be perceived as a form of mockery; a comical undermining of the western superior civilization

[20] Venetian gold coins.

through partial repetition, which according to Bhabha (2004) indicates a mode of resistance to colonial discourses.

All things considered, the case studies presented above are indicative of the strong interconnection between the consolidation of archaeology and museums, nationalist antagonism and colonial enterprises. The transportation of Greek antiquities in the major museums of the European capitals during the 19th century did not any longer serve the hitherto interests of the antiquities' scholars but mainly the competitive attitudes of the great powers that took place from the years of the French Revolution onwards. As Swain (2007, 23-34) also argues, the acquisition race of Greek antiquities by the Western nations demonstrates their national pride and develops their national identity as colonial powers. This competition is manifested through the constant comparisons that take place with regard to the acquisitions of the central museums of the respective states or the results of their archaeological expeditions. To demonstrate further, characteristic is the case of a French newspaper[21] which expresses its intense dissatisfaction because the Louvre Museum lacks in sculptures and statues compared to that of London and Munich (Protopsaltes 1967, 73-75). As regards the cases of Aegina and Bassae, Foster is unequivocal about the competitive atmosphere between the shareholders' countries. In letters[22] to his father from Zakynthos, where the finds of the excavations have been displayed for sale, he expresses his satisfaction about the French offer for the sculptures of Aegina (Foster 1812 in Gialouris 1988, 9). Yet, in a later part of the epistle, Foster states that it would be a shame for the British government to allow the French to buy both the collections, because if that happens they will boast even more than Rome (Foster 1812 in Gialouris 1988, 9). Consuls, as men in government service, personify with their action this nationalist competitive atmosphere. As demonstrated in the above cases, the intervention of Gropius and Fauvel was decisive with regard to the successful trafficking of antiquities to European museums.

In this context, the British Museum has gained to a large extent its current reputation thanks to the marble embossed frieze of the temple of Apollon Epicurius

[21] Le Courrier de la Grèce, 15 / 27 of March, 1831.
[22] The epistles are kept at the Gennadius Library in Athens.

at Bassae and the Parthenon marbles acquired in the early 19th century (Chatzidimitriou in Matthaiou and Chatzidimitriou 2012, 36-37). Moreover, the Glyptothek in Munich was designed by the Bavarian architect Leo Von Klenze (1784-1864) in the neoclassical style to house the sculptures of the temple of Aphaea on Aegina and the rest of the collection of Louis A' (Wünsche 2005, 7-16). It was the first purely archaeological museum, exclusively dedicated to housing ancient sculptures. As Stoneman (2008, 294) also states, Glyptothek laid down rules regarding subsequent museums' design since it constituted the first outline of a modern institution, destined mainly for public study and practice rather than private enjoyment.

Still, the grip that classical antiquities had on western antiquarians-scholars and institutions, as well as the employment of indigenous population as manual labor for excavations and the exploitation of their resources through highly asymmetrical relations of power (Gosden 2004; Hamilakis in Damaskos and Plantzos 2008; Pratt 1992), speak of a proper material colonization. The universal values regarding material heritage represented by travellers came in dialogue and in opposition with the distinct spiritual values attributed to antiquities by local people, turning the excavations' sites into zones of conflict and indigenous opposition.

On top of that, the scientific and colonial motivations of this same group of antiquarians are closely related with the foundation of the first institution of modern archaeology in Greece. To illustrate, at the time of the sale of the archaeological collections of Aegina and Bassae in 1813, a company called *Philomousos Etaireia* has been established in Athens. The Society's main objectives were the cultivation of the classical Hellenic spirit among young people, the publication of books and the discovery and collection of antiquities in order to create a museum (Tolias 1996, 34). Embracing therefore the prevailing Eurocentric standpoints, the Greek nationalists tried to prove that they are worthy descendants of their ancestors; and to do so, they had to detach antiquities from the hitherto indigenous beliefs and practices established around them, and deposit them in a special institution as both undeniable proofs of national continuity and as works highly appreciated by the western nations (Hamilakis 2007, 80-81).

In this regard, *Philomousos Etaireia* is an institution that reflects the imposition through consent (Gramschi 1975 in Oscar Moro-Abadía 2006) by the Greek national dream of the modern Western principles. To illustrate further, between its 108 founding members, the 50 members are foreigners and mostly Europeans travellers (Tolias 1996, 35). Moreover, among them there are some of the protagonists of the removal of the antiquities of Aegina and Bassae, such as Cockerell, Stackelberg, Hallerstein, Linckh, Foster and Gropius (Tolias 1996, 35). In addition, the first manager of the company, Alexandros Logothetou Chomatianos, was a supporter of the English interests in Athens and had previously been involved in antiquity hunting; he constituted the link between Lord Guilford and the agents of Elgin with Greece, assisting them significantly in the accumulation and exportation of their archaeological collections (Tolias 1996, 35). Taking also into account that the Society's articles of association included the guiding of European travellers to the detection of ancient Greek monuments (Kokkou 1977, 33), it seems fair to assume that at the beginning of its establishment, the *Philomousos Etaireia* served mainly as a mean of detection and spoliation of antiquities for nationalist-imperialist interests rather than a guarantor of their protection. Moreover, it is an institution that reflects vividly the interrelation between the origins of Greek modern national archaeology and the western nations' colonial desires and practices.

The final part of this chapter concerns the collection of Greek antiquities by the Flemish Colonel Bernard Eugène Antoine Rottiers (1771-1857). In this case study, the intersection of colonial and national imaginings as well as the central role that material culture played in these imaginings will be furthered analyzed. Moreover, by juxtaposing the existing data about Rottiers' second expedition in Greece with new material, I aim to reconstruct and shed light on "one of the strangest in the annals of the Dutch archaeological museum" (Halbertsma 2003, 57) stories.

3.5 THE COLLECTION OF GREEK ANTIQUITIES BY B.E.A. ROTTIERS – ITS IMPACT AND SYMBOLIC CHARACTER

Figure 14: Portrait of Bernard Eugène Antoine Rottiers (www.rmo.nl)

The National Museum of Antiquities is the national archaeological museum of the Netherlands housing within its walls a rich variety of archaeological collections from different cultures around the world. It was established in 1818 and the core of its collections derived mainly from the bequest of Gerard van Papenbroek (1673–1743) and the accumulation of antiquities from various Dutch organizations (Halbertsma 2003). However, the golden age of the museum is inseparably linked with the name of Caspar Reuvens (1793 – 1835) who was appointed director of the museum and Professor of Archaeology in the University of Leiden in 1818 (Halbertsma 2003). Following the competitive atmosphere of the time, Reuvens aimed to create a museum in the standards of the British ones and the Louvre. This opportunity was offered to him in 1820, when he was invited by the Dutch government to evaluate a collection of Greek antiquities owned by the retired general Rottiers (Halbertsma 2003, 49).

In 1819, two years before the inauguration of the Greek liberation fight against the Ottomans, Rottiers (Fig. 14), together with the diplomats Gropius, Fauvel and Giuracich, carried out extended excavations in Athens and its surroundings (Eliot 1962, 10-16). The results proved to be exceptionally fruitful. The findings included marble grave lekythoi, statuary fragments, pottery and grave reliefs, among which the most important was the Attic grave relief of Archestrate (Halbertsma 2003, 49-53). As also Halbertsma (Appendix 1) points out, “In the view therefore of Rottiers’ list, Reuvens became very enthusiastic; for the first time, a Dutch museum had the tangible opportunity of acquiring original Greek art of the classical period. Furthermore, in conjunction with van Papenbroek’s bequest, this collection would perfectly serve Reuvens’ project regarding the development of Leiden’s museum

(Halbertsma 2003, 51). In fact, the great significance of Rottiers' collection is mirrored in Reuvens' words: "Some pieces of this collection are so important, that any museum of the first rank would like to acquire them" (Reuvens 1820 in Halbertsma 2003, 51). After comparing the pieces with corresponding antiquities from recent auctions, Reuvens bought the collection for 12,000 guilders (Halbertsma 2003, 52). This was his first acquisition for the museum. In a letter to Minister Falck, Reuvens expressed his gratitude to the ministry and the king for their support and contribution regarding the "literary glory of the nation" (Reuvens 1821 in Halbertsma 2003, 53-54). Reuvens in particular, through Rottier's collection, offered for the first time to the Dutch public the opportunity to come into contact and study pieces from "the great age of sculpting in Greece" (Appendix 1). At the same time, Reuvens' words exemplify that the pursuit of national literary glory was often used as a legitimate argument for the appropriation of ancient artifacts of the classical civilizations.

One year after Reuvens' first acquisition, Rottiers put on sale a second collection of Greek antiquities. This time the collection was of less importance, but still it could offer a valuable addition to the museum's repository. However, the main interest here lies in the fact that Rottiers proved to be a man of doubtful credibility. To illustrate better, Rottiers was quite inexplicit regarding the collection's provenance. When therefore Reuvens was asked by the Dutch ministry to assist Rottiers in undertaking a second expedition to Greece, he was very displeased (Appendix 1). Yet, this project was organized solely by Rottiers in consultation with the government and without Reuvens' consent. It consisted of an archaeological expedition to the Greek islands aiming to undertake excavations and collect antiquities. Colonel's earlier positive outcomes led the ministry to support his project, supplying him with one of the Dutch warships, funds and Reuvens' archaeological instructions (Halbertsma 2003, 57). As Halbertsma (2003, 57) states, this expedition was one of the strangest stories in the chronicles of the museum, since Rottiers proved to have a double agenda. Soon, the first doubts about his trustworthiness were raised; the beginning of the expedition was unproductive and the funds of the expedition were not spent on the purchase of antiquities but,

ironically enough, on luxurious accommodations and a number of rifles (Halbertsma 2003, 59-60).

Yet, in August of 1825 Rottiers conducted some excavations in the Greek island of Melos. There, he leased a field and with the help of numerous sailors he managed to unearth several findings. Among them, the most exceptional were a mosaic floor (Fig. 15) and a Roman altar, adorned with bulls' heads, birds and flowers (Halbertsma 2003, 63). According to Rottiers' memoirs, he had to terminate the excavation obeying to a legislation of Greek authorities about the exportation of antiquities (Rottiers 1830 in Halbertsma 2003, 63). After Melos, Rottiers visited some of the Aegean islands and Athens, where he purchased some antiquities. His final destination was Rhodes. There, instead of following the steps of the initial project, he made drawings of the city's medieval architecture (Halbertsma 2003, 65).

The final evaluation by Reuvens about the colonel's second expedition was very negative. Indeed, the excavations' results were very poor and additionally there were almost no information provided about the provenance and provenience of the discovered antiquities (Reuvens 1826, 68). The strangeness of the whole story is reflected in Reuvens' report to the ministry:

"…' Mr Rottiers has been on Tino, Myconi, Stancho and four or five months on Rhodus. On Santorin he writes that nothing can be done there; but why did he not do anything on those other islands I mentioned? '… because of some unwilling captain? Lack of money? Or other circumstances?" (Reuvens 1826 in Halbertsma 2003, 68-69).

By providing therefore new evidence regarding the second expedition of Rottiers in Greece, I aim to shed some light on this enigmatic for the chronicles of the museum story, as well as to stress the symbolic character that Rottiers' case acquires during the period of the Greek war of independence and at the time when the establishment of the Greek national imagination was well under way.

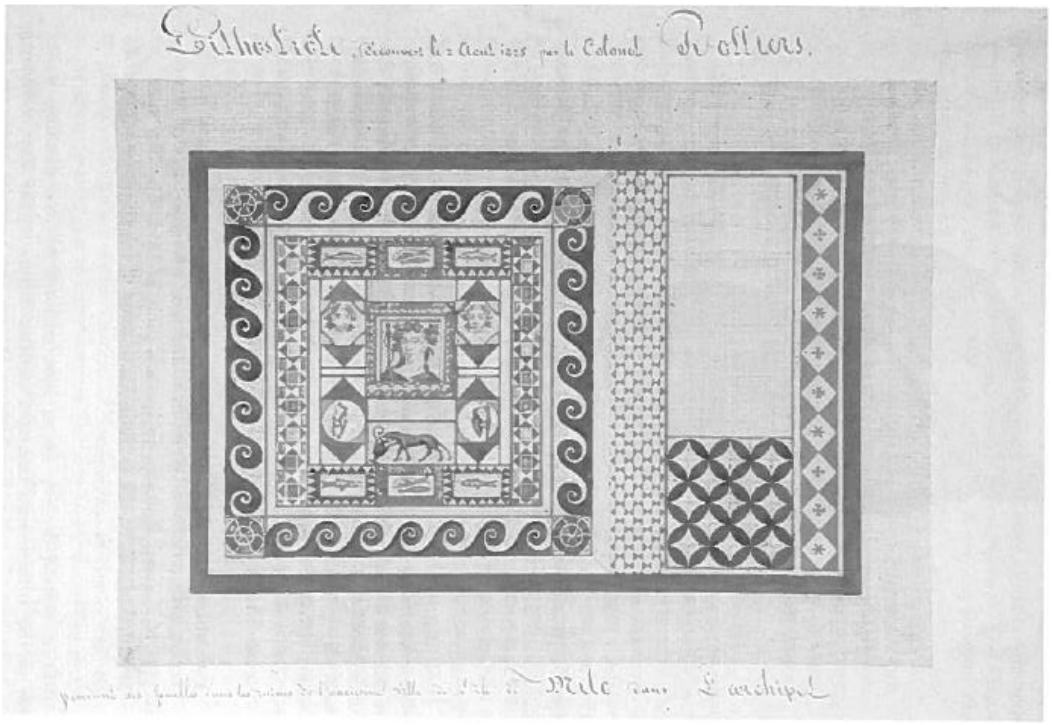

Figure 15: Mosaic floor from Melos, watercolor by P.J Witdoeck, August 1825, National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (Halbertsma 2003, 62)

As discussed above, the second expedition of Rottiers in Greece did not bring the desired for the museum outcome, especially considering the preparations and the resources that had been granted to him by the government. On the contrary, the removal of antiquities in Melos by the retired colonel provoked intense reactions from the local authorities of the island. Two of the Greek historical documents[23] from the General State Archives that were published by E.G. Protopsaltes [24] in 1967 are undoubtedly referring to the archaeological activities of Rottiers in Melos. The first document is an epistle sent in August 1825, the same date that Rottiers' excavations in Melos took place, by Ioannis Vasileiou, a member of the local authorities of the island to the Greek parliamentary body:

"With the appropriate respect, I would like to announce to the venerable parliamentary body that a Dutch colonel arrived here with a Dutch military frigate; he set foot in the land followed by numerous sailors and he right away started digging and looking for antiquities."[25] (Vasileiou 1825 in Protopsaltes 1967, 19).

[23] Documents' numbers 9 and 10.
[24] *Historical documents on antiquities and other monuments of history during the years of the Revolution and of Kapodistrias.*

[25] Own translation.

Comparing therefore the above extract with the existing data about Rottiers' excavations in Melos, it becomes clear that the Dutch colonel and the military frigate that the epistle refers to are Bernand Rottiers and the Dutch warship *Diana* respectively. From the information available, it is known that Rottiers managed to rent a particular field in the center of the ancient city of Milos, where for nine days he conducted excavations (Halbertsma 2003, 61-63). At this field and with the help of 50 sailors, he succeeded in recovering among other antiquities a complete mosaic floor and a Roman altar decorated with birds, bulls' heads and garlands (Halbertsma 2003, 61-63). The epistle of Vasileiou provides valuable information about the location, but also about the way in which the Roman altar has been acquired. According to the letter, Rottiers promised to the local authorities of Melos to carry out excavations only in that field that he had agreed upon with its owner (Vasileiou 1825 in Protopsaltes 1967, 19). However, as shown below, the retired colonel conducted excavations beyond of his jurisdiction limits:

"Adjacent to that field there was another one signaled by a short and coarse column partially uncovered some days ago by a local who was digging the earth for stones that would serve as building blocks of a church. The Dutch colonel brought this column into light and he found out that its head was decorated with three bulls' heads, various birds and other ornamentations[26]" (Vasileiou 1825 in Protopsaltes 1967, 19).

It is clear that the above description of the column matches perfectly with the Roman altar that was found by Rottiers. "A fine piece", as Reuvens estimated it (Reuvens 1826 in Halbertsma 2003, 66). The manner however of its acquisition, caused an official reaction by the authorities of Melos. In particular, apart from the aforementioned epistle, they sent a second one, this time written in Italian a part of which reads as follow:

"All' illustrissimo S. Sigre Colonello Olandese.

Con grande nostro stupore vediamo che voi Sigre levate da questa terra un marmo che niente vi apartiene di esso. Noi, come proculatori del nostro Governo, vi abbiamo detto in persona, ed inanzi del Sigre Console Inglese, che non vi e'

[26] Own translation.

permesso scavare in altro terreno che solamente in quello che avevate principiato, e cui l'avete accettato; e poi prendete un marmo scoperto da un' altra persona, ed in un altro terreno, il quale era conservato sotto li ordini del nostro Provvisorio Governo. Per questo motivo vi preghiamo lasciarlo a qualunque situazione si trova. Se poi volete prenderlo colla forza, vi avvertiremo che vale cinque milla collonati, per i quali e per nostra cautela, protestiamo da parte del nostro Governo, che li pretendera da chi spetta , ed in ogni tempo" (Emanuel 1825 in Protopsaltes 1967, 20-21).

The letter apparently refers to the procedure of the unearthing of the altar, before its subsequent removal from the field that it was found. Moreover, it points out that the object was not discovered by the colonel but by a local resident, in a territory which is placed under the jurisdiction of the government's providence. Hence, its displacement was prohibited by the authorities and in the event of a forced removal, a corresponding fee would be demanded. Still, the most eye-popping incident occurred at the time of Rottiers' departure from the island. According to his personal assertions, he ended the operation due to a Greek government's legislation, which prohibited the excavation and exportation of Greek antiquities:

"I obeyed the orders of the archon, although I myself had bought the terrain of the excavations. It meant taking leave of grand projects. I sacrificed my sincere hopes to the young legislation of a suffering country, and I do not believe that I should feel sorry for that" (Rottiers 1830 in Halbertsma 2003, 63).

It seems that Rottiers, by asserting that he sacrificed his efforts for the prosperity of a troubled country aimed to present an altruistic picture of himself. However, his claims do not seem to correspond to the actual events:

"At the same time, another frigate transferring the Dutch minister stopped here in Melos towards its journey to the Ottoman Porte, and today a big number of sailors carried the column to the seashore in order to load it onboard; once again we attempted to stop him but in vain. The colonel claimed that he had a firman by the sultan and therefore he does not recognize any Greek administration. '…'. On the contrary, the colonel declares that he will come back here to dig and that he also

intends to come there[27] for the same purpose" (Vasileiou 1825 in Protopsaltes 1967, 19).

The report in the letter of the second frigate in Melos seems to correspond perfectly with Halbertsma's (2003, 63) remarks about the real cause of Rottiers' departure; he did not leave due to respect and compliance to the Greek local authorities but, on the contrary, because of the Dutch ambassador's arrival. It is also quite clear that the high moral principles that Rottiers tried to attribute to himself, stand in stark contrast to what actually happened in Melos. Rottiers did not only disregard the local authorities' directives about the removal of antiquities, but he also threatened them that he will return in order to continue his activities. The letter closes with an appeal to the Greek central administration to take more drastic measures about the protection of the national archaeological heritage (Vasileiou 1825 in Protopsaltes 1967, 19).

The official reaction therefore of Melos' authorities on the collecting activities of the retired colonel, constitutes a strong indicator of a well-established change in perception regarding the value and materiality of antiquities. In fact, with the onset of the Greek revolution, the concept of the national ownership of the classical remains of antiquity appears to be full of substance. Yet, at first sight, the reactions of Melos' local administration had been inadequate in preventing the export of the found antiquities. Besides, the administration of a small island could not have the means to match the power of the colonel who acted under the absolute governmental and military support of the Dutch state. Nonetheless, as shown in the following document, the incident in Milos led Rottiers to request permission by the Greek government to all the authorities of the islands in order to avoid similar reactions (General newspaper of Greece 1825, 75).

In this regard, the General Secretary of the Provisional Government of Greece, Alexandros Mavrokordatos (1791-1865), sent an official epistle[28] to Bernand Rottiers informing him about the Greek nation's rights on its archaeological cultural heritage:

[27] He probably means Athens.
[28] The epistle was published in the *Geniki Efimeris tis Ellados (General* Newspaper of Greece), on December 9, 1825.

“If the antiquities existing in the classical land of Greece are highly honoured by all the nations, the nation that daily sheds tons of blood to regain them with military force, and to dig them out of the loins of the earth, where they narrowly managed to escape the hubris of the most disgraceful barbarity, undoubtedly has the most sacred and indisputable rights over them” (Mavrokordatos 1825 in General Newspaper of Greece 1825, 75).

The repeatedly supported idea that ancestral heritage is crucial for the formation of national identity and the creation of nation states (Matthaiou in Matthaiou and Chatzidimitriou 2012, 15) takes shape in the above statement of Mavrokordatos, who links directly the national ownership of antiquities to the process of the national and political establishment of the Greek state which takes place at the time. For the first time, a country’s own past and not that of others substantiated the right for national independence (Díaz-Andreu 2007). In addition, by presenting a more diplomatic and responsible character regarding the stewardship of classical heritage, Mavrokordatos intends to dispose of the widespread western European accusations of Greek indifference. The high appreciation therefore of classical antiquity and its material remains by the major powers and the prevailing negative Western stereotypes against the Oriental ‘other’ seem to be adopted and utilized by the Greek nationalists as the keystones of the modern Greek state.

In a latter part of the letter, Mavrokordatos refers to the removal of the Melos’ antiquities by the colonel. In particular, he points out that if the exported antiquities are not restituted, he is compelled by the administration to officially complain to the Dutch kingdom (Mavrokordatos 1825 in General Newspaper of Greece 1825, 75). It is therefore plausible, that Rottiers’ activities in Melos gave rise to the first official request for restitution of antiquities by the newly established Greek government.

In the following part of the epistle, significant information is provided about the colonel’s activities on the island:

“Mr. Colonel, I am not talking here about things that can be replaced. If someone asked you for money, as you write to Mr. Xenos, you should show compassion to them who may have acted so, and instead of offering them a hunting rifle as a gift, as a philhellene, you ought to teach them that any item that refers to their ancestors

must also be precious in their eyes, like freedom itself" (Mavrokordatos 1825 in General Newspaper of Greece 1825, 75).

As has been shown, Mavrokordatos stresses again the metaphoric value of antiquities as proofs of continuity with the glorious ancestral past. In addition, the above extract of the letter provides useful additional data on the matter as well as the means used by Rottiers for the acquisition of antiquities in Melos. As mentioned hereinafter in the epistle, Rottiers offered a hunting rifle in exchange for antiquities. Given the above information provided by the documents, it seems that Mavrokordatos refers to the way of acquisition of the Roman altar from the owner of the field where it was found. Furthermore, Halbertsma (2003, 60) notes about the doubts raised in the Dutch ministry department concerning Rottiers' credibility. To demonstrate in more depth, the colonel spent a large amount of the department's funds on matters unrelated to the acquisition of antiquities, such as in a number of rifles, which he intended to use as business gifts (Halbertsma 2003, 60). The epistle of Mavrokordatos proves that the somewhat inexplicit purchase of rifles by Rottiers has actually served him as a medium of exchange for the acquirement of antiquities.

The General Secretary concluded with a political and diplomatic placement, highlighting the existence of legislation on the export of antiquities:

"However, Mr. Colonel, exportation of any ancient thing is forbidden by law. Power may breach that law, because the number of antiquity guards we are in need of exceeds the number of our citizens. However, we will never cease demanding what belongs to us, and having profound respect for the prudence of the European administrations, we are convinced that they will justify our claims" (Mavrokordatos 1825 in General Newspaper of Greece 1825, 75).

Nevertheless, Mavrokordatos' epistle proved insufficient to prevent the colonel from continuing his project. As he announced to the authorities of Melos during his departure from the island, Rottiers headed to the city of Athens, where he measured the monument of Theseion and purchased some antiquities (Halbertsma 2003, 65). This time, Rottiers' activities raised the eyebrow of the official printed matter of the Greek Provisional Government, the so-called *General Newspaper of Greece*, which published a highly critical article on the actions and behavior of the colonel in

Athens. According to the article, Rottiers attempted to deceive the local Athenians in order to sell him any valuable antiquities they may have (General Newspaper of Greece 1825, 76). As a matter of fact, colonel's reputation seems to have preceded him, as the Athenians were already informed and prepared for his arrival:

"'... but he was caught by the police, and was forced to return all the ancient items he had collected. Then, the good Dutchman, enraged, not only did he not pay the expenses he made at the hotel, but he also refused to pay the people who served him, and while leaving the place, he threatened that he would guide the Turks how to conquer Athens" (General Newspaper of Greece 1825, 76).

The above information is exceptionally revealing as for the character of the colonel and the fate of his collections in Athens. In fact, a very negative account of Rottiers' character is portrayed, which is in stark contrast to what he sought to present in his personal memoirs of Melos' excavations. In light of the Melos' events, Halberstma (2003, 63) argues that legislation concerning the export of antiquities could not have played any role, since it did not come into being before 1826. Indeed, on February 22 1826 the Provisional Government of Greece issued a decree on the national ownership and preservation of the ancient monuments, which was ratified by the Third National Assembly at Troezen in 1827 (Merkouri in Matthaiou and Chatzidimitriou 2012, 147). However, the interior minister of the newly established Greek government, Gregorios Dikaios, had already issued a decree on 10 February 1825, defining the collection of antiquities and their safekeeping in schools with a view to prevent their acquirement by European travellers (Kokkou 1977, 41). As shown above, both the local authorities of Melos and the General Secretary of the Provisional Government of Greece highlighted the existence of the corresponding law. Moreover, the fact that Rottiers' collection was seized by the police proves in practice the existence, as well as the implementation of the legislation on the protection of antiquities in 1825.

In the last part of the article, the author recalls the prohibition on the export of antiquities, stressing also the decisive role of the Turkish domination over the insufficient Greek resistance on the removal of their ancestral heritage.

"We should be careful not to let them behave now towards Greece as they behaved towards it during the Turkish command, seizing the ancient relics of our forefathers. Similarly, prefects, and policemen and harbourmasters should be very careful, bearing in mind that there is a law prohibiting exportation of antiquities" (General Newspaper of Greece 1825, 76).

Once again, the widespread binarism between western civilization and oriental barbarism is being adopted and employed by Greek national fantasy. This desire for purification of Greece from its eastern elements, served ideally both the modern Greek national dream and western European imagination to "establish continuity with a suitable historic past" (Hobsbawm 1993 in Said 1993, 15-16).

The final destination of Rottiers' second expedition to Greece was the island of Rhodes, where he spent more than half a year without buying anything for the museum (Appendix 1). This fact, coupled with the relatively poor expedition's results in the collection of antiquities, raises many questions about the colonel's original intentions. As Halbertsma (Appendix 1) hypothesizes, the real reason that Rottiers went to Greece was not to collect antiquities but to go to Rhodes for the publication of his *Description des monumens de Rhodes.* The possibility that during the preparations of the campaign Rottiers had a double agenda, with two different points of departure in mind is very likely. With regard to the negative outcome of the second expedition, the historical documents presented above prove that Rottiers actually tried to collect antiquities in Greece. The fact, however, that the antiquities he gathered were much less in number than expected, as well as the lack of evidence concerning the conduct of excavations, is very likely to be related to the extensive reactions that had taken place on the part of the nascent Greek nation. As has been shown in the cases of Melos and Athens, Rottiers was confronted with a new state of affairs. The official reactions presented above by the local administration of Melos, as well as the General Secretary of the Greek government and the *General Newspaper of Greece* confirms this point of view.

Rottiers' appropriative desires and the stiff local resistance he encountered resemble very much the broader conflict centered on antiquities that took place in Eleusis, Aegina and Bassae. However, the case of Rottiers signals a significant alternation

regarding the perception of antiquities' materiality and value. In conformity therefore with the western normative standards, antiquities were transformed from objects embodied in the multicultural daily-life reality of Ottoman Greece and attached with supernatural and protective properties, to emblems of the illustrious classical foundations of the future purged from oriental elements Greek nation.

CHAPTER 4: PRESENTING OTTOMAN ATHENS IN RECENT MUSEUM EXHIBITIONS THROUGH EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS' NARRATIVES

In the previous chapters, the gradual intersection between the development of archaeology, antiquities, colonial and national imaginings in Ottoman Greece has been examined, principally through the lens of postcolonial theory. Taking into account that "postcolonialism's concern with the past is guided by that past's relationship with the present" including the facilitation of "the assertion of diverse forms of identity"(Lydon and Rizvi 2010, 19), the present chapter aims to explore possible echoes of this intersection in recent museum exhibitions.

As in the Ottoman period, Greece is nowadays gradually becoming a multi-ethnic and multicultural country. However, the Greek education system, despite the recent progress made still largely maintains an ethnocentric character, without seeking to eliminate national stereotypes and prejudices towards civilizations that do not identify with the nation (Frangoudaki 2003, 198-216). As for the historical relationship with the Turks, they are mainly presented as successful conquerors, while subjects such as the Ottoman society and culture are deliberately omitted in Greek museums and schoolbooks (Frangoudaki 2003, 198-216). Still, someone can easily recognize a lot of common cultural characteristics between the two nations. The high popularity for example of Turkish television series and music, attest to a wide appreciation by Greeks of the common heritage and cultural traits between the two nations.

Museums, due to their socio-political role, have the ability to formulate and define identities, challenging therefore the ethnocentric way of thinking. Yet, as recent studies on Greek museums have shown, the national narrative concerning a direct connection of the modern Greek nation with the Athenian classical period, the heyday of Greek civilization, is still going strong (Damaskos 2011; Hamilakis 2011; Taylor 2012). Later periods of national history, especially the longstanding Ottoman period, are systematically sidelined or presented in an orientalist fashion. The material remains of the post-classical and principally the Ottoman era of Greece "are drowned in the sea of Classical glory, and almost disappear under the weight of Western Classicist ideals" (Hamilakis 2011, 626). By way of illustration, the 1805

architectural fragment from the Acropolis' Erechtheion with its Ottoman inscription was considered unsuitable for the classical milieu that the Acropolis Museum has produced (Hamilakis 2011, 626-627). As also Taylor (2012) indicates, the National Archaeological Museum, which was built in the 19th century neoclassical style, projects a singular national identity which stems from a sacralized Classical Greek past. In a similar nationalist fashion, the Islamic collection had to be segregated from the main room of Benaki Museum and transferred in an independent building (Damaskos 2011). Even in the Museum of Islamic Art, there are no Ottoman-era artifacts from Greece, a policy which indirectly implies an insular Greek culture despite the 400 years of Ottoman occupation (Taylor 2012).

At a time therefore of rising xenophobic feelings due to the increasing refugee flows in Greece, and considering the fact that museums' representations of national history have the ability, directly or indirectly, to influence the way that visitors embrace notions about national identity and 'otherness', it is interesting to explore the way that two recent museum exhibitions narrated the history of Athens during the Ottoman period.

4.1 EXHIBITION "OTTOMAN ATHENS, 1458-1833"

The first exhibition that will be examined, and in which I participated as an intern, is "Ottoman Athens, 1458-1833". It was organized by the Gennadius Library of the American School of Classical Studies and was on display in Athens from the 10th of February until the 30th of June in 2015. Opened in 1826, Gennadius now holds more than 115,000 volumes, including rare European travellers' accounts and manuscripts from the personal collection of the diplomat Joannes Gennadius (1844-1832). Curated by the director of the institution Maria Georgopoulou, the historian Aliki Asvesta and Joanita Vroom from the University of Leiden, the exhibition attempted to present a different perspective on the relatively neglected and stereotyped historical trajectory of Ottoman Athens.

Several themes about the history, archaeology and topography of the city, as well as subjects concerning the daily life of the inhabitants and the interest of the European travellers on the material traces of antiquity composed the main concept of the

exhibition. A rich assemblage of travellers' material, the most powerful research tool of the Gennadius, was showcased together with works of art, maps and topographical renderings from the library's collection, as well as archaeological finds from the excavations of the Ancient Agora. Considering the often incomplete, biased and Eurocentric western tourist narrations, the exhibition tried to juxtapose travellers' information with those of the rare manuscript of Ioannis Benizelos (1730-1807), the grandsire of Joannes Gennadius. Benizelos was an active participant to the social and political affairs of the city and the curatorial team assumed that he had contact with some of the travellers. The parallel disclosure of their stories offered visitors the chance to gain a more comprehensive and pluralistic approach on the main themes presented. In addition, taking into account that Gennadius is mainly a library, with some limitations regarding the exhibition space, a web of external institutions such as the Hall 23 of the Benaki Museum, the Museum of the City of Athens and the Ancient Agora Museum worked as satellites, providing thus aspects of the diversity and cultural richness of the period. Various events and activities including academic conferences, walking tours to Ottoman monuments, music concerts and shadow theater performances induced visitors to trace back aspects of the city's recent past and ponder its importance to modern life.

In contrast therefore to the widespread stereotypical image of an open-air museum, the exhibition presented Athens as a vibrant small city with open bazaars, many Christian churches and Muslim mosques. One of the highlights of the exhibition, the 'Athens Panorama from the top of the Mousaion Hill' by Dodwell and Pomardi, which was borrowed from the collection of The Packard Humanities Institute, brought the topography of Athens during the Ottoman period to life in splendid fashion. Together with representative topographical renderings from Gennadius' manuscripts and several travellers' journals, visitors were able to mentally depict Athens with its old city wall, konaks, hamams and minarets, before this part of city's history got lost in time due to the vast nationalist program of archaeological projects by the newly independent state.

Via a selected combination of travellers' illustrations with a wealth of testimonial material, the exhibition contemplates the multicultural and heterogeneous past of the city. Greeks, Turks, Arvanites, Armenians as well as European ambassadors and

Capuchin monks are shown to live side by side, celebrating together next to the ancient ruins and even facing together natural disasters. A variety of selected texts and drawings delivered aspects of a relatively harmonious coexistence between Ottomans and Greeks. The Athenians enjoyed religious freedom and had a say in the political affairs of the city, while the residents spent their free time in coffeehouses smoking pipes and drinking coffee[29], despite their linguistic and religious differences. In the bazaar of Athens (Fig. 16), the various professions and trades could meet each other in a multilingual environment where someone could hear Greek, Turkish and Albanian among other languages. Still, the exhibition also included cases of intense protests from the local Greeks due to their mistreatment by the Ottoman governors, as well as cases of maltreatment by the Turkish authorities, providing in this way a more comprehensive view of the city's daily and political reality.

Figure 16: Edward Dodwell, 1821, the bazaar of Athens (https://www.lifo.gr/mag/features/4876).

[29] According to the exhibition, the established until nowadays in Greece habit of coffeehouses is interwoven with the history and consolidation of the Ottoman Empire

Figure 17: St John at the column, sketch from Fauvel 1753-1838. In the years when Athenians were often afflicted with malaria, many believers tied red and white ribbons to the pillar in the hope that St. John would "untie" them and heal them (https://www.lifo.gr/mag/features/4876)

The visitors of the event had the chance to open the showcases' drawers and draw a wealth of travel testimonies regarding basic aspects of daily and religious life, education, entertainment, the use and re-use of antiquities as well as extraordinary stories of interaction between local population and travellers. These stories were partly animated by new technologies that allowed access to rare virtual maps and books. Both texts and virtual icons, conveyed aspects of the pre-modern indigenous relationship with the ancient monuments; a pre-existing background among which they lived, and which they used, re-used or attributed with magical and apotropaic qualities (Fig. 17). Some of the excerpts were also quite enlightening with regard to travellers' collecting action, the resistance they faced and their patronizing attitude towards the supposedly ignorant and 'superstitious' local inhabitants, demonstrating the cultural conflict that took place in the pre-revolutionary Athens.

An extra asset of the exhibition was the juxtaposition of travel illustrations and narratives with archaeological findings from the Ancient Agora. The excavations at the Athenian Agora have added a plethora of invaluable information, bringing to light the remains of the Classical as well as of the Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman city (Vroom and Kondyli 2011, 43). In contrast therefore to the Museum of Islamic Art and the Acropolis Museum, visitors could encounter imported as well as locally produced Ottoman objects such as tobacco pipes, coffee cups and pottery, which reveal Ottoman daily life customs that the Athenians gradually adopted and maintain until nowadays. Moreover, in a prominent position, an inscribed Ottoman

tombstone of a Turkish Janissary from the Muslim cemetery of the Acropolis was also showcased (Fig. 18); an exhibit which vividly evoked the multicultural life of the Acropolis of Athens, the most prominent place of both Western and Greek national fantasy.

Figure 18: Ottoman inscribed tombstone from the Muslim cemetery of the Acropolis, 1188 AD. American School of Classical Studies, Athens. (https://www.lifo.gr/mag/features/4876).

In general, the exhibition dared to showcase a wide spectrum of a deliberately neglected historical period of Athens, and by doing so, it stimulated visitors to renegotiate their own relationship to the past. Yet, given that the main body of information relies on the data transmitted through the European travellers of the 17th-19th century, elements of an Orientalized and romanticized human landscape were inevitably promoted. Additionally, while the exhibition underlines the effect that Athens and its classical heritage had on European travellers and Philhellenes such as Lord Byron, the corresponding decisive ideological, material and institutional intervention in the Greek state of affairs has not been adequately demonstrated. As a matter of illustration, the small exhibition catalogue refers to the foundation by the Greek squirearchy of the *Philomousos Etaireia* for the purpose of protection of the archaeological heritage. Furthermore, through references on the engraved ancient epigraphs in Greek public buildings, it is stressed the inalienable relationship of the Athenians with the glorious history of their city.

However, important aspects such as the role that European travellers played on the foundation of the society, the peculiar and contradictory mingling of the society's initial interests with those of collectors, and above all the role of western ideologies and practices in the conversion of antiquities from daily life objects attached with supernatural characteristics to national and ancestral heritage in need of protection have not been sufficiently presented. While therefore the exhibition succeeds in narrating neglected and often biased aspects of the Greek national history such as its multiethnic and multicultural past and the complex pre-national indigenous engagements with antiquities, colonial cultural and practical interventions as well as their interweaving with national desires were not thoroughly presented.

4.2 EXHIBITION ""A DREAM AMONG SPLENDID RUINS…" STROLLING THROUGH THE ATHENS OF TRAVELLERS 17TH-19TH CENTURY"

The exhibition ""a dream among splendid ruins…" strolling through the Athens of travellers 17th-19th century" was held at the National Archaeological Museum (NAM) of Athens and it was on display from the 8th of September 2015 until the 8th of October 2016. The curators of the exhibition were Maria Lagogianni-Georgakaratos, Director of NAM, Thodoris Koutsogiannis, curator of the Hellenic Parliament Art Collection, the archaeologist Despina Kalessopoulou as well as a broad scientific community from both the National Museum and the Hellenic Parliament Library. The main idea behind the museological design of the event was to stimulate an imaginary tour through the Athens of the Ottoman period, by offering glimpses of the city's topographical scenery and its material remains of antiquity. The exhibition was accompanied by a scientific catalogue composed of 453 pages, written in both Greek and English. The catalogue was available for purchase at the museum's shop.

Twenty-two illustrated travel editions and fourteen artworks from 17th and 19th centuries "provided the main means to showcase the prevailing cultural climate in Athens at the time when Greeks realize that antiquities are part of their national cultural heritage and they must be protected" (Appendix 2). As also Lagogianni-Georgakaratos and Koutsogiannis (Appendix 2) state, the originality of the exhibition was based on the dialogue between travel narrations and the thirty-five marble sculptures of the museum, some of which were exposed for the first time; the

classical monuments recorded by European travellers converse with those that came to light after their departure, representing an Athenian landscape in progress, instead of the static view provided by travellers' depictions.

The exhibition was structured into three main parts, which in turn included different thematic sections and sub-sections. The multiple entry points allowed visitors to approach the desired section without a predetermined order. The first part was divided in three thematic sections. In the 'Introductory Section', the phrase of the French traveler Louis-François Cassas "a dream among splendid ruins" welcomed the audience, reflecting at the same time the attraction exerted by the material remains of antiquity to the European travellers who visited the classical land of Athens. As both a topographic and chronological indicator of the exhibition's subject, the earliest printed monograph of Athens (1674) by the Jesuit monk *Père Babin*[30] offered a general view of the 17th century city; its enlarged illustration placed at the main entrance of the exhibition delivered the impression of an eastern city, where Ottoman mosques meet the remained ancient monuments.

In the next section, 'Athens in the European imagination', the presentation of four imaginative depictions of ancient Athens between 17th and 19th centuries came in direct contrast with its previous Ottoman appearance, revealing the glorious and monumentalized icon of the classical city that European imagination dreamed of and reproduced. Within this context, the exhibition also makes clear that travellers' perception is determined by the cultural movements of their time, and hence it cannot be always objective.

In the last section of the first part, 'Reintroducing Athens to Europe', the central role that travellers' illustrated editions played on the dissemination of information about the ancient city of Athens and its monuments, as well as on the formation of the modern western movements of Neoclassicism, Romanticism and Philhellenism is taken into consideration. Twelve selected travel editions that were published in different European capitals between the 17th and the 19th centuries as well as the text panel of the section stressed the contribution of western travellers' work to "the rise of Greece into Europe's common spiritual homeland", indicating also Greece's

[30] The monograph was edited by Jacob Spon.

prominent role in the shaping of European identity. The illustrations included some of the most renowned classical monuments of Athens and the Acropolis and were accompanied by a short description of the travellers-writers and their work.

If the first part consisted the theoretical introduction regarding the diverse ways that Europe approached Athens, the second part of the exhibition attempted to stimulate the actual routes that travellers followed to reach the famous site of the Acropolis. Four alternative starting points and routes represented the corresponding sub-sections of this thematic unit. The imaginary stroll was achieved through an innovative interaction that took place between travellers' depictions of ancient monuments and selected exhibits of the museum. Marble statues from the Parthenon, the Theseion, the Erechtheum and other renowned archaeological sites came into a direct dialogue with the corresponding illustrated monuments, rendering a tangible testimony to the latter. This correlation was supported by the inclusion of textual information concerning the sculptures' use during antiquity, their provenience and the archaeological context of their discovery.

The inclusion of contextual information in the exhibition comes in contrast with previous curatorial tactics that took place in the sculpture galleries of the Acropolis Museum, the NAM and the Benaki Museum respectively (Taylor 2012), where the implicit reliance on the power of objects presented them primarily as works of art, without any display context. As also Hamilakis (2011, 626) argues, this deliberate lack of archaeological context can be attributed to the established sanctification that classical antiquities enjoy as well as to "the perception, prevalent in the national imagination, that antiquities (especially anthropomorphic ones), have the status, the autonomy and the agency of persons, and they can thus 'speak for themselves'; they do not need the archaeologist and the museum curator to speak for them".

Upon a close inspection to the showcased works of travellers, visitors could also notice various forms of co-existence between the "high classical edifices" and the "humble Ottoman houses", as described by the text panel, before they are "cleared away" after the Greek Liberation. Through the presentation of illustrations such as the Parthenon serving as a Muslim mosque, the choragic monument of Lysicrates as integrated into the Capuchins' monastery and the Tower of Winds transformed into

a Turkish ‘teke’, the exhibition highlighted aspects of the multitemporal landscape of the city, rehabilitating to some extent the one-dimensional and monumentalized form that it acquired due to the new state’s practices of purification from the ‘barbarian’ remnants. Furthermore, by emphasizing on idyllic and revered during antiquity landscapes that do not longer exist due to the expansion of urban city, such as the river of Ilissos, the exhibition invited people to reflect on past policies that caused irreversible damage to both the natural landscape and the archaeological site.

In addition to the sporadic appearance of Ottoman structures in the showcased travellers’ depictions, and in contrast to the relevant two galleries of the Benaki Museum entitled “Greece through the eyes of foreign travellers, 18th-19th c.” (Taylor 2012), the exhibition did not hesitate to include in its interpretive methods several references of Ottoman presence. Still, both the exhibition’s texts and the accompanied catalogue opted for conventional and nuanced narratives, presenting Ottomans mainly as conquerors and interrupters of the historical continuity of Athens, and the Turkish government as an absolute organism, that oppresses local Athenians through persecutions, acts of lawlessness and excessive taxation. Thematic contents therefore as regards basic aspects of daily life, the history of Islam or forms of co-existence and sociocultural interaction between the two civilizations were not included in the exhibition’s concept. The spotlights of the exhibition fell almost exclusively on the visually imposing classical monuments and antiquities, highlighting the exhibits’ art-historical aspects over the anthropological concerns of the period. As a result, facets of the multicultural and diverse past of the city, which were to a certain extent discussed in the catalogue, as well as of common cultural traits between the Greeks and the Turks, were extensively downplayed or totally disregarded in the actual exhibition space. Within this context, negative aspects of daily life such as the low educational level and the class disparities, the frequent cases of murders related to robbery that travellers experienced and recorded in their narratives but were not in line with the classical grandeur reflected on the museum’s exhibits, were deemed unsuitable for displaying.

The concluding part of the exhibition, ‘From study of the monuments to collections and museums’, aimed to implicitly communicate “the dark side of touring”

(Lagogianni-Georgakarakos in Lagogianni-Georgakarakos and Koutsogiannis 2015, 51) as well as the first efforts made by Greek people concerning the protection of their cultural heritage. As the wall panel of the section explains: "… after the city's liberation from the Ottoman yoke, Greek scholars and officials began coordinated actions to protect the antiquities from looting, since they were a precious ancestral heritage and proof of the nation's historical continuity". By juxtaposing the collecting action of Fauvel[31] (Fig. 19) with the philhellenic sentiments of Byron and the coordinated efforts made by the Greek archaeologist Pittakis to rescue the antiquities, visitors were invited to engage themselves in critical thinking and sense the antithetical attitudes towards the ancient material past. As also Lagogianni-Georgakarakos (Appendix 2) states:

"Travellers were under the impression they have seen everything, but this was not true. They recorded the landscape of Athens in different time cycles, but Athens was constantly in progress. They exported as many antiquities as they could in collections and museums of Europe, but new antiquities were being unearthed. The exhibited artefacts for example were discovered after the end of the tours" (Fig. 20).

Figure 19: Louis Dupré, *Voyage à Athènes et à Constantinople, 1825,* Louis Fauvel in his house by the Acropolis; note the torso of a cuirassed statue on the right. The photo was taken by the author in 2016.

[31] For more information see also pages 47 and 48.

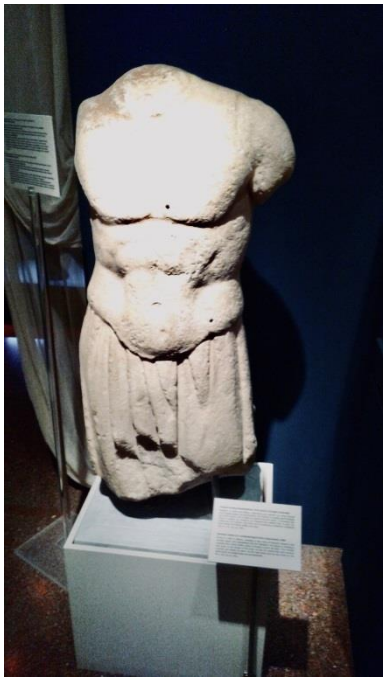

Figure 20: The torso of a cuirassed statue by the private collection of Fauvel. After the destruction of his house during the revolution, the marble was found in Ancient Agora in 1836. The photo was taken by the author in 2016.

One might argue therefore, that the contrapuntal displaying of travel narratives and antiquities acquires an additional meaning; that of the national vindication, verification and emancipation from western material appropriation. As Appadurai (1996, 178-198) states, the excavation of antiquities and their museum display serves the need of national locality for continuous production. The rescued therefore from both the Ottoman barbarity and the European seizure antiquities and their arrangement in chronological, linear order, symbolize and operate as the material landmarks of the heterotopic locus of the Greek nation (Leontis 1995), providing at the same time an incontestable evidence of its unbroken historical continuity (Gourgouris 1996). In this regard, an interesting modification or hybridity regarding the fundamental binarism promoted by western Hellenist and Orientalist discourses between civilized west and barbarian east is noted (Hamilakis 2007, 91); this time, civilized Greece and cultured western Philhellenes who owe to Greece their enlightenment are on the one pole, and the foreign oriental conquerors and western looters, correlated with barbarism, are on the other.

Finally, through a multimedia application, visitors could come in contact with rare selected passages from both travellers and representatives of the Greek state, which reflected aspects of the diverse attitudes towards the antiquities of the city. Through

those passages, cases of destruction and commodification of ancient remains by both Europeans and Greeks meet the coordinated efforts of the new established Greek state and the Archaeological Service to educate the permanent residents regarding the national value of their ancestral heritage. It can be assumed therefore that the last part of the exhibition alludes to the relationship between national imagination, materiality of antiquities and European intervention mostly through the collection and exportation of classical antiquities. Still, the close ties between colonial intervention and national imagination as regards the relationship of Greece with classical past and the transformation of stance towards antiquities were not clearly communicated in the exhibition. By way of illustration, while the exhibition stressed the sharp antithesis between the collecting action of Fauvel with those of Pitakkis and the Philomousos Society, it was not explained either that Pittakis was trained next to Fauvel or that Philomousos was founded in a large extent due to European collectors and served initially their collecting ambitions. While therefore the exhibition alludes the dichotomy between the cradle of civilization Greece and Ottoman and western intruders, the close links between colonial and national imaginings are obscured.

All things considered, the exhibition provided a zestful stimulation of a stroll through Athens of the Ottoman era, breaking to a large extent the prevailing tradition of monolithic national narratives. The museological design included facets of the Ottoman 'other', approached the multi-temporal topos of Athens and triggered sentiments of renegotiation with the current landscape. However, a glimpse at the overall picture of the main exhibition space (Fig. 6) could reveal conspicuous themes of correlation between the exhibition narratives and fossilized national-cum-colonial realities.

Figure 21: Aspect of the exhibition ""A dream among splendid ruins…" strolling through the Athens of travellers 17th-19th century", photographed by the author in 2016.

As Anderson (2006, 178-184) recognizes, antiquities are developed into national regalia through procedures of "political museumizing" and "logoization". Furthermore, it is the "infinite quotidian reproducibility" of these regalia that reveals the actual might of the state (Anderson 2006, 183). As also Karp (1991, 14) states, the direct association between national imagination and museums lies behind an "alleged innate neutrality" that characterizes exhibitions and allows them to become instruments of power, education and experience. This can be achieved through the concept of the construction meaning, which includes the unique capacity of each visitor to understand and interpret the various meanings that an exhibition space communicates (Hooper-Greenhill 1994). From this perspective, the process of meaning construction is directly depended on the communication methods that museums apply and the surrounding environment that they create. The curatorial choice therefore of the National Museum to present Ottoman Athens through the eyes of travellers facilitated the construction of an exhibition space where national regalia that indicate an unquestionable Greek character, in this case the classical sculptures combined with the materiality of the magnificent neoclassical building of the museum, were at the epicenter of attention, while the Ottoman presence was rather obscured or presented in an orientalist fashion, reflecting the prevalent Hellenist and Orientalist currents of the time. In conjunction with the striking lack of

any artifacts of the Ottoman period[32] and the total absence of information about the daily life reality of the time, it can be argued that the exhibition space, albeit with innovative way, promoted an intuitive appreciation of the classical age and its link with the present, reverberating the deep-rooted relationship between imposed exterior discourses and national imaginings.

[32] The exhibition included sculptures only of the Classical and Roman period.

CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis, the ostensible value of postcolonial critique towards the formulation of a more integral, multifaceted and nuanced understanding of the colonial enterprise and its present heritage has been taken into account. In addition therefore to the more conventional perception of colonialism entailing a coherent scheme of imposition and denigration of indigenous materiality and values through economic and political power, postcolonial studies lay emphasis upon the power relations that framed the various colonial interplays between locals and colonizers. Drawing thus from the broader postcolonial theoretical framework, postcolonial archaeology attempts to critically reflect the close links between the emergence of the discipline of archaeology and complex colonial and nationalist processes. These include the role of archaeological knowledge in producing specific structures of thought about the 'other', a project which has been crucial in legitimizing colonial intervention and eventually influencing certain identity portrayals. Therefore, by recasting attention on both western and indigenous specificities and values towards the material past, postcolonial scholarship challenges the etiquettes of the colonialist and nationalist infrastructure of modernist archaeology. In this regard, the critical reflection of archaeology's own history is guided by that history's legacy in continuing archaeological practice. All in all, postcolonial studies have reviewed colonialism from the angle of local people and their beliefs, highlighting the interconnection between cultural hegemony and material exploitation, as well as disclosing the various colonial legacies in the present.

To return now to the main research question of this thesis that reads as follows: "In what way did the emergence of archaeology in Ottoman Greece intersect with colonial and national imaginings and what are the ramifications of this intersection in recent museum exhibitions?", the answer is formulated based mainly on the aforementioned theoretical and methodological scheme of postcolonial scholarship. Within this framework, as well as structure-wise, this thesis aimed to merge the western forms of thought and the tangible effects of colonization that took place in Ottoman Greece into a colonial context of exchange from 'below' that shaped the development of archaeology, as well as to trace colonial legacies in continuing museological practices.

As demonstrated in Chapter 2, classical past, the golden age of the Greek national narrative and fantasy, gained prestige due to specific social, political and economic conditions that took place in Europe between the 14th and 19th century. The immense symbolic value that it gradually acquired can be traced back to the Renaissance, and was radically reinforced via the ideological and political thought of the Enlightenment and nationalism. The elevation of the Hellenic classical past as a vital element of a professed European civilizational superiority led to its gradual manipulation and appropriation by western nations, who considered themselves as the genuine inheritors of the classical grandeur as opposed to the degenerate, oriental local population.

European scholars and travellers in Ottoman Greece played a pivotal role in the consolidation of the prevailing, interdependent discourses of Hellenism and Orientalism, since they were the oracles through which these Eurocentric traditions of thought were disseminated and ratified as power-knowledge. It was thus the construction of classical Greece as the cradle of western civilization, which, under the modern ideology of nationalism, secured the intervention of the major powers in the Greek claims for independence from the Ottoman rule; an independence, prerequisite of which was a cultural continuity, uninterrupted from Oriental and African elements. The idealization therefore of classical antiquity and its imposition, as of its predominant past, over the multiethnic and multicultural material and social reality of the territorial space of Greece, constitutes a form of cultural colonization.

However, despite the recent scholarly emphasis on the Greek case predominantly in terms of its imposed intellectual and cultural hegemony, this thesis has illustrated that Greece was also subjected to tangible colonial processes, which can be perceived as the material communication of the aforementioned cultural appropriation. Greek classical material culture, which had to a high degree replaced in terms of aesthetical and artistic perception the prestigious Roman antiquity, was at the epicenter of these colonial enterprises, namely as the embodiment of the sacralized classical past and an important signifier of national identity and imperial might. Elgin's collecting action and the debate that was shaped around it triggered a wave of rapaciousness by European travellers and museums, in an era defined by intense nationalist competition. In Chapter 3 of the thesis, the analysis of specific

case studies of material usurpation and indigenous resistance revealed clearly the colonialist, imperialist and nationalist processes centered on material past and their close link with the development of archaeology in Ottoman Greece. Moreover, the study of these colonial contexts of power relations disclosed local specificities and values towards the antique remains, undermining the supposed fixity of binary distinctions.

Travel narratives therefore, the most significant source of information about the Ottoman period of Greece, reproduced the at the time popular colonial discourse of local indifference towards antiquities, stylizing in this way the antiquarians' colonial motives into a civilizing enterprise. However, through a contrapuntal reading of this thought-provoking body of work, this research re-focused attention and agency on the indigenous people and their beliefs towards antiquities, deconstructing both Eurocentric and Greek ethnocentric standpoints. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, the local population of Ottoman Greece had a distinctive perception of the antique remains of the past and their agency on people, which was at variance with the supposedly universal, western perspective expressed by European travellers. In fact, antiquities were considered an indispensable element of peoples' social life. Indigenous population manipulated the ancient artifacts in order to produce their own stories, which indicated a strong attachment to their materiality and agency. The active and multisensory engagement with the material remains of antiquity included deliberate incorporation or exhibition in buildings and places of worship, destruction, reverence, or even attribution of animate and supernatural qualities.

The universal systems of thought towards ancient heritage represented by European protoarchaeologists orientalized these distinct indigenous values, turning the excavations' sites into zones of dispute. Still, as shown in the case of Demeter in Eleusis, travellers' 'superior' cultural forms were not unaffected by the indigenous traditions. These mediated power relations and cultural interconnectedness undermine the binary logic of colonial discourse and its civilizing justification, exposing the true nature of material colonization. In the case of Ottoman Greece, it was the appropriation and commercialization of antiquities, despite the fierce reactions and resistance of local people who were often used as human labor, to the safer environment of the new public institutions of the proud nations.

As also mentioned in the end of the Chapter 2, “colonialism crucially concerns the grip that objects get on people”, moving them across the cosmos, “to set up power structures around a desire for material culture”(Gosden 2004, 81, 153). On top therefore of the mighty grip that classical antiquities had on European collectors, this same group of people set up specific power structures around their appropriative desires. Philomousos Etaireia, the first institution of official archaeology in prerevolutionary Greece, was established by both the protagonists of the removal of the antiquities of Aegina and Bassae and Western-educated Greek scholars with nationalist aspirations. In this regard Philomousos served the collecting desires of western antiquarians and at the same, in an inner colonialist logic, it contributed to the transplantation of the classical Hellenic ideal among the multicultural and multiethnic reality of Greece. Hence, in addition to the first organized reaction by Korais in 1807, Philomousos reflects the gradual endorsement by the Greek national dream of the modern Western standards towards antiquities. Moreover, the peculiar power structure of Philomousos illustrates the close relationship between the emergence of Greek modern national archaeology in its nascent stages and western colonial enterprises.

By juxtaposing therefore specific cases of travellers’ colonial actions with the corresponding reactions of Korais and Philomousos, the gradual interface between colonial and national imaginings concerning classical past and its material evocations has been revealed. The case story of Rottiers, as it was analyzed through an interview with Ruurd Halbertsma, the Curator of the Classical Department at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden and the presentation of some yet unknown for the R.M.O. historical documents, resembles very much the broader cultural conflict focused on antiquities that took place in Eleusis, Aegina and Bassae. To illustrate, the expedition aimed to the enrichment of the museum with Greek classical antiquities for the purpose of national edification. Furthermore, general Rottiers, under the support of the Dutch government and naval force, and despite Reuvens’ objections, attempted to forcefully obtain antiquities, encountering excessive local reactions. This time, however, the clash that took place in revolutionary Greece between colonial usurpation and local opposition, as plainly expressed by the local administration of Melos, The Greek general Secretary and the

General Newspaper of Greece, encompassed different and diverse symbolic connotations than those analyzed before.

To illustrate, the aforementioned reactions to Rottiers' collecting activities indicate the adoption through consent by the Greek national dream of the predominant western Hellenist and Orientalist discourses. This new era of engagement with the materiality of the past, which Rottiers was confronted with, entailed a transition in attitude towards antiquities; from objects associated with supernatural and protective attributes and fully integrated into the multicultural everyday life sphere of Ottoman Greece, to national emblems of the supposed uninterrupted continuity with the classical golden era. In essence, the case story of Rottiers symbolizes the intersection point between western forms of thought, colonial enterprises and Greek national imaginings about the past.

As mentioned in the introduction of this paper, museums, due to their colonial backdrop, are very expressive sites concerning both localized and global effects of colonization (Lydon and Rizvi 2010, 25-26). Museums' representations of national history can directly or implicitly affect the way that public embraces notions about 'otherness' and shared national imaginaries (Lydon and Rizvi 2010, 25-26). Within this context, the critical evaluation of two exhibitions that took place in the Gennadius Library of the American School of Classical Athens and the National Archaeological Museum of Athens respectively, and which chose to depict Ottoman Athens through European travelogues, revealed some interesting results.

In contrast thus to the curatorial choice of the exhibition "A dream among splendid ruins" to narrate aspects of the Ottoman period of Athens mainly through the eyes of European travellers, the exhibition "Ottoman Athens, 1458-1833" followed a more contrapuntal approach towards the analysis of travel material. Despite the frequent stereotypical production and circulation by travellers of a monumentalized picture of the city, the exhibition "Ottoman Athens", through a careful selection of travel texts and illustrations, shed ample light on the contemporary social interactions of local people and their relationship with antiquities. Challenging therefore the deep-rooted among Greek museums Orientalist structure of Hellenism and the projection of homogenous national narratives, the exhibition highlighted the

multicultural social as well as material past of the city, intriguing in this way visitors to renegotiate their own relationship with the Ottoman period.

Aspects of the Ottoman presence and the multi-temporal landscape of Athens were also presented in the exhibition ""A dream among splendid ruins…" strolling through the Athens of travellers 17th-19th century". As the above title indicates, the curatorial team of the National Museum of Athens chose to represent facets of the Ottoman history and topography of Athens mainly through the European travellers' view. Inevitably, as shown in chapter 4, the prevalent among travellers' ideological currents of Hellenism, Orientalism and classicism were mirrored on the exhibition space. The dialogue thus between the travelogues' illustrations of classical monuments, the marble sculptures exhibited and the imposing neoclassical edifice in which they were housed, overshadowed all the elements of Ottoman presence, promoting an intuitive appreciation of the classical Greek grandeur and its direct relationship with the present day. The emphasis given on the classical artifacts, combined with the noteworthy absence of any object from the Ottoman period, as well as the non-inclusion of local daily life aspects resemble to a high degree the travellers' colonial tropes of representation[33]. In this regard, the colonial-cum-national foundations of Greek archaeology and the Eurocentric and Orientalist bias it entails, although in an innovative way, are reverberated in the actual exhibition space of the E.A.M.

Within the same framework, the critical analysis of the above exhibitions revealed an additional issue concerning the continuing archaeological practice in Greece which I would like to point out. That is, the reluctance of archaeology and museums to confront the myth of continuity and its colonial underpinnings face on. Considering that both exhibitions critically highlighted the material appropriation of antiquities by travellers, why did they, albeit in a skillful way, refuse to see the close relationship between nationalist principles about the past and colonial discourses and practices? And given the rapid demographical transformation of Greece, why did E.A.M., in contrast to Gennadius, deem unsuitable to include in its exhibition space material testimonies of Greece's multicultural past? Perhaps, an inclusion in this paper of a museum visitors' research would be very insightful, since the analysis of the impact

[33] See also pages 38 and 39.

that the colonial-cum-national imaginings have had on the collective subconscious is critical in terms of understanding the above areas of concern.

What I suggest therefore is that the emancipation of the Greek archaeology from both its colonial and national heritage requires a critical reevaluation of its own history. The inclusion in both exhibitions of the indigenous values and practices regarding the material remains of antiquity, before their replacement by the official modernist archaeology, constitutes a considerable advancement regarding the deconstruction of the discipline. Taking also into account the dilemmas that national museums often encounter when it comes to issues of representation of cultural 'others' that do not identify with the national dream, it seems fair to argue that the choice itself of both cultural institutions to represent the highly controversial Ottoman period of Athens, signifies an important step forward towards the emancipation of Greek archaeology. The chasing of an inclusive, post-colonial archaeology does not belong to the realm of the imaginary, is an on-going, feasible process.

ABSTRACT

Classical past and its material evocations continue to play a vital role in both Greek national imagination and the collective subconscious of Greek society. At the same time, racial discrimination and xenophobic feelings are on the rise due to recent increase in migration and refugee flows mainly from Asia and Africa. Still, the colonial undercurrents concerning the connection of Greece with classical antiquity and its more recent Ottoman past are in a considerable degree unrecognized. The analytical tools available in postcolonial archaeology and its broader theoretical framework offer a more nuanced comprehension of colonialism and its complex nature and effects. Drawing therefore upon postcolonial studies, this thesis examines the development of archaeology in Ottoman Greece in conjunction with colonialist and nationalist discourses and practices, and critiques the colonial reverberations evident in present archaeological research.

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TABLE OF FIGURES

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Interview with Prof. dr. Ruurd Halbertsma, conducted on 22 June 2016.

Q1: In what way did the second expedition of Rottiers in Greece take place and what was its impact for the R.M.O.?

R.H: We have to make a distinction between the first collection of Rottiers and the second one. In the first expedition he went to Greece in 1819 and worked together with Fauvel, Gropius and Giuracich. They got a permit from the Turkish governor and they excavated objects, which was common practice; if you had permission you could work in Greece. When the objects arrived to the king of the Netherlands it was a sensation because we did not have original Greek art in the Netherlands at that moment. In the view therefore of Rottiers' list, Reuvens became very enthusiastic; for the first time, a Dutch museum had the tangible opportunity of acquiring original Greek art of the classical period. But Reuvens also noticed that Rottiers was not a serious archaeologist. He was a traveller and had a basic knowledge of antiquity, but he was not well suited for an archaeological expedition. The second expedition, as you have read in my book, was not a project of Reuvens but a project of Rottiers himself. Rottiers went to the Dutch government, and he claimed that I have connections in Greece and I can procure monuments if you give me a ship and money. After the deal that has been made with the government, the government wanted to create a national museum, Reuvens was instructed. But Reuvens was very angry because Rottiers was not a man to go to Greece in his view. He was not an excavator, he was not an engineer and he was also cheating; Reuvens did not know at the moment, in 1826 he discovered that Rottiers was cheating also with collections he sent to Leiden. So, Reuvens was not pleased in 1925 and he had to work very hard to compile a list of instructions about temples, old fortifications, etc. In this way he tried to repair something by giving Rottiers a list of books to read. But the evaluation proved that the all expedition was not successful, because I don't think Rottiers went to Greece to collect antiquities, he went to Greece to go to Rhodes for the publication of the "*Description des monumens de Rhodes*" which he published in 1830. He spent more than half a year in Rhodes without buying anything

for the museum. Rottiers thus was state's subsidized to go to Greece, he spent very long time in Rhodes describing its monuments, and in between he did some excavations and bought some antiquities. Reuvens was very disappointed in the all mission and when he realized in 1826 that he had been cheated by Rottiers, he closed all contacts. So, in 1819 he was enthusiastic about Rottiers' collection; it was a collection assembled by a traveller, not by an archaeologist, and in 1824-26 Reuvens again faced a sudden project of Rottiers. But Rottiers had a double agenda. Considering therefore the impact of the second collection, it could have been a very good expedition, but in view of the new legislation Reuvens would never go against new laws of a country, so it was a really strange expedition and becomes even stranger with the new documents.

Q2: Was the museum aware of the existence of these documents and are the information that these documents provide important and why?

R.H: We did not know about any new documents so it's a very good research from your part that you have found them; it shows that the character of Rottiers is very much in line with what we know; he was very slippery, he was unclear, he was messing with money and motives and now the all picture becomes even more negative, so it's an important find.

Q3: How decisive was the Grand Tour in Greece concerning the creation and evolution of European museums?

R.H: I think for the museums it was not very decisive but it was very important for the realization of how Greek art looks like. Because the 18th century collectors went to Italy and bought Roman copies of Greek originals, polished, very neatly done, restored, complete works, and when the first Greek works of art arrived in London in 1806, the Elgin collection, then many art lovers were very disappointed. They said this is impossible, this cannot be Greek art, it's too rough, there is no polish on the stone and the marbles have to be restored because they are without noses and without hands or feet. Elgin's case was quite a confrontation and from this confrontation came a new idea about how Greek art really look like and this was very important. For first time real Greek art came to a museum, because even the

Greek pottery which they had in 18th century, it was called Etruscan vases because they were found in Italy, but they were exports from Athens and Corinth to Etruria and suddenly excavations in Greece proved that it was Greek material. The all debate switched because of travels to Greece. So, it was very important for the study of archaeology and museums.

Q4: One of the main travellers' arguments regarding the expatriation of Greek antiquities was their rescue from the barbarity and the ignorance of the local Greek and Turkish population. Was this also the case for Reuvens and Rottiers or their real motives were different?

R.H: The real motive for Reuvens to buy the first collection of Rottiers was that it presented Greek originals from the 4th century B.C., the great age of sculpting in Greece. The motive for Rottiers was not rescuing, but selling. He was interested in money and didn't hold any collection for himself. He was always more interested in money than other motives. Reuvens did write about the Elgin collection and it was a public inquire in England about its legality. Elgin's main argument was the rescue of the antiquities because of French competition or their mistreatment by the local population. So, these arguments are closely related to the Elgin debate and since the Elgin debate they are used over and over. I think some travellers did use this argument because they saw how antiquities were considered, for example as building material or for sale etc., so I think rescuing was one of the motives. But once the Greek state could take over there was a change. That's why your period is interesting, that is pre-revolution and post-revolution and Rottiers is a symbol of pre-revolutionary digging and selling, but also, in your case study, he was confronted with a new state of affairs. So, this makes your thesis an interesting one.

Appendix 2

Interview with Dr. Maria Lagogianni-Georgakaratos and Dr. Theodoris Koutsogiannis, conducted on 29 July 2016.

Q1: How is the action of European travellers in Greece related to the main theme of the exhibition?

European travelers were the vehicle to show the cultural climate that prevailed in Athens at a time when Greeks are realizing that antiquities are part of their cultural heritage and that they must be protected. In this context, the exhibition explains to the people the reason for the establishment of this museum. How do we move from the precursor phase of archeology to modern archeology and how the need for the creation of museums gets imposed.

Q2: One of the main arguments of the travellers regarding the collection and the expatriation of the Greek antiquities was their rescue from the barbarity and ignorance of the Greek and Turkish local population. What do you think were their real motives?

The collections gathered by the travellers ended up in European museums and the reasons were mainly economic.

Q3: How is the action of European travellers and antiquarians related to the reception of the classical past in Greece and the development of national consciousness regarding the protection of Greek archaeological heritage? In what way is the European interest in Ottoman Greece associated to the creation of the first museums in Greece, and more specifically to the National Archaeological Museum?

European travellers helped the Greek people to realize their relationship with antiquities. And this realization arose not because the Greek people were uneducated or that they had lost grasp of their historical memory. In Greece in those years there were educated people, mainly Greeks of the diaspora who were constantly studying the ancient Greek sources. So, there was historical and cultural communication with antiquities. It's just the negative action of some travellers which

led to the need to protect antiquities and the creation of museums. Prior to the establishment of the museums, Papaflessas proposed the preservation of antiquities in schools. In today's sense, the first museum in Greece was a private museum of a Frenchman looter of antiquities, Fauvel. Meanwhile, the Greeks were very attached to these ancient materials. The first Greek archaeologist, Kyriakos Pittakis, collected the ancient inscriptions and tried to transcribe them because through them he could see his ancestral language and heritage.

Q4: Given that the Ottoman period of Greece is often interpreted through an ethnocentric point of view, which aspects of this longstanding historical period did the exhibition choose to narrate? Do the thematic contents of the exhibition include aspects of daily life reality or socio-cultural interaction between the two civilizations?

We wanted to create an experiential stroll and show visitors what Athens was like during the 17th and 19th centuries. The theme is the cultural climate and topography of Athens at that time. Through their works, the travellers illustrate the Athens of the time. We mainly use the iconographic and artistic evidence of European tourism, their look, their memories, their publications to show what Athens was like. Because we have no means other than the voice of these people. The Greek history of this period has little historical evidence. We, as the National Archaeological Museum, promote mainly our antiquities. As presented in the exhibition, European travellers were under the impression they have seen everything, but this was not true. They recorded the landscape of Athens in different time cycles, but Athens was constantly in progress. They exported as many antiquities as they could in collections and museums of Europe, but new antiquities were in the meantime being unearthed. The exhibited artifacts for example were discovered after the end of the tours. In short, Athens is an evolving landscape. It is not the static place we see from the point of view of travellers and antiquarians. In our case, in terms of artistic, historical and classical tradition, we used the corresponding travel material. We did not use the travellers for any other aspect of the life of Athens but for the subject that interests us: the antiquities that are the very material of the museum. So, the exhibition was focused especially on the antiquities of Athens and not on the daily life of the place.