

Thesis  
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**State Policy for the Presentation of Greek National Heritage:  
the Case of the Cultural World Heritage Sites.**

**Thesis Submitted for the Degree of  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**June 2001**

05/02

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to several people who have assisted me for the completion of my thesis.

This Greek State Scholarship Foundation (IKY) granted me with a scholarship which solved the financial arrangements related to the research and enabled me to devote myself to my research. I wish to express my deep appreciation for its support.

I would like to express my sincere and warmest thanks to my principal supervisor, Dr Mike Cormack, for his pertinent guidance, patience and encouragement which provided me with a motive to continue my research till the end and for his appreciation that English is not my first language.

Thanks to my second supervisor, Mr Peter Meech, for his comments. I would also like to thank the Stirling Media Research Institute's Director, Professor Philip Schlesinger, the Academic staff and the fellow-research colleagues for their advice. My thanks also go to Professor Klimis Navrides, Dr Charalambos Athanasiou, Dr Angie Palaiologou and Dr Dela Sotiropoulou.

I am obliged to the interviewees in Greece who provided access for the collection of data and were willing to spare some of their time for my research. I remain indebted.

I am thankful to my husband Stavros Kiriakidis who encouraged me to start off this journey (or Ithaca). Although both of us had the stress of working out our research, Stavros kept the balances. I thank him for his words of encouragement that were significant for the completion of this thesis.

The belief in myself was strengthened by my father George, my mother Ourania and my sister Evi; their encouraging long telephone conversations and words of encouragement were vital breaks. I owe them so much.

## ABSTRACT

The thesis focuses on the way heritage is presented by two Greek state organisations, the Greek Ministry of Culture and the Greek National Tourism Organisation. It aims to explore the way practices are initiated for the presentation of the World Heritage Sites that Greece has nominated to the World Heritage List of the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Archival analysis, interviews with people in the initiation and implementation processes and printed promotional material aimed at national level comprised the method of enquiry including primary and secondary sources and following a case study design. This mixture of sources was adopted in an attempt to identify and critically examine the association of World Heritage Sites with cultural, economic, educational, social and political values. Considering the socio-historical context within which the presentation of the World Heritage Sites is implemented, it was found that a specific image of Greece is promoted nationally and internationally. There is an attempt by the Greek state to redefine Greekness in the West with nominations of Byzantine Heritage Sites to the List that goes beyond the stereotypical view of Greece as a country of classical heritage. This is initiated at a time when the position of Greece in the West has been questioned. The findings revealed the role attributed to the international community, acting as the significant other, that provides a way for the presentation of specific World Heritage properties. Although it was found that there is not an intensified presentation of World Heritage Sites at national level by the two organisations, the way it is decided to present sites aims at giving a point of reference for people to imagine themselves culturally but also politically. Our focus, then, is based on the social organisation of Greek identity as was found from the promotion of the Greek World Heritage Sites initiated by two state bureaucratic organisations. The critical examination of the communication activities of the two organisations, indicated their role in the presentation of notions of nationality that are connected to heritage. The state takes the role of the nation, promoting through a nationalist ideology 'constituent elements of Greekness'. In fact, the two organisations actually base their decisions on the power of the tangible sites and initiate their communication activities accordingly. Conflicts towards the presentation of the World Heritage Sites exist between the Ministry of Culture and Greek National Tourism Organisation which are associated with the allocation of power that heritage entails, yet both organisations have a role to play in the presentation of Greekness. The significance attached to specific cultural heritage, associated with the past, centres around sites of classical antiquity and the Byzantine epoch, which, although different traditions, are heritages which the state of Greece presents as unitary through the presentation of World Heritage Sites and which come to define the bipolar identity of Greece at national and international level. This, though, has implications for the process of social organisation of identity in the multicultural world that we live in.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

Archaeological Receipts Fund (ARF)

Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (Convention)

Directorate of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments (DBMM)

Directorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (DIPKA)

Greek Ministry of Culture (MoC)

Greek Ministry of Culture and Science [YPPE]

Greek Ministry of Environment, Physical Planning and Public Works (YPEXODE)

Greek National Tourist Organisation (GNTO)

International Association of Travel Agents (IATA)

International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICCROM)

International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage (TICCIH)

International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS)

International Union of Conservation of Nature (IUCN)

Official Gazette of the Government (FEK)

Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK)

States Parties to the Convention (States)

Tentative List of Properties required from the UNESCO Committee (inventory)

The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)

United Nations of Educational and Scientific Community (UNESCO)

World Heritage List (List)

World Tourism Organisation (WTO)



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# **INTRODUCTION**

## INTRODUCTION

There is much interaction between different countries all over the world that nonetheless fosters the importance of the diversity between them and reinforces their distinctiveness. The official presentation of the distinct characteristics of a country aims at strengthening the sense of belonging to that specific entity that is differentiated from others while at the same time being part of the wider world. Perceived distinct characteristics that may be used as signifiers are: a historic homeland, symbols of the past, the natural environment, to name but a few.

The presentation of the distinctive heritage of a country is related to issues of reinforcing a perceived identity, economic and political processes and underscores questions of the power of the state at national and international levels. World Heritage properties nominated to the World Heritage List (List) are properties of outstanding universal value according to the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (Convention). The Convention is an international agreement adopted by the general conference of UNESCO in 1972 where States Parties that have ratified the Convention (they are referred to as 'States Parties' by the Convention)<sup>1</sup> may nominate heritage to the List. These nominations provide a way of exploring the process and the implementation of decisions taken for the projection of the perceived distinct characteristics of a country internationally and nationally, signifying the role that these properties may have when they are presented at international level while retaining their national character.

### **Aims and objectives**

The purpose of this research is to explore the way Greek cultural heritage is seen and presented by two state institutions: the Greek Ministry of Culture (MoC) that is in charge of protecting Greek sites, and the Greek National Tourism Organisation (GNTO) that is in charge of promoting Greece. For the purpose of the research, heritage is delimited to properties nominated to the List of the UNESCO Convention<sup>2</sup>. The

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<sup>1</sup> Until November 2000, the World Heritage Committee inscribed 630 properties on the List: 480 cultural, 128 natural and 22 mixed in 118 States, <http://www.unesco.org/whc/heritage.htm>.

<sup>2</sup> The exact definitions of cultural and natural heritage as stated in the World Heritage Convention are presented on Appendix I.

research focuses on the World Heritage Sites that the Greek state inscribed on the List. Greece ratified the Convention on the 10th of February, 1981 and the international agreement is part of Greek Law 1126/1981<sup>3</sup>.

The World Heritage Committee considers the nominations of States Parties (States) before any inscriptions are made. The World Heritage Committee consists of representatives from 21 States; its members are elected by the General Assembly of States and these elected members may be part of the World Heritage Committee for six years. The World Heritage Committee is aided by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) -for issues of cultural property- and the International Union of Conservation of Nature (IUCN) -for natural heritage- and nominates heritage to the List every December<sup>4</sup>.

This is a study that addresses the issue of the presentation of cultural heritage, offering grounds to explore the role of the communication work of two state mechanisms in portraying cultural heritage and the way choices are justified. The research focuses on a comprehensive profile of the aims for the presentation of cultural heritage from two state organisations of the Greek state. Based on empirical research from a country rich in ancient relics but also natural beauty, the researcher aims to shed light on the ways in which the World Heritage Sites are perceived within the Greek state by the two organisations. It explores the situation for the nominations to the List (What is happening?), the practices for the presentation of specific sites (Why are these sites presented over others? How are they presented? For whom are they presented?) seeking to identify the policy for the presentation of heritage internationally -through the nominations to the List- and within the Greek state (Who is in charge of these sites?). These forms of inquiry provide ways for the researcher to look at how heritage -a notion that may be related to the past- is treated by a contemporary state. The process for the official presentation of the cultural heritage contributes to our understanding of the enhancement and promotion of images of the past at the international level, with the

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<sup>3</sup> Law 1126 FEK 32 A' (3/10-2-1981), Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage ratified in Paris on the 23 November, 1972.

<sup>4</sup> Greece was elected to the World Heritage Committee at the twelfth session of the General Assembly of States on the 28th October, 1997 and its period of office lasts until 2003.



nominations to the List, and their promotion at the national level, to the Greek population.

The way the Greek state chooses to nominate heritage to the List and the presentation of specific sites from the national patrimony is explored and aims to show the way the institutional mechanisms of the MoC and GNTO perceive these heritage sites and present them to the Greek population in the official national narrative of written promotional material. The thesis also explores the principles and practices of policy directions for the presentation of heritage sites through the official point of view and the communication activities implemented. It identifies and critically provides an overview of the process that occurs when the two Greek institutions present sites. The aim is to explore and critically examine values that may have been associated with the heritage of outstanding value that would allow us to relate our findings to the construction and management of national identity as is manifested through heritage by two bureaucratic organisations.

The presentation of heritage properties is a multidisciplinary approach that combines their protection and presentation. Economic, political and social parameters may contribute to their presentation which the research aims to identify and describe for the specific case of the World Heritage Sites that have been nominated to the List by Greece. The report of the World Commission on Culture and Development of UNESCO emphasised the need for interdisciplinary research. “The need for interdisciplinary studies arises because there is interdependence between variables normally analysed separately” (UNESCO,1996:257).

Presentation of heritage sites has been associated with values which depend on interpretations that reflect the present day. Questions addressed, that merited further research for the World Heritage Sites of Greece, are related to the identification of concepts that are interconnected with the presentation of heritage. By decoding the communication activities related to the presentation of the World Heritage Sites from two state organisations, we seek to identify their values associated with an otherwise neutral role of heritage resources. In so doing, we critically examine the construction and presentation of identity as is manifested through such presentation. As Pocock

argued (1997:267) "...at any one time the pattern of world heritage is a reflection of the competence, complexion and activities of the states' nominating committees". What is the case for Greece and the sites of outstanding value? It is the aim of the research to explore set of concepts as to why there is presentation of these sites, seeking activities and identifying factors for the presentation of Greek heritage as they are exemplified through nominations by Greece to the List while describing the role of the people involved in the presentation of the World Heritage Sites.

Heritage is organised on a different basis from country to country and it would be of interest to explore connotations made for the presentation of cultural heritage when the state is the guardian of heritage. The research does not aim at providing evaluations for the activities and processes initiated by the two organisations, although it may be of importance to the people involved in the presentation of cultural heritage. Yin (1989:113) noted that case study designs may provide ways of developing techniques that can be applied in other case studies. Case studies provide the possibility for identifying patterns of concepts that emerge (ibid:33). The case study design that is followed in the specific research could be applied by other projects. It would be interesting to follow a similar methodology to this study (Chapter 3) and explore the context, the choices, the practices made for the nomination of heritage to the List by other States that have ratified the Convention and its presentation so that this research can be applied by other researchers to another setting.

The close link and relationship between heritage and tourism is further enhanced by the co-operation of UNESCO and the World Tourism Organisation at international level<sup>5</sup>. Nevertheless, conflicts arise between the Departments of a state or different organisations that may be involved in the conservation and the promotion of heritage; fragmented responsibility and tensions related to cultural heritage and tourism and its promotion are not rare (WTO,1985; Ashworth,1988; Hall & Zeppel,1990a; Pigram,1993; Nuryanti,1996). The management of heritage resources by government agencies has to balance the often conflicting needs of both conservation and tourism while a team of people from different departments in charge of protecting and

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<sup>5</sup> On 13 December 1978 the World Tourism Organisation and UNESCO Agreement was signed aiming at promoting cultural tourism and preserving heritage sites and monuments, (WTO,1985:7) *Principles of Protecting and Promoting Culture for Tourism Chapter 1, 1.3, Possibilities of Co-operation.*

presenting heritage has been suggested as an alternative (Silberman,1995; Stevens,1995; Rivers,1998). The management guidelines for the World Heritage Sites stated that a conflict in policy may take place between site managers who restrict the number of visitors for the preservation of sites and tourist boards that want the sites to be open to the visitors (Feilden & Jokilehto,1993:98). However, they did not critically examine the issue any further so as to account for the reasons and the role that the specific context might play for such conflicts.

The aim of this thesis is to explore the communication activities for the presentation of the World Heritage Sites from two state organisations with the objective of critically examining the process that takes place for the construction of Greek identity as is manifested through heritage. Tension might exist between the two organisations in relation to the presentation of heritage, yet a comparison of the activities between these two organisations is not the aim of the research. This project is related to the way heritage is seen by the Greek state and mediated to the Greek population by the two organisations. The further objective is to explore how heritage of outstanding value is defined by two different organisations considering that they operate in the same environment, and why heritage is presented the way it is which would allow the researcher to identify the ideology behind the presentation of Greek identity as seen by the official state organisations.

The research does not deal with the actions employed by the private sector. The Central Archaeological Council of the MoC is the sole proprietor and guardian of heritage sites and it determines heritage sites' inclusion in the List. Major historic sites in most countries are under official ownership or stewardship (Kristiansen,1989; Evans-Pritchard,1993; Ashworth,1995; Johnson & Thomas,1995; Stevens,1995). Public agencies and organisations are mainly in charge of presenting heritage (Breeze,1994; Johnson & Thomas,1995; Stevens,1995). Nonetheless, the extent of the role of the state differs and heritage is organised and promoted in a different way from country to country (McCrone et al,1995:13). Even when the public sector is in charge of the decisions made for the presentation of heritage, the power of the central government may differ and the provinces may have a more significant role; this was the case in studies that illustrated that the role of the central government is not so powerful in the



decisions made especially when communication activities for the heritage sites are involved where either the provinces or the private sector undertakes the presentation of heritage (Denhez,1985; Hamel et al,1996; Charlton & Essex,1996). The research does not aim at investigating the organisations and their organisational structure as a whole but collects data related to the institutional operation for the presentation of heritage. The thesis looks at how the two organisations manage the presentation of heritage. This leads to the overall purpose of the research that aims to understand or identify the way heritage is seen by the Greek state.

With regard to the Greek environment, the MoC is in charge of the nominations of cultural sites to the List aided by the Greek Ministry of Environment, Physical Planning and Public Works (YPEXODE) which is in charge of cultural landscapes - a term that was adopted by the Convention in 1993 and refers to properties that “represent the combined works of nature and of human”<sup>6</sup> and the Ministry of Agriculture which is in charge of the natural sites<sup>7</sup>. An investigation of the sites inscribed on the List from Greece illustrates that they can be divided into two broad categories that include two main themes: antiquity mainly related to classical years, and Orthodoxy related to paleochristian sites and the period of the Byzantine Empire, while more contemporary sites or properties of purely natural importance are absent from the List<sup>8</sup>. As of December 2000, Greece has nominated 16 cultural heritage sites to the List while Mount Athos and Meteora, that were both nominated in 1988, are mixed properties, entailing cultural and natural criteria. Greece has not yet nominated cultural landscapes to the List (Appendix III presents the geographical distribution of the World Heritage Sites within Greece).

The MoC and GNTTO are among the agencies of the public sector for the implementation of communication strategies for the presentation of heritage of Greece. The educational system of the Ministry of Education and Religion was not part of this project since it concentrates its activities on the student population and it would not be

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<sup>6</sup> WHC.99/2 March 1999, Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, *B. Indications to State Parties concerning nominations to the List*, Article 35.

<sup>7</sup> Permanent Delegation of Paris in UNESCO, Paris, (6-2-1996), APF 8.6/8/AS 77, Tentative List of World Heritage Sites.

<sup>8</sup> The World Heritage Sites that Greece has nominated to the List as of 1999 are presented in Appendix II of this thesis.



possible to reach conclusions about the way World Heritage Sites are presented to Greek citizens in general. The research presents Laws and legislation that would enhance and justify the issues presented in the data and does not aim to fully presenting Greek legislation related to cultural heritage. Studies on existing legislation for the protection of Greek cultural heritage have been presented by Lavvas (1993), Konsola (1995) and Mouliou (1998) among other authors.

The MoC was founded in 1971, incorporating Directorates originally belonging to other ministries. The Directorates of the MoC are Departments in charge of decisions related to the protection, conservation and presentation of heritage and the Antiquities Services (they are called Ephorates) implement the Directorates' policy decisions at regional level with regard to cultural heritage<sup>9</sup>. Although the Presidential Decree on the 15th of January 1980 reinforced competencies of the Antiquities Services, the directors of the administrative units follow an Operational Plan formed at central level<sup>10</sup>. Loukaki (1995) examined the operation of the Central Archaeological Council (CAC) which functions within the MoC and the way decision-making takes place in relation to issues of architecture, planning and protection and found that the order of the agenda is arranged within the central service (Loukaki,1997:687; Psycharis & Garevou,2000). Loukaki (1997) referred to the function of the Council and explored the power relations which exist in relation to architecture and planning issues where she found that the distribution of power mainly operates at national level. She found that conflicts emerge between archaeologists and architects over issues of development and considerations of careers of archaeologists and planners. The specific examples drawn in Loukaki's study were from classical sites while there was no reference to the interplay of classical and Byzantine heritage and the way they interweave for the construction of the Greek national identity through the bureaucratic state organisations that this thesis explores. If we take the argument further, we may argue for heritage tourism's possibility of raising issues of development that go beyond management issues and conflicts related to agencies in charge of sharing responsibilities for the preservation and planning for

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<sup>9</sup> Ephorates, the Archaeological Antiquities Services, are the Ministry of Culture's decentralised Departments that are spread throughout Greece while its administrative Departments are situated in Athens.

<sup>10</sup> Presidential Decree No 16, FEK 8 A' (15-1-1980); Loukaki (1995); Psycharis & Garevou (2000).

heritage but also for its presentation to the Greek population and the social organisation of identity in the official discourse.

It is not the aim of the researcher to examine the organisational structure of the MoC and GNTO from which data have been collected for the present thesis. Non-government organisations can play an important role to ease off the conflicts inherent in government bodies due to rigidity in decision-making and the conflicting interests that may emerge (Sumardja,1985:81). As of 1998, there are 25 Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities Services, 14 Byzantine and 8 in charge of Contemporary Monuments<sup>11</sup>. The emphasis that is put on sites of antiquity can be seen by the unbalanced distribution of responsibilities and an antiquity centred attitude towards cultural heritage.

GNTO, founded in 1951, is part of the Ministry of Development<sup>12</sup>. There is the Central Office in Athens that consists of different Departments and the ones of relevance to the present thesis are in charge of advertising and promoting Greece. Directorates of Research & Development, Advertising & Presentation, Tourist & Creative Activities are in charge of presenting Greece nationally and internationally and design and implement programmes for the presentation of Greece. As of 1998, GNTO consists of 13 Directorates, there are 21 Regional Offices in major cities all over Greece and 27 Offices of GNTO in 18 countries. Decisions taken for the implementation of the communication policy at the national level are made by the Central Office in GNTO<sup>13</sup>.

The research also explores the presentation of the national narrative in the written promotional material for the World Heritage Sites of Greece for a period of 14 years when the first nomination to the List took place by Greece with the site of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae in 1986. Sites of outstanding value have national and international appeal. In that way, another angle is provided for the way heritage is seen by the contemporary Greek state based on the process of the nominations to the List and the official presentation of the sites to the citizens of the Greek state. Visits to sites of

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<sup>11</sup> Presidential Decree No 941, FEK 320 A', (17-10-1977), Article 33. Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities Services & Byzantine Antiquities Services are in charge of the safeguarding of heritage dating before 1830 AD. Ephorates of Contemporary monuments are in charge of the safeguarding of monuments dating after 1830 AD.

<sup>12</sup> Presidential Decree, No 27, FEK 19 A', (1-2-1996), Article 1a.

<sup>13</sup> Presidential Decree No 884/76 FEK 325 A', (2/8-12-1976), Article 26§2, *Structure-Responsibilities of Peripheral Services of the Domestic Market*.

cultural and historical significance are a particular feature of domestic tourism that are thought to have associations with a perceived distinct heritage at a higher level than international visitors (Thorburn,1986; Moulin,1990; Hall & Zeppel,1990b; Nuryanti,1996; Peleggi,1996). Although this is not audience research, presentation of articles in the press, the responses of the public as they are presented in the form of letters or through the responses of curators who get in touch with the public and a market study that took place for the Greek population in 1998 by GNT0, provide the researcher with ground for certain speculations that can be made about the way the public receives the presentation of heritage by the official agents.

A distance between the creation of the Convention (1972) and the ratification from Greece (1981) exists. Greece was under a military regime in the early 1970s and after the end of that period in 1974, the Greek state needed time in order to restore democracy while it prepared for its accession to the European Union in 1981 (Clogg,1992). Besides, a time lag exists from the ratification of the Convention from Greece and the first nomination that was made from Greece in 1986; a period of preparation is required before nominations take place, a procedure that takes place once a year as has already been mentioned.

### **Outline of the thesis**

The thesis consists of ten chapters, including this introduction, which are divided in five parts. Part One is the Literature Review (**Chapter 1 and Chapter 2**), which reviews the relevant literature pertaining to the development of Greek national identity and the bipolar roots of Classical antiquity and Byzantium that were forged to constitute 'Greekness' in the 18th and 19th century and the process which left their impact on the 20th century (**Chapter 1**). Chapter 1 presents aspects in the development of Greek identity since the foundation of the modern Greek state in the 1820s until 2000 that address ideas of Greekness related to the modern Greek state that were reinforced by a nationalist ideology and led to the co-existence of the nation with the state. A socio-historical account of the context within which the process of the development of Greek identity took place, allows us to identify the conflicts and elements that such a concept as Greekness sustains. **Chapter 2** presents the relation of heritage and tourism, the



values interrelated with heritage that are extrinsic to the resource itself and the way in which heritage and nationality are related to the World Heritage Sites examining theories of nationality and nationalism and relating them to heritage.

The Second Part is **Chapter 3**, the Methodology Chapter which outlines the methodological considerations emphasising the methods used for the collection, analysis and presentation of data.

**Chapters 4 to 6** are incorporated in Part Three and are the findings from the MoC. They provide information from the archives of the related Departments about the objectives of the presentation of cultural heritage tracing the context and the processes that exist when decisions are made (**Chapter 4**); the principles related to cultural heritage and the way practices are implemented as identified by responses from the officials of the MoC who are also curators of the national patrimony (**Chapter 5**); printed promotional material illustrating the way the state policy portrays cultural heritage aiming at reaching the public (**Chapter 6**).

Part Four consists of **Chapters 7 to 9** that present findings from data in GNTO. Through the analysis of administrative documents from the Departments in GNTO in charge of presenting Greece (**Chapter 7**) the aim is to identify and examine Greek tourism policy in relation to cultural heritage. **Chapter 8** focuses on interviews with senior officials in charge of the implementation of the presentation of Greece while **Chapter 9** presents perceived values of heritage as they are officially articulated in the promotional literature of GNTO aimed at the Greek population.

**Chapters 4 to 9** are considered as part of the overall analysis that attempts to explore the way heritage is seen and presented by two state organisations and to trace and demonstrate the process that occurs when heritage is presented. The final part, is **Chapter 10** where the emerging interconnected set of concepts of the thesis is discussed. Having examined the presentation of the World Heritage Sites, we relate our findings to the way in which the discourse of Greekness is managed by the two bureaucratic organisations. This then could be compared to current theoretical propositions and implications for further research could be presented.



**PART I**  
**LITERATURE REVIEW**

**THE MEANING OF GREEKNESS & THE  
DEFINITION OF GREEK NATIONAL  
IDENTITY FROM BIPOLAR TRADITIONS**

## **CHAPTER 1: THE MEANING OF GREEKNESS & THE DEFINITION OF GREEK NATIONAL IDENTITY FROM BIPOLAR TRADITIONS**

### **1.1 Introduction**

This Chapter provides a brief historical account about Greek national identity and examines constituent elements which have contributed to the foundation of the modern Greek state and have influenced the definition of Greek identity up to the present day. National and transnational agents are identified in order to set the context within which definitions of Greekness have taken place. These agents were not always unitary and compatible with each other but embrace contrasting elements that have been fused together.

By presenting the context within which Greek identity emerged, this Chapter sets the historical background for the formation of the Greek state and Greek national identity from the bipolar realities of Hellenism and Byzantine tradition. It is shown that the Greek Orthodox Church, which came under the power of the Greek state and became the national Church, contributed to the definition of Greekness. The Chapter aims to highlight the origins of the definition of Greek national identity by critically examining its basis on traditions which are not unitary and unified but interrelated with disputes and tensions that have been sustained until the present. In so doing, we provide a historical framework that argues for the persistence of certain traditions as indicators of Greekness. These historical contingencies, as part of the process in the development of Greek national identity, provide, then, the context for associations to be made with the symbolic power of World Heritage Sites and the meaning they are given by the two bureaucratic state organisations, that of the Ministry of Culture and the Greek National Tourism Organisation.

### **1.2 Important influences in the formulation of Greek identity: Hellenic & Byzantine traditions**

Among the earliest civilisations in Greek land is the Minoan civilisation of the Cretans which began on the island of Crete about 2600 BC with peoples who came from Asia

Minor and perhaps Libya and ended about 1100 BC (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987:25). The Minoan civilisation cannot be characterised as being directly related to Greek heritage (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987; Cartledge,1993) while Toynbee argues about the presence of earlier non-Greek speakers in Greece at the Neolithic site at Sesklo and Dimini (in the 4th millennium) before the Cretans arrived (1981:10-11). Cultural unity was given to the Aegean basin for the first time in the region's history by the Mycenaean civilisation (circa 1400-1100 BC) and the adoption of the Mycenaean language (Toynbee,1981:12). This civilisation was distinct and differentiated from the Minoan civilisation of Crete.

The two legacies which have left their imprint on the passage of time are related to the Hellenic period extending from the 5th till 2nd century BC (including the Hellenistic period, 3rd-2nd century BC) and the Byzantine period (400-1453) with three centuries of cultural overlap (284-602 AD) when the Hellenic civilisation was not extinct and the Byzantine Empire was developing following the Ottoman Empire's occupation of Christian populations (Pantelouris,1980; Toynbee,1981).

Herodotus made reference to Hellenikon or Greekness according to Cartledge (1993:3) and associated it with common blood, language and religion. Nonetheless, political institutions were omitted when reference was made to Hellenikon which on the one hand, was an ideological construct that was not related to politics but on the other, it was influential in the cultural arena which contributed to the definition of Greekness (ibid:3).

With regard to the Greek city-states, Smith argued that the different political city-states of ancient Greece were related in terms of cultural aspects, such as religion, and the unity that existed did not have to do with political terms (Smith,1991:47-48). Panhellenism, was a theory used by Isokrates to illustrate the relationship between Greeks and their neighbours in the Persian Empire and was created as a reaction to the political revolution of the poor Greeks for the redistribution of land which belonged to plutocrats. Panhellenism was used as a concept to join Greeks together in order to take revenge on the damage caused by Xerxes in 480-479. Thus, Panhellenism was not a cultural ideal but a political programme (Cartledge,1993:42-43, 50). The Persian Empire



provided the motive and the point of reference against which Greeks joined while the real cause for the attempt to join Greek people together was related to the internal differences within the society.

Evidence suggests that there was an occupation of immigrants (Avars, Slavs) in Greece that reached Central Greece (the region that today is called Sterea Ellada) and Peloponnese (Morea-Mystras) and the Greek-speaking population reached the Aegean islands (Smith,1991:29). At the same time, it is argued that cultural elements have persisted in time related to tradition, religion and language, albeit in a very peculiar way (Toynbee,1981; Smith,1991:30) as we further explain.

The Byzantines were the peoples whose territory extended to all of the Christian Mediterranean and Eastern Empire and were called Romoioi or Rhomaioi meaning Christians (due to the Byzantine continuity with Rome) and they were differentiated from the Latin speaking Romans and the Ottoman Muslim people (Xydis,1969:210; Pantelouris,1980; Toynbee,1981:73, 80). Hellenes defined pre-Christian Greeks and Christian Greeks were named Rhomaioi (Toynbee,1981:80). Classifications of religion were important in the Byzantine realm and the pre-Christian religion or paganism as the element of Hellenism was marginal and it came into contrast and rejection by the Byzantines.

Although there was a clear differentiation between paganism and Christianity, it is argued that it was the notion of Greek paideia, education and cultural knowledge, which probably survived in the Christian epoch (Runciman,1975:223; Toynbee,1981:96). Other authors argue that elements of classical Greek culture, such as, Greek paideia and the language in which it was transmitted, became integral parts of Christian Byzantine culture (Browning,1987; Chatzidakis,1987; Norwich,1998). These authors agree that transformations of Greek society took place due to the expansion of the Christian Eastern Empire.

A pre-modern form of the Greek language in which the liturgy of the Greek-speaking members of Greek Orthodoxy was performed throughout the Byzantine period, under the Ottoman period, to the present day. It was a language used for writing the corpus of Christian religious literature and hymnography and was the Attic koine (Toynbee,1981).

Robert Browning wrote that the Greek language remained unaltered in the passage of time: “change there has certainly been. But there has been no break as is found between Latin and the Romance languages. Ancient Greek is not a foreign language to the Greek of today” (Browning,1969:9). Nevertheless, the Greek language did not follow the changes which languages have in the passage of time since it was mainly used for writing and not for speaking. Therefore, the living language that Greek people have spoken since the 7th century AD until today, differed from the written language although both the written and the spoken derived from the Mycenaean language and the Attic koine (Toynbee,1981:123). That is why Hobsbawm argues that classical languages found it difficult to become national languages because there was difficulty in associating the written word with the spoken word and he used the case of Greece as an example although he noted that “there was actual linguistic continuity between ancient and modern spoken Greek”. The national literary language, katharevousa, was and is an elevated neo-classic idiom (Hobsbawm,1990:59-60,77).

Toynbee (1981) and Hobsbawm (1990) do not reject the continuity that exists between the ancient Greek language and modern Greek. Toynbee (1981:95-96) referred to the Epistles attributed to Saint Paul and the Gospel written by Saint John which were written in Hellenic Greek vocabulary in the Attic koine. This indicates that the people who were listening the Christian scriptures, had some knowledge of Greek paideia. Nevertheless, the issue remains that the written form of the language did not adjust to the needs of everyday speech and in that way, was distinguished from the oral. Smith (1996b:380) argues that languages may adapt to meet the contemporary conditions of an epoch. He uses Greece as one of his examples, mentioning that there were situations where the language and culture had to be ‘modernised’ and adjusted which may account for the fact that the characteristics of the language were not irrelevant or completely new to the population. That is why they were assimilated and there was popular motivation by the population to adopt them (ibid). Smith does not consider the fact that ‘the modernisation’ of the language did not follow both the written and oral language but only the oral form of the language. Although the modern Greek language has many commonalities with the classical (their starting point was the same, the Mycenaean or Attic koine), the classical language is not the one that is spoken nowadays in Greece although it is not foreign to Greeks.

The issue of language emerged in the 1820s in relation to the form that the language would take as the medium of communication for the emergent Greek state. This is further discussed in the ensuing sections and theoretically connects the language issue with the attempt to base Western roots in an idealised classical Greece which would adopt the ancient Attic koine.

### **1.3 The role of the Orthodox Church in the formation of Greek national identity**

The fall of Constantinople in 1453, signalled the demise of the Byzantine Empire. Under the Ottoman Empire, people were differentiated on the basis of religious faith rather than ethnic origin. Islam was tolerant of Christians and separated Muslims from non-Muslims which allowed each to maintain its religious identity. During the period of the Ottoman Empire, the concern of the Orthodox Church, which had the Balkans under its control, had been the preservation of the religion among the Orthodox populations of the Ottoman Empire which differentiated Christian from Muslim populations by religion but not as separate nations (Kitromilides,1989). Nationality was a conception alien to the Byzantine Empire which based itself on Orthodoxy (Runciman,1975:179; Tsoukalas,1999:9).

The Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople, with its regional churches, was recognised by the Ottoman Empire. The Church was given privileges to practise the religious faith among the people and had control in civil matters, acting, in absence of a state, as a political institution which concentrated civil and religious power. Patron relations were established, owing their existence to the Ottoman system of administration, between the landowners, those who acted as representatives of the people to the landowners and the people. The role of the Church and its influence on the everyday life of the population, allows us to understand the power it had since it could interfere in the community of the faithful and be part of the life of the people although its fundamental aim was not related to secular but to spiritual issues.

People in the Balkans believed in their Christian Orthodox religion which was related to Byzantium and was in contrast to the Ottoman Empire. The language that was used in the liturgy was Attic koine (Toynbee,1981) and people were educated in the Greek



language which proved to be a powerful tool for the awakening of the population for the War of Independence as is further discussed. On the one hand, the Church reinforced the Christian people's difference from their Muslim counterparts under the Church's ecumenical claims of communion and collectivity. On the other hand, debates were not lacking between the Church and the intellectuals, Greek people who lived and studied abroad and were adherents to the idea of the Enlightenment, basing the idea of the War of Independence on the ancient Hellas with a glorious past, ideas which were western oriented (Kokosalakis,1987; Kitromilides,1989; Georgiadou,1995; Prodromou,1996).

The levels of difference between the Church and the intellectuals were based on the fact that the ideas of the intellectuals came from the West with which the Eastern Church had disagreements in the doctrine in relation to the dogma and the levels of the Holy Trinity (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987:29; Georgiadou,1995:312). Christianity was separated into the Eastern Church and the Western Church at the Great Schism in 1054. As a result, there was constant difference and debate between East and West which made the transmission and exchange of the ideas of the Enlightenment difficult. This was coupled with the conquest of Constantinople in 1204 by the Crusaders (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987:29) which led the way to the fall of Constantinople in the Ottoman Empire.

In particular, during the period of the Greek War of Independence and the foundation of the modern Greek state in the 1820s, ideas from the West, such as the belief in the individual or the worship of the classical Hellenism, were not accepted by the Church due to the fact of its opposition with the Western Church. This brought the Church in conflict with the intellectuals who were trying to transmit the ideas of Enlightenment for creating the Greek state. It should be taken into account that Byzantines who were associated with the East, were not considered of significance and were not appreciated by the Western representatives of the rival Christian civilisation (Delvoye,1991:120; Runciman,1975:285; Toynbee,1981:25). The relation of Orthodoxy to nationality can be understood as a problem according to Kitromilides (1989:178) despite the attempts which were made to present it as a signifier of Greek national identity (as we will further examine in this Chapter).



Therefore, the fundamental opposition between the intellectuals and the Church related to the ideas of individualism, uniqueness and secularism which were in contrast to the preservation of a community of the faithful among the populations of the Ottoman Empire (which did not distinguish populations in terms of race, class or sex according to the divine preaching). The Enlightenment and the ideas of the rational operation of the state which came from the West were arguing in favour of the difference of the nations, the equal status of the people in the name of law and not religion, a fact that was not welcome by the Church and explained the opposition and the confrontation of the Church with the intellectuals (Kitromilides,1989). The obtaining of prominent positions by the high clergy involved them in the power elite and they were not willing to accept ideas that came from the West (Kokosalakis,1987; Kitromilides,1989; Veremis,1989). Such a situation would grant power to the state which the intellectuals aimed to form as a system of organisation and administration of the community and would take away the privileges that the Church had. It is the transition from 'culture-religion to a culture-state' according to Gellner (1983:72) that might have brought fear to the Church representatives who would grant the 'religious community and the dynastic realm' (Anderson,1991:12) to the state. We are led to argue that a struggle over power took place at that period between the Church and the intellectuals. Thus, ideas related to the West were not welcome by the Eastern Church whether related to religious issues or ideas associated with the Enlightenment.

The Church was given rights and privileges by the Ottoman Empire and the liturgy used Greek language. These were hints which indicated the power of the Church and the political leadership in Greece realised that it needed the Church which would grant the power it gained from the Ottoman Empire to the state. The Orthodox Church of Greece became the national church of Greece in 1833 immediately following the creation of the modern Greek state (this means it became autonomous from the administration system of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople) but was not recognised by Constantinople until 1850 (Toynbee,1981:235; Clogg,1992:50). That shows the unwillingness of the upper hierarchy of the clergy of the Church to hand over the power it had gained from the Ottoman Empire to the Greek state and to promote any national particularism.

The benefit of the state from the secession of the Church from Constantinople was double because of the influence of the Church on the people. Thus, what initially was an obstacle for the creation of the Greek state, became a motive for forging national identity within the modern Greek state which incorporated different social and even different ethnic groups which were annexed to Greece in the 19th century and early 20th century (Kitromilides,1989:162; Kofos,1990:108-109). It was quickly realised, by the modern Greek state, that in order to forge national identity, the use of the appeal of the Church, especially through the use of Greek language in the liturgy among the Greek-speaking Orthodox populations of the Ottoman Empire, would be beneficial (Kofos,1989). Despite the role of the Church as the protector of all the populations from the Ottoman Empire, the Greek language and the Byzantine traditions prepared the ground for the Greek nationalist ideology of incorporating populations into the Greek peninsula, especially the Vlach-speaking communities in the geographical area of Macedonia in the 1860s and 1870s (Kofos,1989:231, 235). The Church served the aims of the state for a nationalist programme that would ensure Greek national identification.

The location of Macedonia was a broad geographical area to which Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians and Albanians had conflicting claims at the end of the 19th and in the beginning of the 20th century. It was a broad geographical area in the Balkans where 3 zones were identified: the northern zone, bordering on Serbia and Bulgaria and inhabited by Slav-speaking populations, the southern zone, bordering on Thessaly, a region of Greece in 1881, with a Greek-speaking population, and, the central zone which was a mixed region of Greek, Slav and Vlach-speaking peoples (Kofos,1989:234). The allocation of the southern and most of the central zones to Greece annexed over 50% of the geographical region (ibid:241) that together with the regions of Epirus and Thrace were incorporated in Greece in 1914 just before the First World War (Clogg,1992:6). In these areas, Muslim populations were replaced in an exchange of populations, with the Greek populations coming from Turkey and Bulgaria brought about by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 and which provided a homogeneous population for Greece (Brubaker,1996:154). Thus, religion played a prominent role in the definition of Greek identity while the definition of nationality in classical Greek terms and the legacy of Alexander the Great (see next section) was the legend that was

associated with ancient Greece and was cultivated to differentiate the Greek from the Slav-speaking populations (Kofos,1989:232, 245).

The Orthodox Church has been under state control since its declaration as a national Church which united the nation and the Church as “integral parts of the same symbolic universe” (Kitromilides,1989:166). In that way, there was politicization of the Orthodox faith by the state (Georgiadou,1995:302). The Church gained a secular role which promoted the nationalist ideology and stressed the Byzantine tradition (Kitromilides,1989). The emergence of Greek nationalism has embodied religion in the nationalist ideology combining the tradition of Hellenism and Byzantium and leading to a perceived unbroken continuity for the identity of Greece. This was initiated with the creation of the ‘History of the Greek Nation’ in the 1850s by the historiographer Papanigopoulos (Veremis,1989:138) but also followed in the ideologies of the military regimes in 1936 and 1967. At these points in time, the religious component in the theory of Greek nationalism was given an important presence which also implies the way in which power seekers have masked their intentions behind the popular appeal of the Church.

The religion of the Eastern Orthodox Church is recognised as the official religion of the Greek state. People belong to the Greek Orthodox Church (97% to 98% of the population are Greek Orthodox) (Kokosalakis,1987; Kitromilides,1989; Ruprecht,1994) and there are adherents of other faiths which are recognised by the current Constitution (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987:3; Georgiadou,1995:302) although the Orthodox Church is given preferential treatment which is reinforced by the special and administrative provisions of the Constitution (Georgiadou,1995:302, 312). All five post-independence Constitutions of Greece refer to the ‘established religion’, the Greek Orthodox faith (Georgiadou, 1995; Kitromilides,1989; Kokosalakis,1987; Pollis,1992; Xydis,1969) which provides the Greek Orthodox Church with a role in religious issues and an advantageous role in relation to other faiths.

In fact, Roman Catholics, Jews and Muslims are recognised as different faiths and not considered heretical (engaging in proselytism) while the Jehovah’s Witnesses are considered as a proselytising movement and are not recognised (Pollis,1992:180). The



concept of Greekness is presented as being interrelated with Greek Orthodoxy. It is through religion that the state gained its popular support combining, under law, Greek citizenship with Orthodoxy (Pollis,1992:171). Those who are related to the Greek 'ethnos' (the Greek word for the 'nation' that was hardly used before the War of Independence where the word 'genos' had a prominent position meaning kin, affiliation with family and race according to Xydis,1969:208), are perceived to identify with the Greek Orthodox religion (Herzfeld,1992:57). The Greek state has managed to be congruent with the 'ethnos' (Smith,1986:150) and the Church's role has been the commitment to the Greek nation, that brings the co-existence of the Church with the state. In that way, national and religious identity, or the secular and divine, at times merge but are also differentiated because they come from two different traditions.

Even today debates continue to exist between the Greek state and the Church. The most recent one is related to the creation of new identity cards which the Greek state aims to establish on which the religion of the person will not be written as used to be the case. Leaving out such data as the bearer's religious allegiance from the identity cards has created a lot of disagreement with the Church and the Orthodox faithful while it indicates a procrastination by the state to leave cultural elements such as religion from the definition of Greekness<sup>1</sup>. The Church has acquired a role in the administration and stewardship of religious places since they are associated with the Orthodox faith, an issue that, nonetheless, may bring debates on the way in which heritage sites are presented and the identity values that can be decoded in the manifestation of such heritage that this thesis critically examines.

The role of Orthodoxy in the definition of Greek national identity indicates the fact that its ecumenical character was in contrast with the popularisation of one culture, yet it was a political project that was succeeded through the state's nationalisation of the Church and its further prominent location in the nationalist ideology of the state (Kitromilides,1989; Georgiadou,1995).

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<sup>1</sup> This has been among the main subjects in the Greek press (Bailis,2000) while also reference has been made in the British press (Pringle & Carr,2000).



#### 1.4 The role of intellectuals in forging Greek national identity

Prominent in the Greek uprising against the Ottoman Empire and the formation of the modern Greek state was the role of intellectuals who contributed so that ideas from Europe could reach Greek people, preparing Greece to fight for its independence. The fact that the Greek intellectuals were not resident in Greece enabled them to participate in the activities of independence that were not confined within the Ottoman Empire. The glory of the golden century of Pericleus, neo-classicism and ancient Hellenism were revived in order to formulate and awaken Greek national identity (Kokosalakis,1987). Smith, using the Greek example, mentioned that dependence on a glorious past may act as a model which brings out a lost splendour and enhances the renewal of the nation (Smith,1986:200).

Greek entrepreneurs who lived in Odessa created the Filiki Etaireia (Association of Friends) and related to the initiative for Greek Independence (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987:4). Another group of people who contributed in the War of Independence were the merchants living in cities of Europe and they also based the formation of Greek national consciousness on the revival of ancient Hellenic spirit that was influenced by the West. Merchants aimed to forge a national culture that would substitute for the ethno-religious identities of the Ottoman Empire, granting the state with power over the Ottoman Empire (Kokosalakis,1987; Jusdanis,1991:209).

Korais<sup>2</sup>, the famous scholar and a prominent figure in the foundation of the modern Greek state, also linked the liberation of Greece with the ideas of Enlightenment and classical Hellenism. He defended the view that Greeks should be connected with antiquity which could provide the foundations for the reinforcement of Greek national consciousness without including Byzantium and the Orthodox Church as parts of Greek national identity since they considered them incompatible with the ancient Greek ideals (Xydis,1969; Kokosalakis,1987; Veremis,1989).

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<sup>2</sup> Adamantios Korais, was born in Smyrni on 27th of August 1748 and died in Paris on 6th of April 1833. His father was a merchant and his mother was the daughter of a very wise man in Greek literature at that period, Adamantios Rysios. Korais was educated in the Greek school in Smyrni. His father's expansion of business in the West was very constructive for Korais since he had the chance to visit places which fell under the influence of European Enlightenment and expand his knowledge.

Korais believed in the importance of printed media. He printed the writings of ancient philosophers and he convinced Greeks to use newspapers and periodicals as a means to strengthen their communication, disseminate ideas, get in touch with each other and express the situation in Greece to the other European people (Xydis,1969; Voros et al,1979). The available media of that period were the print media and many Greek printing houses were established, both in Greece and in other Greek communities outside the enslaved Greek territory, which formed the basis for the printing of books, periodicals and newspapers. These were circulated among the Greek people aiming at linking bonds of communication between them. In 1790, the first Greek newspaper, 'Ephimeris' was printed in Vienna in one of the most important Greek printing houses (Xydis,1969). It could be argued that the transmission of ideas through a common language could bring the Greek 'imagined community' together. Print language became the tool which would address ideas and feelings that the Greek community could share.

Korais was among the prominent intellectuals during the War of Greek Independence who foresaw the importance of print language for the 'imagined community'. In 1811, the periodical 'Logios Hermis' was published aiming at bringing in touch Greek people from different geographical areas. A language debate followed relating to the issue of which language would be propagated as the official one. The choice was between the ancient language, katharevousa, which derived and was related to ancient Greece in order to be similar with the ideal ancient Greek or the demotic language (the everyday language with which people would communicate). Korais defended an intermediate way, the middle way, between katharevousa and demotic language.

Korais aimed at beautifying the vocabulary of the everyday modern Greek spoken by the people by introducing classical Hellenic terms rather than katharevousa of the Eastern Orthodox Church (Voros et al,1979:29; Toynbee,1981:234, 252). At this point we should note that the intellectuals who elaborated nationalist ideas did not have vested interests in nationalism. They promulgated the ideas of the nation but were not 'power seekers' according to Smith (1991:95). What was discussed about the intellectuals, was the 'identity crisis' in which they became involved due to the links of society with the abstract concepts of religion on the one hand and on the other, the rationality and law on which the state should be based according to the Western revolutions (ibid:96).

According to Gellner (1983:60-61) there was no 'calculation' and political ends in the intellectuals's thoughts over the Idea of the War of Independence (Smith and Gellner mentioned Korais as an example of such an intellectual). Their intention was to help their co-nationals and their culture and to elaborate the national movement against the misfortunes and inequalities. While the intellectuals did not have objectives from the initiation of the War of Independence, the merchants aimed to grant power to the state which would allow for their economic interests in trading to be related to the West (Kokosalakis,1987; Jusdanis,1991).

An obsession with the classical civilisation and history of a glorious past was forged to such a degree that ancient Greek texts were published. Greeks were naming their children with ancient Greek names although it was a procedure of which the Church disapproved (Clogg,1992:31), and ancient architecture and motifs prevailed emphasising in that way the perceived bonds with ancient Greece (Loukatos in Evans-Pritchard,1993:25). The ties with a glorious and distinct past were used in order to define Greek national identity which is by no means only a Greek phenomenon (see Chapter 2). The definition of Greek identity acquired a significant role from the myths of a glorious past which were based on classical antiquity and myths of ethnic descent (Smith,1988:16).

Greece was involved between the East and West due to its geographical position. The people who were living outside Greece could transmit Western ideas which aimed to forge national identity based on ancient ideals which the West admired in ancient Greece (presented on the next section). Nevertheless, these were antithetical to the terms of communal life and unity of all the people under the ecumenical role of Orthodoxy.

In the remainder of the section, we will briefly present the differences between ethnic and territorial nations and how they relate to Greece. This presentation will allow us to locate Greece within a nexus of East and West given the specific socio-historical conditions.

Unified territories under administrative laws emerged in the West (15th-18th century AD) and gave rise to the use of technical expertise for raising economic resources for



the territory under state control through the bureaucratic state which functioned under the rationality of law and bound together regional and urban territories that were controlled by already established local elites in a common economic fate (Smith,1986:130-131). This state of affairs was in opposition to the peasants and continued to perpetuate the already established situation where the state replaced the church and aimed at creating equal citizens out of people from disparate classes and regions.

This Western style of state placed emphasis on the sovereignty of the territorial entity that is bounded and delimited as is Anderson's imagined community "limited and sovereign" (1991:6-7). These territories were bounded together under the law and legal institutions providing a common code of practice for all members with no exceptions. In that way, citizenship (a legal identity) emerged from common laws and legal institutions (Smith,1986:136). Solidarity and political participation provided access rights and obligations to the people under the name of the law which aimed at socialising citizens and differentiating them from outsiders, namely other states, a sense of inclusion and exclusion that is important for the definition of the community of citizens (ibid:135).

This Western model could not emerge in the East, and in particular in the Ottoman Empire where cultural homogenisation was inconceivable and the impossibility of the Ottoman system allowing mixing between populations. Smith (1986:145) argues that a destiny to those populations in the East was provided by the forging (from either influential people, intellectuals or the Church as we have presented for the Greek case) a rediscovery of sentiments through kinship, religion, traditions and customs that were further used for national and political mobilisation (Smith,1999:427; Liakos,1999:22).

The emergence of the Greek state can be traced from a conflictive merging of the following: the idealised belief that Greece belongs to the West which associates it with a classical heritage and the imported function of a state bureaucracy; and the influence of Greece by the Byzantine Orthodoxy and the patron relations of the Ottoman Empire that have not ceased to exist in the political life. According to the Western concept of the nation, the emphasis is put on territory where people have lived over several generations (even if it is not the land of ultimate origin), common regulating institutions, (they may



be highly centralised or designed to protect regions and having laws overseeing the local communities), and provision of legal equality among the people. The formation of identity in such a framework requires a mass public culture to be presented and disseminated through agencies of “popular socialisation, notably the public system of education and the mass media” (Smith,1991:10-11).

In Greece, a Western identity aimed at recapturing classical models of ancient Greece and adopting them in everyday life depending on an imported bureaucratic state and rationality (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987:3) while the mechanisms of national integration were education with a mass public culture disseminated under Greek language and the army and judiciary (Kitromilides,1989). Meanwhile, group relations, family values and community life were considered to be the important elements of a non-western identity which depended on Byzantine and Ottoman traditions and were locally defined (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987:3; Herzfeld,1992). The non-western model that emerged from the countries of Eastern Europe is characterised by the emphasis on presumed descent while language and customs form the ethnic elements of nation (Smith,1991:11-12). This mixture of concepts fused into Greek society and continues to shape the identity today where the Greek state has managed to have congruence with the nation (Smith,1986:150) and the Church’s role has greatly contributed to such an aim.

Although the territorial and ethnic model of nation are considered as rival, there are common elements, such as the historic territory, a mass public culture, common legal rights, duties for members of the community, that exist in both models (Smith,1991). The geographical position of Greece between the East and West has been influenced by both the ideas of the West for democracy, individual equality for all the members of the community and rationality but also from the East’s influence with its imprint through patron relations (the ‘contacts’). According to Herzfeld (1992:8), the divergences that exist from the application of the Western ideas of democracy and rationality in the Greek environment should be seen as the consequence of this application in a different environment from that of the West although as Herzfeld further argued, Greece does not differ from other Western countries in the way in which the operation of ideas of rationality from the West are applied in the operation of the state (see the last section of the Chapter). Greece embraced the adoption of the ideas of a Western concept of

nationhood and the imported bureaucracy (Toynbee,1981) and associated them with strong family bonds and a religious sentiment sustained by the Eastern Church. It is the combination of these two realities that has influenced Greece.

### 1.5 External forces in the definition of Greekness

Greece has been defined internationally as a country associated with classical heritage. Appropriation of the classical heritage for Greeks in the formation of the Greek state was also internally determined (as is presented in the previous sections). European travellers to Greece came to admire the ancient monuments and Athens was perceived among scholars, artists and antiquarians as a glamorous place to visit for the ancient civilisation which was well known all over the world and gave rise to a new classical revival in European culture (Woodhouse,1969:37; Leoussi,1997:55).

Greece's image as the country of democracy and classical ideals contributed so that the governments of England, Russia and France (the Allied Powers) helped Greece in the War of Independence in economic and political terms (Ruprecht,1994; Greene,1995). Western Philhellenism enhanced the creation of a state based on Western principles that in turn laid claim on ancient Hellenic ideals of democracy, fairness and solidarity. In that way, Greek nationalism was elaborated and was influenced by the philhellenes abroad (Hobsbawm, 1990:77; Breuilly, 1996:160; Prodromou, 1996:134) who associated Greece with classical antiquity.

Breuilly (1996:160) puts emphasis on the difference that exists between the transformation of ideas and the actual nationalist movements (referring to Anderson's imagined communities) and mentioned the Greek example where Greek intellectuals based the formation of Greek national consciousness on the ideas of an ancient Greek civilisation, very popular in the West, and argued for the influence of an outward promulgation of Greek consciousness from abroad. A stereotypical view of Greece as representing classical civilisation (Woodhouse,1969:37; Herzfeld,1982:4; Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987:2) idealises Greece's heritage from the classical period but which, nonetheless, does not put emphasis upon the Byzantine influence on Greek identity. Considering the differences between the East and West in relation to religion, but also

the fact that the West depended its roots on classical ideals from Greece, we may understand the little significance that has been put on the definition of Greekness at international level in relation to Byzantine heritage.

The formation of Greek identity, in the 18th century, is related to the revival of Western roots in classical civilisation where Greece had an important role to play since it embraced ancient philosophy and ideals of democracy on which the modern European society is based (Gourgouris,1992). This indicates the basis of Hellenistic nationalism in the European vision of classical Greece (Tsoukalas,1999; Gourgouris,1992). This idealisation of modern Greece and its dependence on ancient classical Greek ideals determined the future of Greece before and after its emergence as a modern Greek state and also influenced the way in which it was seen by other countries (Toynbee,1981).

As such, Greece needed to be incorporated into the European identity and economy as the country which founded classical civilisation. In order for Greece to secure help from Europe, Greece had to “embark on a process of modernisation” where the state would try to develop (Veremis,1989:135). While Greece was firmly embedded as the client member in the political-economic and security architecture of the totalised West, the country’s own developmental trajectory was different from that of Europe and Greece was placed in the position of being the heir to and the recipient of Western traditions (Herzfeld,1992; Prodromou,1996:136). These were, nonetheless, concepts incompatible to the society’s structure and functions and brought cultural pluralism in contrast to client relations and family bonds that existed in the Greek state.

On the one hand, Greece’s attempt to illustrate continuity with a classical past has been challenged by different scholars one of whom is the Austrian, Fallmerayer. Fallmerayer, in the 1830s, rejected the notion of Greeks as being Europeans, denying in that way the foundations of that identity on the grounds that it could not survive due to the invasions of the north. Herzfeld discusses Fallmerayer’s political stance where he supported the Ottoman Empire and did not want Russia to gain power and thus be an obstacle for Germany. The Greeks’ attribution of the political significance to the issue, gave rise to folklore studies in order to counterbalance the accusations made (1982:75-81). Herzfeld nonetheless, argued that any of these positions on the question of Greek identity would



be politically oriented and not neutral (ibid:78). Turkey also seriously undermined Greek claims for gaining territories in Asia Minor (with the initiation of the Great Idea by the Greek state, the policy of foreign expansion that sought to delimit the natural boundaries of Hellenism by taking large parts of Greek-speaking Asia Minor) where Greece promoted the dual heritage of Greece from Hellenism and Byzantium (Smith,1986:187; Smith,1999:344). This idea aimed at joining areas together that once were perceived to belong to the Byzantine Empire (Obolensky,2000:362). The myth of the Byzantine restoration was espoused by the Greek Orthodox clergy and intellectuals and merchants appealed to the Hellenic vision of the Greek state.

On the other hand, there was intense interest in Greek antiquities at the end of 19th century where European circles of antiquarians, historians and aristocrats initiated excavations in Greek territory in a romantic attempt to resurrect the ancient Greek spirit. Kaiser Wilhelm II inspected the excavations at the archaeological site of Olympia in the 1870s, which followed the romantic resumption of the Olympic Games in Greece in 1896 (Silberman,1989). Greece appropriated the possibility for the centenary celebration of the modern Olympic Games in 1996 (the centenary of the modern Olympic Games) claiming to promote the ideals of fair competition. Its unsuccessful attempt, showed an arrogant standpoint by Greece based in the belief that it has a right upon the Olympic Games (Rodda,1997) and was depicted as such by the International Olympic Committee in the bidding process in Japan. The Olympic ideal is actually related to the politics of the host country to the Olympic Games. In the specific case of Greece, appeals to the Olympic ideal may be related to the development and the economic returns that may emerge from such an organisation for the host country (Pringle & Carr,2000). From a sociological perspective, ideals, like the fair competition attributed to Olympism, can take the role of cultural resources which social agents may deploy in pursuit of their interests where the Olympic Games may be related to issues of foreign policy and international relations between the countries or even economic gains (Hargreaves,1992). The International Olympic Committee has decided that Greece should host the 2004 Olympic Games.

Arthur Evans discovered in 1890-1905 the Minoan civilisation of Cretans in the island of Crete (Silberman,1989:4-5). Nowadays, archaeological excavations such as these



become national and international symbols and provide evidence for the stages of the civilisations but also the respective countries can celebrate their national history (Silberman,1989; Merriman,2000).

Paparigopoulos wrote in the mid 19th century the 'History of the Greek Nation' and formulated an interpretation of Greek history that linked ancient Greece and Byzantine heritage, following the ideology of an unbroken continuity between different pasts (Clogg,1992:50; Kitroeff,1990; Tsoukalas,1999:12). In that way, he connected classical antiquity with the Byzantine civilisation although initially the Orthodox Church and its ideas were excluded from the Western ideas of the intelligentsia. This was part of an official nationalist ideology which aimed at showing a historical continuity that would begin in ancient Greece and continue to the formation of the modern Greek state. In the end of 1970s, a multivolume work, with the same title to that of Paparigopoulos' work, was written by historians, political scientists and art historians presenting multiple viewpoints in regard to Greek history although there seems to be convergence at points with the views of Paparigopoulos especially for the earlier periods up to the 15th century (Augustinos,1989:19). Writings related to Greek history from the 15th century onwards have been influenced by the academic training of Greek scholars abroad and together with the international trends in historical inquiry have allowed a scientific national and not nationalist approach to take place in relation to history (Augustinos,1989; Toynbee,1981).

In the 20th century, disputes have emerged with the state of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM, the name with which this state was admitted to the United Nations, Danforth,1994:41) and controversial issues over the historicity of Macedonia exist (Danforth,1994; Mouliou,1996). The archaeologist Silberman (1989) indicated that excavations were generously provided by the Greek government for Macedonia in Vergina, which was originally named Aegae and is thought to be the capital of the ancient Macedonian kingdom. This was done by the Greek state in order to present an ancient Hellenic culture. Excavations that have taken place by Professor Manolis Andronicos are thought to have brought the "tomb of no less a personage than Philip II of Macedon -father of Alexander the Great" (Silberman,1989:23), although archaeology has no definitive answers to provide (Stone and MacKenzie,1989) and

findings may change. In the case of Vergina, occasional scholars have disputed Andonicos' historical claims (Silberman,1989:26-27) that allows us to argue the relativity that exists for the definition of heritage and thus for identity as is manifested through heritage which acquires a special meaning because of the importance that past has been given in the definition of Greek identity.

In the disputes that were created over the use of the name of Macedonia in the title of the state of FYROM, at the insistence of Greece, the European Union did not initially recognise the state of FYROM provided that it guaranteed that it had no territorial claims over any neighbouring states (Danforth,1994:40-41). FYROM was the name assigned by the United Nations despite the disagreement by FYROM which was not able to use its flag at the United Nations headquarters (ibid) because the sixteen-ray sun or star of Vergina, which is assumed to be the emblem of the empire of Alexander the Great, is claimed by the Greek state to be Greek.

Shortage of evidence with regard to the Macedonian question leads to the conclusion that disputes will continue to exist between Greece and FYROM. A point that needs to be raised is that these disputes are perceived by the Greek state to threaten the nature of Greek identity (Pettifer,1992:478) especially if we consider that a Greek region called 'Macedonia' is the name of one of Greece's 10 regions<sup>3</sup> and according to the claims of the Greek government such a name used by another country would appropriate the symbols of Greece and even the Greek Macedonian territory (Danforth,1994:41; Triandafyllidou et al,1997:3.3). These incidents strengthen the instability that may be caused in the borders of Northern Greece from where invasions of Greece have been initiated since the Dark Ages (Pettifer,1992:478). The significant other thus, has an important role to play in the presentation that takes place by the state in the definition of identity. The significant other according to the theory of nationalism is related to a group, nation, state that is perceived to be different from the ingroup, namely the group with which a nation may measure its perceived distinctiveness (Gellner,1983; Smith,1991; Anderson,1991). (This is an issue to which we shall return in the next Chapter).

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<sup>3</sup> The 10 regions are: Thrace, Macedonia, Iperos, Thessaly, Sterea Ellada, Attica, Peloponnesse, Islands of Ionian Sea, Islands of Aegean Sea, Crete.

According to Triandafyllidou (1998:601), an internal significant other may be an ethnic minority, communities that are formed within the ingroup from migration or a small nation existing within a larger multinational state. An external significant other may be a dominant nation of a multinational state from which the nation wants to be liberated; a rival neighbour nation in conflict with which the ingroup has arguments over territorial claims; or a significant other that claims perceived heritage of the ingroup (ibid:602). In this distinction between one group and the other, elements of national identity (culture, religion and language) make clear the dissimilarities with the other and may serve to reinforce the unity of the ingroup (Smith,1991). In McCrone's words: "we know that nationalism grows best in a medium in which there is an Other -an enemy against which we can measure and develop our own identity" (1998:184). Triandafyllidou (1998) uses as an example the state of FYROM as a significant other for Greece although she does not use any primary sources to substantiate her argument. Neither does she relate her argument to any empirical research, as she acknowledges that it allows space for further exploration of the significant other in the construction of identity. Another point that is raised is associated with the absence of any reference to Byzantine symbols as part of the definition of Greekness.

Triandafyllidou argues as if Greek identity is defined by classical heritage leading her proposition to an essentialism which does not consider the historical processes in the definition of Greekness in a dialectic way as is the case with Europe. Although she refines the concept of the other as a constituent element for the definition of national identity, she identifies the internal and the external significant others as groups that are assumed to be a threat to the existence of the nation and does not consider the possibility of the presence of a significant other which may not necessarily pose a threat to the identity of nations. Mouliou (1996) & Triandafyllidou (1998) argued for the importance of the association of Greece with classical past at international level accounting their arguments to political connotations and the bilateral relations of Greece with FYROM and Turkey, where Greece aims to perpetuate the Western idealised concept of Greekness as being heir to classical heritage. The travelling museum exhibitions in Montreal, Melbourne, Paris and Japan related to classical works of art which Mouliou examined do not make any reference to Byzantine works of art. In addition, Mouliou did not address the role of bureaucratic practice in the decisions made



although the examples drawn from the museum exhibitions abroad had been organised officially by the Greek state and no primary sources of information were used to substantiate her study on the decisions made about the travelling exhibitions of Greek classical heritage. Reference to the influence on Greece by the Byzantine tradition and the East and the fundamental issue of unravelling identity as manifested in classical and Byzantine heritage, is left unspoken (Mouliou,1996; Triandafyllidou,1998). Historical processes have indicated the role of antiquity and Byzantium in the social construction and development of Greek identity which the authors fail to take into consideration.

Multiple classifications of 'other' might contribute to the process of national consciousness in the light of specific historical processes that Triandafyllidou fails to address. In fact, she argues that it is "only in contrast to some other nation" (1998:608), that the definition of identity is created and in that way, she fails to consider the historical processes in the development of Greek identity which has been influenced by other Western nations and the way in which Greek identity was not only defined in contrast to, but also with aid from, a significant other.

In 1981, Greece became a member of the European Union after being an associate member since 1961. The acceleration of the procedures to become a member in 1981 and not in 1984, which was initially decided, was seen as a safeguard for the restoration of the democratic institutions after 1974 and as a protective approach from the disputes that have been created with Greece's neighbouring country Turkey over Cyprus and the Aegean. It was also considered that the economic returns from European Development Funds would be in favour of financing regions of European Union with a greater need for financial support such as Greece (Wallace,1979:32).

Greek membership to the European Union was considered beneficial to Greece on economic grounds while it was also reinforced by the perceived relation of Greece to the Western civilisation on which Europe based its roots (Clogg,1992:2). The approval of the membership of Greece into the European Union has been argued as being related to the approval of the European identity of the country (Clogg,1992:177), an issue that indicates the continuing development of national identity caused by the existence of views outside the country. Meanwhile, it should be considered that Europeans based



their own idealised cultural ancestors in ancient Greece (Tsoukalas,1999:8) and, in that way, contributed to this construction of Greek identity dependent on classical ideals. It should also not be understated that the location of Greece and its islands with reference to the Aegean Sea in Eastern Mediterranean (where there was a growth of naval power by the Soviet Union and the appeal of a more active European presence in the Mediterranean) was a significant factor upon which the decision for Greece's inclusion in the European Union took place (Macridis,1979:136-137).

Doubts had been raised over Greece's ability to maintain its position within the European Union after being a member for about 10 years, in the period 1991-1993, in which Greece showed a poor economic performance which coincided with the Macedonian question (Sutton,1997; Triandafyllidou,1998). This incident can be coupled with the economic scandals in the political arena related to the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), the socialist government which won the elections on two consecutive occasions (1981-1985), and led to the coalition of a government between the New Democracy Party, the right wing conservative party in Greece, and the Left and Progressive Forces in June 1989 in order to "clean up the scandals associated with the PASOK administration" (Dobratz & Whitfield,1992:171). The coalition lasted for one year and then in April 1990 elections took place where the New Democracy Party gained the government<sup>4</sup>. The provision of financial assistance by the European Union for agriculture reinforced rural areas which received benefits in the 1980s (which attributed these benefits to PASOK's government) while urban centres were more critical towards the policies of PASOK's government (Dobratz & Whitfield,1992:174) and they perpetuated social differences between urban and rural areas in an economic and political framework. Greece has participated in the European Monetary Union since 1999.

External forces have been significant in the promulgation of the nationalist ideology, War of Independence, demarcation of borders in the Balkans, exchanges of populations through international Treaties. Another event that gave unity in Greek society in the presence of the external threat, was the War in 1940. Nevertheless, with the presence of Germans, the communist party developed as part of the resistance movement to the

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<sup>4</sup> The results of the elections in April 1990 were: 46.88% for New Democracy, 38.62% for PASOK and the Coalition of Left and Progress 10.28% (Dobratz & Whitfield,1992:172).

foreign occupation, and aimed to balance the differences that existed within society - social and economic inequality and a government indifferent especially to communities in mountainous areas. The Communist Party aimed to give peasants the possibility of political involvement (Augustinos,1989:23; Clogg,1992:128) that brought about the Civil War in 1946-1949 between communists, royalists and Venizelists. This led to the agreement that Communists would surrender arms to the government. It was at that period that the initiation of the Truman Doctrine by the United State of America took place over which armies would disarm after the Second World War and thus gain political power (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987:48-49). The United State of America supported financially and economically Greece and Turkey against communist insurgence and interfered in the countries' internal affairs (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987:49). It should also be considered that the strategic position of Greece was of interest to the USA and we should not naively assume that there was merely dependence by Greece on a foreign power (Macridis,1979:138).

The northern borders of Greece were determined at the War of the Great Idea in the 1920s. The Dodecanese islands of the Aegean, a group of 12 islands, were incorporated in Greece in 1947 (Clogg,1992:6). With regard to the relations of Greece with Turkey, the 'Aegean dispute' was initiated in 1973 as is described by Kourvetaris & Dobratz (1987:105-107). This involved disputes over the 'territorial waters', the waters over which the sovereign state has complete control, which Greece aimed to extend from 6 miles to 12 for both Turkey and Greece but Turkey refused on the grounds that the Aegean is a semi-closed sea (ibid:106). Kourvetaris & Dobratz further maintained that 'the continental shelf issue' (related to the extent of the Greek islands continental shelf), which coincided with the Aegean oil exploration rights off the continental shelves of the northern Greek islands, almost led Turkey and Greece to war in 1987 (ibid:107; Pantelouris,1980:84). Finding oil beneath the sea bed would raise the income for both countries (Clogg,1992:176).

Greece has fortified the Greek Aegean islands in the region of the Dodecanese under international law and the United Nations' Charter on the grounds of the state's defence (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987:109, 111) where they do not fall under the laws of demilitarisation which exist between Greece and Turkey for other areas of the Aegean.

The Greek state found the invasion of Cyprus by Turkey in 1974 and the military exercise with real fire opposite to the Greek island of Chios in 1987 as a reason to maintain the military zone. These are issues that illustrate existing tensions between Greece and Turkey and may account for the fact that by joining the European Union in 1981 Greece aimed at political as well as economic gains.

The cultural identity of Greece is simultaneously defined by the world and the people inside Greece as heirs to classical antiquity while the Byzantine heritage has not been sufficiently emphasised. The way Greek classical heritage is perceived today, internationally, is shown by Hewison (1989:16) who refers to the Elgin Marbles as an example to show how the same heritage can be used as heritage from different nations. Walsh (1992:30) also referring to the Elgin Marbles mentioned that “[t]he acquisition of the Elgin Marbles from the British museum in 1814-1815 gave the museum its international reputation in relation to classical antiquities”. The Elgin Marbles have a dual nature as both signifiers of national and international significance. The international community perceives them as heritage of global attachment while the Elgin Marbles are perceived to be a national emblem by the Greek state (Brown,1993:132; Lowenthal,1998:238). The issue that lies therein is that Greece is mainly associated with classical heritage, as we have seen, with little emphasis on the role of Byzantine heritage and tradition.

Although not expanded as an issue, Smith indicated (1991:169) that the hold of national identities and nationalist aspirations must be searched for in international organisations. This is an issue very much related to the way in which Greece has been connected to classical civilisation at international level as the country where classical civilisation sprang. UNESCO’s Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage has been criticised for its emphasis on Western civilisation where the criteria of representativity and outstanding value are considered for granted at an ancient Greek or Roman site rather than for heritage in the Pacific (Zowen,1997:28-31) (an issue that is also discussed in the next chapter). This thesis does not examine the decisions made by the World Heritage Committee but attempts to shed light on the way in which decisions, at national level for the nomination of World Heritage Sites, are influenced by the way in which Greece is perceived internationally as a country associated with classical heritage.



Prodromou (1996:134) argued that “the Greek nation-state has been invented as the modern West’s incarnation of an idealised classical Hellas, while the Greek nation-state has been expressed as the modern representation of the Eastern Roman Empire that was fundamentally Byzantine, Orthodox, and eventually, Ottoman imprinted”. Thus, in the creation of the national history of Greece, the country appropriated and combined multiple pasts with different realities and heritages (Liakos,1999:23).

The next section critically examines the process of the congruence of the state with the nation as it developed within Greek society where social differences, international politics and the presence of the Church brought conflicts. In so doing, we provide a historical overview in the construction of identity that presents how classical and Byzantine traditions (although incompatible) merged together which, as has been shown, is not usually addressed because Greece is associated with a classical past.

### **1.6 Forging the congruence between the state and the nation**

Economic and social differences have existed since the creation of the Greek state due to economic interests between ship owners and sailors or between the local populations and the intellectuals who studied in the West which did not encourage the substitution of loyalty of the community for the loyalty to the state (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987).

Kitromilides (1989) referred to the role of education and Military Service in assimilating different groups in the formation of the Greek state for the cultivation of national consciousness. Cultural standardisation came through the educational system and military as part of the internal process of nation-building. The army fulfilled a homogenising social role by moving people from one region to the other within Greece and attempting to realise the sense of the imagined community with a tangible homeland that has borders and stretches beyond the villages and regions from which the soldiers came. The system of mass education provided the people with the possibility of imagining themselves as belonging to the wider national community which shares the same ideas and the same culture. Education was initiated by the state and not the local communities as part of the socialisation process and the number of schools raised from 71 in 1830 to 1172 in 1879 (Kitromilides,1989:162-163; Kofos,1989).



In addition to the school and the army, the religious identity that had been cultivated by the Church for the Balkan populations offered a fertile background to the people to imagine themselves under the newly formed state and thus differentiate themselves from the 'other', the Ottoman Empire, where distinction was made in relation to religion. Smith (1999:352) in reference to that argument commented that the relation between Byzantine Orthodoxy and Greek nationalism should be considered, an element that was also acknowledged by Gellner in relation to the Greek case (1996).

Emphasis was put on the existence of a common language among the people since language is an instrument, a tool for communicating the ideas of the community, for conveying messages, ideas and information and thus encourages a people of a community to identify with each other. The national sentiment may be presented and cultivated from a mechanism either political, cultural or religious but it needs continuing reinforcement. In the specific case of Greece, religious beliefs were given secular power with the creation of the modern Greek state.

### *The Great Idea: fighting for the nation, expanding the state*

In the 1912 War for the Great Idea [Megali Idea], the imagined community for a renaissance of a Byzantine Empire was lost with the catastrophe in Asia Minor. The Great Idea was a project initiated by the state as a vision to expand the Greek boundaries. This forged people's patriotism in an attempt to satisfy the state's colonialist objectives due to the strategic position of the areas in the coast of Asia Minor that the Greek state sought to redeem. It also indicates that the nationalist vision can be tangible when making claims to uniqueness (Smith,1986:184, 187).

The project of the Great Idea brought political socialisation within the Greek population and joined contradictory definitions of identity under the aim of the realisation of the ideal of a Hellenistic world including the Greek-speaking Christians. The common goal for the realisation of a glorious future that was strengthened by the Christian prophecies equated the state with the nation and provided a sense of loyalty in the people to the state (Veremis,1989:138-139; Clogg,1992:48-49). Veremis (1989:138, 143) argues that the irredentist idea distracted the population from internal problems which at the time

were related to land reforms and disapproval of the state's representatives who showed little sympathy for the Greek nation. In that way, it could be argued that a significant other, in the presence of the falling Ottoman Empire, provided the connecting bond against which the nationalist ideology aimed at shaping the belief in the nation's perceived distinctiveness.

Another point that illustrates how the nationalist ideology aimed at subordinating social differences in favour of the national unity and seems to be forgotten by critics according to Kitromilides (1989:165) and in line with Clogg (1992:48) and Veremis (1989:137) is that the Great Idea was related to the conflict between people who were born in the heartland of Greece (they were called autochthones) and believed in the idea of classical antiquity and fifth century Athens as capital and aimed at the realisation of a Hellenistic world. People outside the borders of Greece (the heterochthones), believed in the idea of a Byzantine Empire with Constantinople as capital which would have to incorporate citizens who would be equal irrespective of their birthplace. This issue led us to conclude that social cleavages existed within Greek society and that they were used in the project of the Great Idea which directed the social differences towards a perceived threat, 'the significant other', against which people united.

Distribution of landed property with measures for land reform in 1911 was about the expropriation of large estates, mainly lands left by Turkish people, and took place for the peasantry who were, and still are, the majority of the Greek population constituting the agrarian sector. These measures brought social justice. Land ownership was the most important of all issues in the politics of Greece at the domestic level (Clogg, 1992:45, 77; Toynbee, 1981:240). The issue that lies behind land ownership is the presence of continuing differences within the population. It was at that period that the Great Idea was initiated and united the population under a common objective, to fight against the 'other' for gaining the mainland of Asia Minor.

Political life, after the concept of the Megali Idea was abandoned with defeat in Asia Minor, continued along the lines of the established poles of Venizelists and anti-Venizelists. Venizelists were pro parliamentarists, disapproved of a monarchy, were advocates of the Great Idea and supported the working class through public work

projects for the development of the country. Anti-Venizelists were monarchists, advocates of a consolidated, territorially-bounded Greece, and were not in favour of the modernisation with which Venizelos was identified. The social reform aimed at balancing socialist and agrarian movements leading to the National Schism and political instability that divided the country's domestic life and led to its participation in the First World War (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987:43-44; Clogg,1992:77, 86-89; Kitroeff,1990:155).

Following the catastrophe in Asia between Greece and Turkey, an exchange of populations took place in 1923 brought about by the Treaty of Lausanne and a high degree of religious homogeneity emerged in the Greek society. Contrary to the individual civil and political rights that the West cultivated through the system of bureaucracy that was imported into Greece, the majority of the population in Greece was rural till the Second World War and liberal democratic ideas were not considered key concepts (Pollis,1992:173). Differences continued to exist between the urban and rural areas, especially until the 1960s, with inequality in income distribution between urban cities and those in the depopulated rural areas who migrated to the urban centres (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987). The absence of an indigenous aristocracy makes the social structure less rigid, yet the upper segments of Greek society are economically privileged (ibid:2-3). Religion and family bonds were the connecting bond that linked the Greek population who were defined by social, political and economic differences.

### *Grafting Orthodoxy into the nationalist ideology*

Domestic conflicts led to the closing of the inter-war period (1923-1936) which split Greek political life and the ideological dictates of Ioannis Metaxas' dictatorship in 1936 and the Colonels' regime in 1967 that later followed (Pantelouris,1980:73,90; Clogg,1992:117-120, 163-164) appropriated the values of ancient Greece and attempted to synthesise them with the Christian values of the Byzantine Empire, joining individualism with the discipline and belief in the community of faithful.

The state incorporated Orthodoxy as a characteristic of Hellenism and religion was forged as a national tradition although it was in direct contrast with ancient Greek



values (Sugar,1969; Kitromilides,1989; Liakos,2000). In that way, the history of the Greek state was promoted as part of a historical continuity of a 2000 years Greek history which included the history of Byzantine Empire. The discontinuities between different periods were rediscovered in an attempt to present a homogeneous community.

The stratification system in the Greek state that depends on agrarian and urban sectors, created a system of inequality at the economic and political level within the country (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987:2; Herzfeld,1992:44) but the Christian Orthodox religion managed to connect people together since it was more related to a local identity, “an awareness of common fate” that reinforces loyalty to family, excludes non-Christians and brings distrust for outsiders (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987:6). The ethnic composition, although homogeneous, formed a society with social and cultural separations, few natural resources for promoting strong economic development (Augustinos,1989:21) indicate the multiple determinants of political and social life and have followed Greece till the present day.

The disagreement with the modernist perspective lies in the fact that, although the modern epoch may influence the presence of nationalism, it is not necessarily modernisation that is associated with nationalism. With regard to the Greek case Gellner (1983:108) mentioned that the Greek population was among the most affluent in the Ottoman Empire so that it could perceive the process of modernisation. Kitromilides (1989:160) & Smith (1991:167) argued that in cases such as Greece which had an overwhelmingly agricultural economy and wages did not exist for the whole population, development was not a factor of nationalism. Greece did not have an industrial revolution in the sense that took place in other countries (which is also related with data presented in Chapter 5, section 5.2). Breuilly (1996:162) mentioned that industrialisation is not necessarily connected to nationalism since there are other means of diffusing a national culture in non-industrial societies referring to the role of Church. The Church has been transformed into “an official arm of the civil state” since the creation of the Greek state (Kitromilides,1989:166; Kokosalakis,1987; Georgiadou,1995) with agreements and disputes between the state and the Church after the Church became the Greek national Church (Georgiadou,1995:305; Clogg,1992).



Gellner referred to the continuity of modern Greece with Byzantium and the Byzantine church and indirectly argued that there is a certain amount of continuity in the Greek culture (Gellner,1996:369). This may be combined with the argument made by Gellner that some states have a certain amount of 'navel', that is related to a past, some others do not have it and others have navels invented for them (1997:96). Hobsbawm (1990:73) also referred to the consciousness of a population of belonging to a historical entity as a criterion for proto-nationalism and he mentioned that it was with the Byzantine heritage that the Greek popular consciousness made the immediate connections and demonstrated the role of religion in the cultivation of the Greek consciousness. Hobsbawm (1990:77) referring to the Greek example, mentioned that there existed symbols and sentiments of popular identification that contributed so that nationalism could emerge attributing a high role to the Church. Breuilly admitted that the Church could contribute in forging elements of identity mentioning the example of the Greek national movement and the role of Christian institutions (Breuilly,1996:152-153). Thus, the role of the Church has been acknowledged to be of significance in the definition of Greekness.

Multiple sets of loyalties have existed in the Greek state and a central state aimed at reducing the existing localism that reinforces conflicts between the primacy of the individual, that the Western model adheres to, and the notions of family and religion that have a presence in Greece. The territorial concept of a nation based on law and rationality paradoxically sought to project myths of ethnic descent and placed high importance to religion. Greek identity is conterminous with Greek Orthodox religion, elements that we would expect that the state would abolish in order to bring equality for all citizens, together with a sense of solidarity (Smith,1986:147; Herzfeld,1992:57, 177).

In regard to the last quarter of the 20th century, the military regime following the orders of the Armed Forces that took place in the years 1967-1974 had as its symbols the triptych of 'Homeland, Religion, Family' and referred to the country as 'Greece of the Christian Greeks' (Kokosalakis,1987). The colonels in 1967 put emphasis on religion and the Orthodox Church in order to project to the public that the Church approved of their legitimacy and thus, masked the legitimation of their position and their activities.

During the period of the military dictatorship, the Colonels aimed at reasserting the regime by capitalising on historical events that had previously served as nation-builders (Kokosalakis,1987:231; Clogg,1992:163-164). The language question that was based on the controversy between the ideal purified language over the spoken language of the people emerged once again as an issue in an attempt to recapture glorious periods and relate them to the present. The demotic form of the language that had been introduced as part of the expanding linguistic needs of the people in the period 1917-1967, was replaced during the regime of 1967 which introduced the purified form (Toynbee,1981:265). It was in 1976 that demotic or spoken Greek language was formally declared as the official language of the state while the majority of books were written in katharevousa until recently, defining national identity on ancient grounds. The language dispute over the use of one or other form of language in schools has been characteristic of the influence of the heritages of Greece from the past (Toynbee,1981:245, 264; Clogg,1992:2).

The language question may be theoretically related to the broader issue of the incorporation of Greece into the West where the Greek state had to conform to a Western style as a perceived legitimate ancestor of the Western civilisation. The use of a language that was modelled on the ancient structure of Hellenism was thus appropriate. It could also be argued that because the Christian liturgy is written in Attic koine, which is still the liturgical language of the Greek-speaking members of the Orthodox Church (Toynbee,1981:245), clerics were in favour of katharevousa (Attic koine) and held a tolerant position towards the regime for which the Church has been criticised (Georgiadou,1995). Contemporary Greek poetry is a source of confrontation against the use of the ancient form of language. Poetry uses modern Greek. Poets compose their work, attributing an active role, in the demotic form of Greek language. They draw inspiration from Hellenic Greek literature but also confront the ancient Greeks as has been the case with modern Western poets (Toynbee,1981:262-263; Tsoukalas,1999). Poets' intervention is instructive for the direction of the 'language issue' that has puzzled Greece since the creation of the modern Greek state but also highlights, according to Toynbee, the way in which modern Greek society appears to be confident in differentiating itself from the past (ibid:266).

In the late 1980s, economic scandals took place in the Greek government of PASOK as has already been presented. A point that should be raised in relation to the Church and the state is the effort made by the socialist government of PASOK to decrease the power of the Church within society through the institution of civil marriage or the redistribution of Church property. The disputes of the government with the Church were not welcomed by the society of traditional electoral groups, such as farmers, which led PASOK to retreat from its position in relation to the Christian ideas of the Church. More importance was attributed by Greek Orthodox citizens to the Church over political institutions and parties (Georgiadou,1995:309, 313).

Greece has experienced immigrations from Eastern countries after the fall of Communism which made their presence visible in the mid 1990s and as yet no law for immigration has been set up in Greece. The domestic populations in Greece, Italy and Spain which have received the immigrant flow, have shown unwillingness to accept them in the community (Triandafyllidou,2000:374).

Silberman (1995:257) argued that the emotional power of archaeology in Greece is that it links the present to a particular golden age and promotes national unity "offering conservative politicians conservative ideals and offering socialists a patriotic, anti-imperialist issue in their culture minister's persistent demand that the British government return the Elgin Marbles to Greece" (Silberman,1989:8). Herzfeld from an anthropological point of view argued that categories of blood or family may be used by different political parties (1992:57), an issue that demonstrates the significance attributed to symbolism by different governments of the state although it should be expected that institutions, such as a bureaucratic state, would depend on decisions based on rationality (Herzfeld,1992:175; Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987:3).

Still, there is understatement of the role of the Byzantine heritage and its symbolism in contemporary Greece. The emphasis on the sovereignty and the unity of the state under the modern Western state emerges through the presence of a central government which has its agents and nominees which reduces regional fragmentation and does not lead to ultra- authoritarian extremes (Toynbee,1981). Meanwhile, Orthodoxy that was not related to Hellenism was forged as a national tradition through the state that depended



on the familiarity that the population had with Byzantine Orthodoxy in order to legitimate its power and led to the Church becoming part of the state institutions. Drawing on the example of Greece, Smith (1999) argues that there is filiation of intense nationalism from preceding ideas of ethno-religious election. “At first sight, modern Greek nationalism owes more to Hellenism and its desire to emulate classical Athens... But this is only a partial reading of the roots of Greek nationalism and the creation of the Greek national state. The ‘imagined community’ of Greece in fact owed rather more to its Byzantine predecessor” (Smith,1999:344). Ideas and glories of classical Greece which were forged by intellectuals did not have as much importance as the significance that Orthodoxy had for the people which had been cultivated by clerics and has been appropriated by the state to claim homogenisation, among different social groups under Orthodoxy, as their common denominator.

### 1.7 Borrowing and lending from the East and West

Smith’s study (1999) with the title *Ethnic election and national destiny: some religious origins of nationalist ideals*, argues the role of ‘national destiny’ and ‘national mission’, which are concepts that exist in religious beliefs and it is argued that they are components of secular nationalism. Secular nationalism may draw upon the belief in the national mission from older religious myths where the concept of perceived uniqueness is related to the symbolism and rituals of religion (Smith,1999:332). Then, national mission aims “to create and preserve a distinctive, united and autonomous nation” and the destiny of the nation is to make efforts to preserve a distinctiveness and uniqueness in so far as the members of the nation want to maintain the community (ibid:333).

In fact, Smith argues that the belief in the superiority of the chosen community over outsiders through the boundaries that religion draws, brings a special destiny to the community and a task of mission for the believers (1999:336-337). At this point, we need to consider the role of the historical processes at work which associated the incompatible ideas of the Church with the Hellenic tradition on which the Greek nation was based (Kitromilides,1989; Georgiadou,1995:300). In Eastern Europe nationalism was ‘pro-religious’ (high importance had been given to cultural elements and religion) and the relationship between Orthodoxy and nationalism puts emphasis on the religious



element in the definition of Greekness (Georgiadou,1995; Liakos,1999:23; Liakos,2000:2). This, nonetheless, led to the preferential significance of religious definitions in Greek identity and the way Greek identity took meaning from religion (as we have presented in this Chapter), transformed Greek identity and led to the definition of Greekness through Orthodoxy and Greek nationality was equated with religious identity (Georgiadou,1995; Herzfeld,1992; Pollis,1992). In fact, the way in which the institutional organisation of Orthodoxy and its interference in social life provides it with a legitimacy from the state which indicates an interrelationship rather than a subordination of the Church to the state (Georgiadou,1995).

The aforementioned study by Smith (1999), which argues at a theoretical level that secular nationalism may draw upon the belief in the national mission from older religious myths, thus associates the invocation of a sense of mission to the Greek national population through Byzantine Orthodoxy where destiny was shaped by the historical processes. We also need to consider McCrone's comment (1998:53) in regard to the claim of being chosen by God, which is initiated by different groups of people (Jews, Christians, Protestants) and may strengthen our argument on the social construction of identities. In addition, the sense of destiny of a community, according to Smith (1999), is not initiated by the state but by secular nationalism which seeks to cultivate and preserve its values (p.233).

One way of seeing such activity by the state is to argue for a 'predetermination' as Herzfeld would argue (1992) that does not consider differences within the society, treats society as homogeneous and allows little space for the presence of multiple levels of interpretation in relation to the definition of identity. In fact, in the case of Greece, Greek national identity is equated with religious identity (Herzfeld,1992; Pollis,1992; Georgiadou,1995). Another way of seeing the adoption of religious symbolism by the rational state is to refer to the interrelationship which exists between the rational and the symbolic as Herzfeld would argue (1992:148).

Religious symbolism influences secular aspects of Greek life, and, although national and religious identity have been separated in Greece, national identity may be defined by religious elements (Herzfeld,1992:43, 93; Pollis,1992:179; Georgiadou,1995:299)

indicating the interdependence of the state and Church and the assumption that a Greek citizen has Orthodox faith. Our understanding of the historical processes which contributed so that the Orthodox religion had a significant role within Greek society (see previous sections of this Chapter), will allow us to understand the role that has been given to the Byzantine Greek World Heritage Sites, which are associated with Orthodoxy in addition to the World Heritage Sites associated with antiquity, by the two bureaucratic state organisations that this thesis critically examines. The role of Byzantine heritage has been underplayed in the presentation of Greekness at national and international level.

Since the formation of the modern Greek state, the government has been in charge of the national issues and decision-making activities of the state (Sugar,1969; Xydis,1969; Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987). Greece's bureaucratic models of government were brought from the West together with the system of monarchy (Toynbee,1981:236; Herzfeld,1992:41), with King Otho who came from Munich in 1833, followed by a parliamentary government of Charilaos Trikoupes in 1882-1895 and in 1910-1915 that of Eleftherios Venizelos and after the occupation of the government by military regimes (Toynbee,1981:238). The emergence of a strong centralised bureaucratic state may contribute so that ideas are diffused under a common educational culture. The Greek state functioned under bureaucracy since the Independence of the Greek state, a fact which remains even today and the nation "became identified with the policy of the government" (Sugar,1969:51).

The nationalist idea that was cultivated by the state, as has been presented in the previous sections, aimed at joining disparate forces within the boundaries of the bureaucratic state which opted for the achievement of the external aims of the state (Kitromilides,1989:165) and provided the basis for the centralisation of power, the subordination of local power, and the enlargement of bureaucracy which enhanced the process of the state's control over the national community's issues. Taking the argument of Kitromilides' further and substantiating it with the political projects that were forged by the Greek nationalist ideology (the Great Idea, in 1912 or the colonel regimes in 1936 and in 1974) and the appropriation of the Byzantine Orthodox election in order to gain people's support for the enforcement of the state's power, we examine Herzfeld's

book *The Social Production of Indifference: Exploring the Symbolic Roots of Western Bureaucracy* (1992) where a more explicit role has been given to bureaucracy. Herzfeld studies the meaning of bureaucratic rationality as it is embraced in the civic life of Greece drawing data mainly from newspaper articles from 1974 to 1982 and ethnographic material from three places in Greece (Herzfeld,1992:132-133) which leads to an interdependence between the state and the rhetoric of kinship and how this is applied by officials in the polity.

Bureaucracy is defined according to Max Weber (in Fopp,1997:137) as an organisation in which there are certain responsibilities distributed to officials based on a hierarchical level that may put pressure on the lower levels of the hierarchy for the realisation of the duties through the existence of various codes, written documents such as laws, which provide the framework of the code of practice for the organisation. Through the legitimation of states as guardians of nations, a connection between the two is sought. This, on the one hand, strengthens the state and its bureaucratic function (although the bureaucratic apparatus may be unpopular to the people, especially referring to Greece, Toynbee,1981; Herzfeld,1992) and on the other hand, representations of national identity are perpetuated (Smith,1991:167-168).

Herzfeld (1992) argues that the practices of bureaucratic states aim at reinforcing and perpetuating an essentialist identity and they claim that identity is monolithic and fixed. Historical origins and a sense of racial continuity are claimed by the ideology of the state which do not consider the context according to which a person may claim one identity at one situation and another at a different situation (Herzfeld,1992:65). On the contrary, according to the nationalist ideology, homogeneity is claimed for all who belong to the nation.

Herzfeld (1992) further examines the role of kinship as symbolism used by the bureaucratic state. He argues that while bureaucracy is related to the rationality of law, accountability and equality for all the members of the community, it may also depend on symbolic forms for the decisions made where nationalist ideologies draw upon symbols that are familiar and understandable to the people. Such bureaucratic activity does not differ between East and West and we should not be led to interpretations about



the difference between the two in regard to the way in which bureaucracy functions (1992:149), a distinction that on its own leads to an essentialism as Herzfeld proposed.

Bonds of kinship or fate, thus, are not characteristics of the people in the East who differentiate them from the action orientation of the West (Herzfeld,1992:7) but they are associated both with the East and the West and aim to provide a sense of inescapable destiny for the people by state bureaucracies. The rituals of nationalism are the bureaucratic actions that do not control people but influence them (ibid:36). This happens since officials use symbols that are familiar to the people. In that way, bureaucracy is not only related to a system of pure reason according to the ideal model of an organisation that is based on the rule of law, rationality and efficiency according to Max Weber (in Fopp,1997:138). It also depends on culturally specific meanings and symbolism. This was an issue that was also articulated by Max Weber who “was well aware that the progressivist goal of a purely legal-rational bureaucracy was hardly feasible in practice” (in Herzfeld,1992:19). This issue was articulated by Weber when he referred to an ideal organisation that would run under the law, the reason and rationality which would substitute for the personal power that actors gained in the organisation. The organisational structure of the MoC and GNTO from where data have been collected for the thesis, namely, formal responsibilities divided between the members of an organisation, roles between actors at various levels and co-ordination of activities (Fopp,1997:135-139), is not our focus as has been presented in the Introduction of the thesis (see the last section of Chapter 2 for an account of the use of heritage as ‘capital’ and the argument that it may secure position and power for people in a society).

Greece is at the crossroads of East and West not only geographically but also on the conceptual level of what constitutes Greekness. The West preaches the dependence on rationality and the Eastern concept of the nation argues in favour of loyalty in familial bonds and Greece’s bureaucratic system of state operation draws upon contrasting elements (Herzfeld,1992:41). Thus, we would be mistaken if we considered that Greece embraces elements and influences only from East or from West. The specific environment of Greece with the traditional values of Greek society and the patron-relations inherited from the Ottoman Empire, could not let parliamentary democracy

function at a liberal level, bringing tensions between democratic forms and traditional attitudes and practices (Clogg,1992:53). Absolute monarchy, parliamentarism and dictatorial rules have been the case of the state in the Western world and this has been the cycle followed in Greece where nonetheless the solidarity of the Greek family survives as the basic social unit (Toynbee,1981:237; Herzfeld,1992). “Regimes in Greece that have ignored fundamental realities of Greek life, or that have set out to override them, have ended in having to recognise them and to conform to them” (Toynbee,1981:237).

Therefore, in Herzfeld’s argument, the cultivation of ‘the common interest’ that a state claims to opt for the nation it represents, interweaves the dependence on law (as part of the rational government and its institutions) with the kin relations that exist in Greece and have been related to the ‘deposits’ from East (namely patron relations and the use of ‘contacts’). Familiar codes of kinship to the Greek people are used by the state but, as Herzfeld argues, they do not only illustrate the imagining of the community heading towards the common culture that each state would opt to achieve, but also indicate challenges to the authority of the state (1992:78). Nevertheless, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine such processes of inclusion and exclusion.

How does the cultivation of ‘the common interest’ take place? By using elements and symbols that are familiar to the members the state aims at gaining their loyalty. The relationship of nationalist ideology and beliefs that are familiar to the people (eg. bonds of kinship, Herzfeld,1992; Sutton,1997) may indicate the “compliance with the terms of the task or mission” (Smith,1999:337), or “the invocation of fate” (Herzfeld,1992:8). It is at this point that Smith’s and Herzfeld’s arguments coincide in that they both argue for the role of destiny, mission or fate that may be used either by a religious or a secular nationalism or it may be used by the state.

Herzfeld (1992) mentions that any symbolic form taken out of its context may be provided with meaning by officials of state organisations and members of the society. He mainly associates his proposition with abstract symbolic elements. Given the fact that the World Heritage Sites are tangible and material symbols and not abstract forms, we may then seek to understand the power of such tangible sites and the relations they

may sustain by using primary sources of data from the two organisations to examine the communication through promotional material created for these heritage sites. Meaning is given to them through their presentation, a meaning which is informed by the present day and is related to the extrinsic values to the resource (political, economic, social, educational, also discussed in the next Chapter).

An inquiry into the heritage presentation by the bureaucratic organisations will allow us to critically examine the power that classical and Byzantine heritage symbols related to Greek identity hold and the assumptions made for the construction of identity. This significance of studying the power of tangible symbols especially of Byzantine heritage is emphasised by Smith: “the ancient myths of ethnic election deserve special attention” (1999:351). Nevertheless, our thesis considers the play of the historical processes in the construction and cultivation of Greekness and the fact that it is the state organisations which present the meaning for the World Heritage Sites.

The case of the World Heritage Site provides a way for analysing the bureaucratic institutions’ process in presenting World Heritage Sites and relating it to the official discourse of nationality and the question of the social construction of identity (Chapters 4-9) where data are interpreted taking into account the Greek social and historic context that is presented in this Chapter.

Smith (1988:16) referring to the case of Greece mentioned that “[n]o clearer illustration of the continuing power of self-definitions and self-renewals inspired by reshaped ethnic myths of descent and the golden age can be found” where the secularism of a state based on Western principles, was in conflict with the ethno-religious claims of the Church. But allow us to present in the next Chapter some elements related to values of heritage and in particular the World Heritage Sites. The next Chapter relates the concept of heritage with a sense of belonging, and its presentation as an indicator of identity. Priorities in the value of heritage are discussed and connected to the World Heritage Sites that are informed by the present day.



**CONNECTING THE PAST WITH THE  
PRESENT**

## CHAPTER 2: CONNECTING THE PAST WITH THE PRESENT

### 2.1 Introduction

This Chapter examines the relationship between heritage and tourism and it is argued that values associated with cultural heritage may influence the way in which it is presented. The socio-historical context of those sites nominated to the List concerns the decisions made by the national committees about the specific heritage which is presented. Therefore, presentation of heritage may not perhaps take place on the grounds of demonstrating its design or setting but rather on interpretations which may depend on present day judgements. Heritage's relation to economic, educational, political and social values is discussed with emphasis on the World Heritage Sites and how notions of heritage and nationality are brought together. Nevertheless, limited research has taken place into the World Heritage Sites and related cases are drawn from World Heritage Sites which have been nominated to the World Heritage List (List).

### 2.2 Cultural heritage and its associated values

Heritage is a broad area which incorporates many aspects and meanings which may vary. Nature, prehistory, archaeological remains, buildings, religion, language, traditions, and folklore all symbolise the past and are worth retaining for future generations. These variables, which are incorporated into the heritage definition, may be distinguished as material and immaterial, tangible and intangible, physical or social forms of heritage (Thorburn,1986; Hughes,1987; Hardy,1988; Zeppel and Hall,1991; Lowenthal,1994; Nuryanti,1996; Edwards,1996).

Heritage may be related to what has been inherited and handed down to the present; yet, heritage is essentially a late 20th Century phenomenon (McCrone et al,1995:1). There is a distinction made between heritage and history and the way the present day interpretation may lead to specific value judgements about the past's interpretation whereas history is related to events. In that way heritage needs to be explored since there are times where heritage and history cannot be distinguished from each other and they are used to provide collective associations with a perceived past.

Cultural heritage is perceived “as containing all the signs that document the activities and achievements of human beings over time” (Feilden & Jokilehto,1993:11). The specific project is concerned with the World Heritage Sites which have been nominated to the List. The criteria set in the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention according to which cultural heritage sites can be nominated to the List<sup>1</sup>, follow in the next page in Figure I:

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<sup>1</sup> WHC.99/2 March 1999, Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, *C. Criteria for the inclusion of cultural properties in the World Heritage List*, §24 (6-7).



**FIGURE I: CRITERIA FOR THE INCLUSION OF WORLD CULTURAL HERITAGE PROPERTIES IN THE LIST**

Each cultural property nominated to the List should:

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

and

(b) (i) meet the test of authenticity in design, material, workmanship or setting and in the case of cultural landscapes their distinctive character and components (the Committee stressed that reconstruction is only acceptable if it is carried out on the basis of complete and detailed documentation on the original and to no extent on conjecture).

(ii) have adequate legal and/or contractual and/or traditional protection and management mechanisms to ensure the conservation of the nominated cultural properties or cultural landscapes. The existence of protective legislation at the national, provincial or municipal level and/or a well-established contractual or traditional protection as well as of adequate management and/or planning control mechanisms is therefore essential and, as is clearly indicated in the following paragraph, must be stated clearly on the nomination form. Assurances of the effective implementation of these laws and/or contractual and/or traditional protection as well as of these management mechanisms are also expected. Furthermore, in order to preserve the integrity of cultural sites, particularly those open to large numbers of visitors, the State Party concerned should be able to provide evidence of suitable administrative arrangements to cover the management of the property, its conservation and its accessibility to the public.

The authenticity of sites is a significant element in the presentation of identity since visible and tangible remains of the past provide a source of location, an immediate connection to the past which is testable (Hewison,1989:16-22; Herbert,1995b:14). Authenticity related to World Heritage resources is “ascribed to a heritage resource that is materially original or genuine (as it was constructed) and as it has aged and changed in time” (Feilden & Jokilehto,1993:16). Authenticity is related to the intrinsic importance of the artefacts. Heritage may define who the people are; heritage presents their roots but also differentiates them from those people who are not perceived to belong to the same group (Smith,1991:68; Hall & McArthur,1993a:8). The issue of who appropriates heritage is later discussed. Authenticity of a site may reinforce the associations made with the past which people consider to be of significance. Nonetheless, it should be taken into account that the durability of the material is a result of survival over time and it is usually castles and cathedrals which have a longer lifespan than the houses of everyday people (Ashworth & Tunbridge,1990:24; Schouten,1995:25).

Sites which meet criterion (vi) for inclusion of world cultural heritage properties in the List (Figure I), should also meet other criteria in order to be nominated. An argument can be raised with regard to the uniqueness and rarity of the sites presented to the List. Proposals for nominations are initially made by national committees to the international body of the World Heritage Committee. It is thus at the discretion of the individual countries to present specific heritage sites to the List. The World Heritage Committee which enforces the nominations makes the selections from those heritage properties that each national committee initially decides may merit nomination (Stovel,1992:34; Konsola,1995:175; Pocock,1997:267). In other words, each national committee may choose, on different grounds, the properties which it intends to nominate while meeting the criteria mentioned above in Figure I.

Three of the six criteria for cultural properties refer to the significance of a single civilisation or culture and thus suggest a more restricted influence of one civilisation (Stovel,1992:34; Pocock,1997:266-267). Furthermore, it needs to be considered that many countries have ratified the Convention yet they have not made nominations, a fact

that excludes many sites from the List; “low response is characteristic of several Islamic countries, reticent on nominating functioning religious buildings” (Pocock,1997:267).

To these arguments another related to the national committees and the people who make the choices for the nominations may be added. Although there are criteria and guidelines for the choice of the World Heritage Sites<sup>1</sup>, decisions for the nominations made may not be taken purely on the guidelines. The above mentioned questions raise issues about the role of the people in charge of the decision-making procedures.

Neil Cossons, a member of the World Heritage Working Group, argued in 1991, about World Heritage, that “tastes change and our view of what is significant about our past and our landscape changes with time too (Cossons,1991:1). Other authors (Stovel,1992; Feilden & Jokilehto,1993) also share Cossons’ view which may show that interpretations related to heritage may be subjective. This is true for different types of heritage and not necessarily only for heritage nominated to the List (Lowenthal,1985a:217; Fowler,1989:62; Schouten,1995:22). There are physical remains which exist from the past while at the same time their interpretation is contingent upon the present. Nevertheless, the Convention has been successful in bringing about international co-operation and the safeguarding global heritage of humanity (Prott,1991:20; Stovel,1992:35-36; Pocock,1997:268).

Cultural heritage resources may be associated with different values which can be interrelated. There is selectivity over what is presented. “If there has been a boom in interest in history and archaeology, it has been because of what we want to use them for in the context of our own lives, and their potential for mapping out the future” (McCrone et al,1995:1). Heritage entails values and their importance constantly changes with the passage of time.

In regard to the selection and presentation of cultural heritage, it may be associated with the values of contemporary society. These values may be extrinsic to the resource itself and are associated with economic, educational, political and cultural criteria which change over time. The intrinsic values that heritage entails are related to the geopolitical

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<sup>1</sup> WHC.99/2 March 1999, Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention.



environment and their construction (Herrmann,1989; Hall & McArthur,1993a; Lavvas,1993; Herbert,1995b; Schouten,1995).

The Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites, written by Sir Bernard Feilden & Jukka Jokilehto (1993) on behalf of the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICCRROM), identifies the values which may be associated with heritage sites. The identification of these values were nonetheless written 20 years after the initiation of the World Heritage Convention. Cultural values are related to, a) elements of identity and incorporate features of continuity, religion, legends and, b) values related to the resource's rarity, representativeness or uniqueness. The other broad category that was identified as significant for the management of the World Heritage Sites is contemporary socio-economic values. These values are related to the potential for the generation of revenue but may be also understood as a value which emerges from the compatible use of a site for performing arts; educational values which promote the awareness of culture and history and aim at their incorporation into the life of the community; social values which are related to present day use of a heritage resource while the political value of heritage may be related to specific events in the history of the resource which may influence its significance due to contemporary political priorities. Thus, a variety of meanings seems to be associated with World Heritage Sites (ibid:17-21). "The concept that provides the link between the preservation of the past for its intrinsic value and as a resource for a modern community or commercial activity is heritage" (Ashworth & Tunbridge,1990:24).

### **2.3 Heritage as a resource and tourism**

Economics are a decisive factor in determining whether or not heritage is preserved while collective associations initially arouse interest in preservation (Hall & McArthur,1993a).

The committee which wrote the Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites (Feilden & Jokilehto,1993:19) noted that contemporary socio-economic values may influence the interpretation of heritage. These values are translated as values



generated from the use of the sites and their incorporation into the life of the community. “[F]or promotional purposes, the heritage site is a product in the world marketplace” (Feilden & Jokilehto,1993:104). Tangible remains of the past, in the form of sites, monuments and cultural artefacts on display in museums, constitute the principal resources for heritage tourism (Zeppel & Hall,1992:47-48). Heritage tourism is a term categorised under the umbrella of cultural tourism and refers to the visiting of historic sites, monuments or events. According to the World Tourism Organisation (1985:6) cultural tourism “includes movements of persons for essentially cultural motivations such as study tours, performing arts and cultural tours, travel to festivals and other cultural events, visits to sites and monuments, travel to study nature, folklore or art, and pilgrimages”.

Europa Nostra, the international federation of associations whose aim is to protect Europe’s cultural and national heritage, carried out a study for the Council of Europe on attitudes and reactions to conservation in town and country in 1989. The study found that the economic benefits of tourism were an important reason for justifying conservation of the sites (O’Driscoll,1990). Prentice (1993:172) describing the interpretative objectives of South Somerset District Council, mentioned that its Tourism and Marketing Officer commented that the growth in numbers of tourists is important when decisions are taken and the quality of publications is not the only concern.

Heritage has been recognised as ‘big business’ (Hall & McArthur,1993a:8). Hewison (1987) sees the heritage industry as one industry which offers a nostalgic idea of the past not in order to preserve it in the present but in order to efface history and substitute reality (Hewison,1989:21). It is argued that museums and ancient monuments do not change in order to meet the people’s demands but as a result of economic and political pressures aiming at bringing revenue and presenting a past that is far removed from the present (Lowenthal,1985a; Hewison,1989; Walsh,1992). The nostalgic past is presented in such a way as to create positive feelings in people. Verbs that are used to describe the experiences a site may offer include ‘enjoy’, ‘wander through’, ‘discover’ and ‘explore’. Besides, the media used aims at attracting tourists and making the visitor participate and does not only provide information to an audience (Prentice,1993:155; Hall & McArthur,1993b:29). Such a presentation is similar for tourist organisations in many

countries although one may think that there is no differentiation in the way countries aim at presenting heritage in a special way, the same special way is sought by all (Cossons,1985:346; McCrone et al,1995:200).

Prentice (1993:36) commented that the categorisation of different attractions which may incorporate many categories among which authentic sites are included under the heading of 'heritage industry' is not one industry as is seen by Hewison (1987). The heritage industry pays little attention to the fact that authentic sites may not be subverted in a false interpretation and there is distinction between representation and reality. There are authentic sites whose historical narration should not be castigated as inherently fantastic rather than factual (Prentice,1993:36). The issue raised is how the past is mediated through historical heritage where authenticity interrelates with heritage which has been considered by some authors as changeable and ephemeral (Lowenthal,1985b; Hewison,1987). The choices made for heritage do not leave the people uninvolved; they must be able to identify with the heritage presented to them in order to accept it.

This project is not audience research which would seek the way that the public understands the presentation of heritage. It is nonetheless useful to specify that the consumers, the visitors to heritage sites and centres, may prefer the specifically nostalgic way heritage is presented (Schouten,1995:29). Hardy (1988:344), Prentice (1993:35), McCrone et al (1995:23) and Schouten (1995:28) argued that people are not passive audiences who accept what is presented to them. It should be considered that popular agreement confirms the activities motivated by government officials in search of historical accuracy, aesthetic beauty or even plain entertainment (Ashworth & Tunbridge,1990:28-29), an argument which also shows the active role that people can have in the decisions made.

Arts and heritage tourism raises the awareness of the people about heritage's value and they contribute to the financial support of the sites' preservation. Tourism should be welcomed by conservationists which would allow for more visits to take place to the preserved sites (Van den Abeele,1990; O'Driscoll,1990; Zeppel & Hall,1992; Herbert,1995b:10; Wheatley,1997:24). The heritage and cultural distinctiveness of an

area provides the basis on which tourism policies depend and is, increasingly, becoming an important motive for visiting a place (Zeppel & Hall,1992:47; Stevens,1995:193).

A director of the National Trust for Scotland commented on the definition of heritage as a product determined by the market and also as one related to social and cultural values (McCrone et al,1995:141). Heritage entails commercial values and is also related to elements of identity. The commercialisation of culture is not the only benefit that derives from the presentation of the past. Historical heritage is also associated with cultural values (Ashworth & Tunbridge,1990; Feilden & Jokilehto,1993).

Thorburn (1986:42), conducting a study in 1980 for cultural heritage in destination marketing within Europe, noted that few tourist boards have fully realised the role of their cultural heritage. In particular, in Greece, tour operators rather than the Greek National Tourism Organisation (GNTO) were found to operate such promotion themselves in marketing Greece within Europe. Another market study was initiated by GNTO this time in 1998 with regard to Greek tourism (cited in Chapters 7, 8 & 9). It was reported that cultural heritage is an asset for Greece that has not been properly presented so that more economic and social benefits could be derived.

#### **2.4 Creating interest for heritage sites**

Communicating an idea to a group or a community is made easier when “the idea is part of the very fabric of group life... is a notion that is already passively a part of the normative structure of the group” (Fine,1981:95). Issues of national identity are more easily communicated to the public when they are already related to the everyday life of the people. The educational value of heritage sites is important since it integrates resources of the past with present day life while the symbolic meaning of the sites is promoted (Feilden and Jokilehto,1993:20). The presentation of heritage should be comprehensible to the public otherwise it will be understandable to only a few scholars who are specialists or who have a special (architectural or archaeological) interest. Information can be provided in an enjoyable and educational way in order to appeal to the majority of the population (Brine,1990; O’Brien,1990; Herbert,1995b).



States put emphasis on the presentation of heritage to students in order for them to appreciate it. McCrone et al (1995:90-91) argued that in the specific case of Scotland, Historic Scotland, the government agency which protects Scotland's building heritage, is interested in the provision of educational information about the sites to schools which make up a target market. Herbert (1995b:17) also argued that in England and Wales, the areas of sites have been created in such a way which attracts school populations. As Lavvas observed (1993:28) "an action that is recorded with the construction of a monument does not mean that safeguarded its continuity in the passage of time. A basic condition is its continuity in time and the recognition by future generations. If a future generation does not respect and accept the action, there is the possibility that the carrier of the message (monument) will not be preserved"<sup>2</sup>. A dynamic role in the presentation of monuments exists and provides the opportunity for a young generation to accept it or not.

Active learning techniques include encouraging children to handle objects and to produce artefacts and in that way they may learn the history of the locality through visits to the sites where continuity with the past is illustrated. That is why field work is desirable for the teaching of concepts (Prentice & Prentice,1989). In Spydeberg, Norway, every year the children of twelve years of age live as people did around 1850. This activity was described by the author (Skulberg,1992:350) as an important identity-generating factor for the people and students who get pride in their local culture and makes it easier for them to understand the events which took place in previous epochs. Interpretation may be used in order to reinforce elements of national identity in people's minds and is especially aimed at the student population since they are tomorrow's citizens.

Selectivity of what is presented from the past occurs and human interest stories are the most popular. With regard to the World Heritage Site of Hadrian's Wall, nominated to the List by the United Kingdom in 1987, it was mentioned that in order for visitors to appreciate the significance of the site and respect it, interpretation is necessary to educate the visitors and may also influence their behaviour towards the preservation of the site (Turley,1998).

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<sup>2</sup> Translation from a Greek text.

Interpreters can point out continuities and changes which have occurred and can present a dynamic view of the history of the heritage. Interpretation aims at creating awareness, linking this awareness with the visitors' existing knowledge, providing information from present to past. The aim is the creation of an appreciation that leads to responsible action towards protection and acquaintance with the interpreted values. Ryan (1992) referring to the results of a conservationist programme by children at Beaver Creek, Canada, concluded that although the children may be more conscious of preserving nature when visiting the specific natural habitat, their behaviour was nonetheless little influenced with regard to conservation in other sites. Nonetheless, many interpreters give more emphasis to educational programmes for the student population.

It should be considered that students are the inheritors of the perceived national patrimony. They are the future citizens and they are more open to adding information to their cognitive structures (Prentice & Prentice,1989:150; Ryan,1992:330; Herbert,1995b:17; Schouten,1995:23). The question raised is related to 'who decides' the selection and the presentation of the specific heritage (Hewison,1989:16; Johnson & Thomas,1995:171) which should nonetheless consider that interrelations may exist that are discussed in the next sections.

## **2.5 The political nature of heritage properties**

Archaeological heritage management considers the organisation, legislation, activities, and the structure and emphasis of archaeological training when heritage is presented (Biörnstad,1989:71).

The justification of the nominations to the List is a procedure that may be related to questions of power and position in the world (Cossons,1991:1; Pocock,1997:267). The authorities in charge of the preservation of the World Heritage Sites receive international support for their views (Prott,1991:14). This may bring political advantages for the related departments which are in charge of the preservation and their power is increased since they have the power to implement the Convention.

It should also be considered that being an employee in the administrative field of a country presupposes the preservation of nationalist representations (Georgoulas,1995). The vested interests of specific groups may be conveyed through the interpretation of selective heritage and thus interpretation may be used, not only for conservation and education, but for the recruitment of more members according to the principles and criteria set by the organisation in charge of the presentation of heritage. There are politics to decision-making. The notion of what constitutes heritage is related to a political process and exercise of power (Heron,1992:183; Hall & McArthur,1992:157-158). Therefore, politically imposed limitations have to be taken into consideration for the presentation of heritage. Activities initiated for the presentation of heritage which takes place at multiple levels within the governmental level, indicate that we should expect to find political processes given the fact that we draw our data from two different organisations and different departments within these organisations. However, as has already been mentioned in the Introduction it is not the focus of this thesis to examine differences and power relations at administrative levels of the Greek government in relation to the decisions made for the World Heritage Sites.

Besides, the possibility is offered to countries of presenting their heritage in the international arena. A successful nomination to the List increases and lays value to the country which made the nominations since its heritage is justified as being of outstanding value and stands as part of the family of cultures. It should be also considered that the representatives of the States Parties to the World Heritage Convention (States) should respect the cultural and natural heritage of the other countries. Declarations were adopted by the World Heritage Committee in General Assemblies where there was reference to such obligation of States in case of war and armed conflict (Wheatley,1997:6), issues which show the relation of political issues and world heritage.

Studies in heritage tourism should refer to the influence of the political environment upon the interpretation which takes place for heritage that is related to issues of power and elements are presented through a specific ideology. The use of heritage may be also



used as a facilitator of political campaigns<sup>3</sup>. Archaeological heritage is part of the state's responsibility in most countries and the preservation of memory through cultural heritage serves political and historical ends (Kristiansen,1989:27).

“Cultural policy represents a strong pillar of foreign policy. In a recent declaration the Canadian Government depicted the protection of domestic values and culture as one of the three legs of its foreign policy” (UNESCO,1996:246). Market share and market orientation may influence a government's decisions to ‘create’ archaeological attractions. Governments realise the importance of preserving heritage as part of cultural identity while the role of central and local government is more confined since privatisation may decide the values of heritage (Cleere,1989). The adoption of enterprise driven strategies in the World Heritage Sites in Puebla, Mexico and in Montreal, Canada does not leave any space for action from heritage specialists (Hamel et al,1996) not to mention the management of the World Heritage nominations of Australia which needs to be compatible with economic and political objectives (Richardson,1990).

## 2.6 A sense of attachment with heritage

There is a symbolic presence of monumental landscapes which include features of myths, tradition, continuity, religion and legend, as well as political and nationalistic aspects. These values are related to the emotional ties of people to specific sites (Feilden & Jokilehto,1993; Herbert,1995b). The example of Poland can be used to illustrate that sites carry symbolic meaning for a population. Poland reconstructed the buildings of national significance which were destroyed in the Second World War and were closely related to issues of national identity (Kristiansen,1989:36; Ashworth & Tunbridge,1990:172-173). The Historic Centre of Warsaw was nominated to the List in 1980. Contrasting examples can also be found, for example, the demolition of pre-colonial cities, as in medieval Cairo. This decision implies that heritage did not function

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<sup>3</sup> In France, attempts have been made to imbue certain places in the landscape with special symbolic value such as with Gergovia which was used by Jacques Chirac and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing for their campaign for European elections. At the same time, they were humorously playing on the association between their political opponent, Laurent Fabius and the Roman General, Lucius Fabius who was defeated by Vercingetorix at the site (Dietler,1998:81).

as a source of identity since the relationship that was made was with colonial epochs (UNESCO,1996:183).

The social value of a World Heritage resource is related to traditional activities which allow the incorporation of the resources in the life of the area in which where they are located. The familiarity of the people with and their connection to the heritage of an area is of importance in order for the people to establish cultural identity and to preserve their sense of uniqueness. Compatible present-day use of heritage illustrates the developing role that heritage may have in the passage of time. The sense of place demonstrates the identity to a population and can generate the concern for the maintenance of a resource while there is interaction in the community (Feilden & Jokilehto,1993:20). Religious sites provide an example of sites which are incorporated into the daily lives of the people. The social value of a heritage site may enforce a sense of place (Hall & McArthur,1993a; Herbert,1995b).

World heritage projects, such as urban planning or preservation measures, aim at incorporating cultural properties in the environment where they are located in order to gain a functional role (Konsola,1995:179-180). In that way, “the historic monuments are not ‘dead shells’, isolated from the human activities and action” (ibid:180)<sup>4</sup>. Historic and archaeological parks, where there is a close interrelation between the sites and the environment, have been suggested as part of the activities for active incorporation of the sites into the life of the community (Lavvas,1993; Konsola,1995).

“The material cultural heritage is particularly suited to helping to develop the population’s awareness of a shared historical identity” (Herrmann,1989:35). Archaeological heritage sites constitute a resource mobilised to provide a material link between the past and the present and serve to anchor collective memory for a given population conferring prestige and dignity (Smith,1984:102; Kristiansen,1989; Van den Abeele,1990; Lavvas,1993). “Memory of a society or a people is defined as the material and spiritual projects that they have created in place and time” (Lavvas,1993:23)<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> Translation from a Greek text.

<sup>5</sup>ibid.

Memory can be stored in cultural heritage that is tangible and visible. Buildings are an essential part of this memory that is transmitted to later generations and provides information about people's past. Smith argued that when collective memories attach to specific territories they may become national, a process that was called the 'territorialisation of memory' (Renan in Smith,1996a:454). It should be considered that the need for memory is so intense that if this evidence does not exist and a gap is created in the historic continuity of a people then life will create substitutes in the form of invented traditions (Hobsbawm,1983; Lavvas,1993). Besides, memories may be evoked by emotions (Toynbee,1981:3). The picture of the past and its values may be seen from the present observer's standpoint which reflects a subjective presentation and interpretation (Toynbee,1981:6; Feilden & Jokilehto,1993:18) and may be part of a politicised process (Dietler,1998). Memory is related to the sense of identity as it is presented in the next section. We should consider what McCrone argues (1992:195) "the question to ask is not how best do cultural forms reflect an essential national identity, but how do cultural forms actually help to construct and shape identity, or rather identities, for there is less need to reconcile or prioritise these".

## 2.7 Notions of nationality and heritage

A historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a common, mass public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties are acknowledged as being parts of the national identity of a population (Smith,1991:8-15, Smith,1996a:447; Gellner,1983:49, 125). Identity is defined in a distinct way for each population<sup>6</sup>.

Sites are connected with myths of ethnic descent and may act as a way of reinforcing the presence of a people in a territory. Sites are at the forefront because they make palpable abstract ideas. The association of the nation with the fellow-citizens and with past generations is important for the nation to identify with (McCrone,1992:28). The aim is the maintenance of the coherence and distinctiveness of a population in the world of nations.

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<sup>6</sup> Kirby (1993) referred to New Zealand where bio-system is presented as part of a unique national heritage and a strong indicator of the country's identity. Heritage, related to natural or cultural aspects may be used to differentiate one country from another; it is the significance of this heritage that is acknowledged by New Zealanders themselves and other countries in the above mentioned example.



The presence of the 'other' in the form of another entity with which a country differentiates itself has been argued by many authors. The nation does not exist in itself but is part of a system that forms a world of nations where each nation is perceived as unique (Smith,1991:75,84; Lekkas,1993:48). Anderson also refers to the presence of other nations when he mentions that "the nation is imagined as limited because even the largest of them... has finite, if elastic boundaries beyond which lie other nations" (Anderson,1991:7). McCrone (1998:184) specifically refers to the presence of the 'other' in relation to the nation: "nationalism grows best in a medium in which there is an Other - an enemy against which we can measure and develop our own identity". National identity is defined through differentiation with the other (Triandafyllidou,1998). The Ruritarians and Megalomanias of Gellner (1983) provide an example of significant others with which one group is the point of departure for distinction and difference with the other.

Sustaining national identity (self perception and perception by others of a unique cultural identity) is in co-operation with specific mechanisms within the contemporary state. The first person plural of the personal pronoun 'we', is of interest to sociology according to Georgoulas (1995:68-69) since it shows the way which people continuously perceive their presence in relation to one or other identities. The nation aims at maintaining its solidarity in the passage of time. National identity is "the dialectic between internal and external definition" (Schlesinger,1987:260).

There is the influence of ethnicity on politics and policy goals and there is a need to explore long term processes such as territorialisation of memory, difference, solidarity based on ties with pre-existing myths which are still at work across the globe and continue to exist (Smith,1991:144; Smith,1996a:458). At the same time, there is influence of political ideology on nationalism and ethnicity which leads us to the argument made by Schlesinger (1991) that national identity is not a fixed phenomenon but is on continuous process as has also been argued by Boyle & Haynes (2000).

Nationalism is defined according to Smith (1991:73) as "an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential nation". The words

'attainment' and 'maintenance' signify the continuing role of nationalism in the passage of time and not only refer to nationalist movements. Smith (1999:333) uses the word 'attain' not only for nationalism but he goes on to argue that the 'destiny' of a nation is the aim to 'attain' features for the nation that enable it to sustain its uniqueness and distinctiveness (it is an issue that is presented in Chapter 1 in relation to Greek identity). Schlesinger (1987:253), referring to nationalism, mentioned that it can be mobilised for collective interest such as national identity - accompanied by the 'mythico-cultural apparatus'- without meaning that it is part of a nationalistic programme. This means that the attainment and maintenance of the identity of a people may be continuously sought and reinforced for a population and it is a process that may continue to take place. There is a dynamic view of identity (Schlesinger,1991:153; Smith,1999:333).

Thus, there may be commercial reasons for marketing the past (as is presented in section 2.3), but also notions of nationhood are articulated (Evans-Pritchard,1993:25). "The history which is commemorated usually concerns the founding of the nation" (Cormack,1992:40). Heritage tourism uses historic symbols of the nation in order to attract tourists. Thus concepts of nation and national identity can be presented. The cultural heritage of an entity may be projected by tourism. Case studies from World Heritage Sites such as Rapa Nui, Easter Island, Chile, Lalibela, Ethiopia or Ninstints, Canada showed that national identity, whether based on political or religious elements, natural or cultural properties, is strengthened through nominations to the List and can be a focus of nationalism (Carlisle,1998; Shackley,1998). Religion in Lalibela is at the forefront of the society's cohesion; the totem poles of Ninstints act as a focus for the resurgence of interest in ancient culture; and the Polynesian culture on Rapa Nui acts as the reinforcement of identity (Carlisle,1998; Shackley,1998).

Reinforcement of symbols of national identity may take place through their presentation to the public. There is a blend between tourism, nation and archaeology since nationalism identifies with sites and archaeological finds, promotes them through tourism, which is a source of income for the state, and consists of the vehicle to promulgate the symbols and the sites of the country's distinctiveness (Evans-Pritchard,1993:27). The tourism industry uses features of myth as collective symbols

and these myths help to construct national identity in the imagination of the visitor (Lowenthal,1994:49; Palmer,1999:316).

The existence of institutions is necessary in order to maintain identity. This is an issue acknowledged by Smith although he argues that national identity is based on pre-existing ties. Breuilly mentioned that legal rights, political duties and the economy, which Smith argues are the elements that form modern national identity, do not exist for pre-modern ethnic identity which is basically non-institutional (Breuilly,1996:151). The political element is thus admitted to be of significance in the definition of national identity. Even when the community is imagined, it is imagined as a political entity. The 'imagined community' is the politically bounded community where a sense of coherence exists between its members who feel a sense of belonging to the same group even if they have never met (Anderson,1991:6-7).

People identify with each other and share values and myths with their compatriots which is a process of identification through cultural and historical imagination. At this point, a differentiation needs to be made: there is a difference between invention as imagining and creation and as fabrication (Anderson,1991:6). The sense of imagining may take place for a population in order to show a sense of belonging and perceived connections with a past. Even if the community of Anderson is described as imagined, it is imagined to be limited which is related to the boundaries it has and sovereign, thus able to determine its destiny (Anderson,1991:6-7).

The issue that is raised is the presence of pre-existing cultural elements which are capable of mobilising political movements but also the extent to which they are used by contemporary states. The imagined community takes place in the minds of people and the issue that is raised for Anderson's imagined community is related to the ways in which there is preservation of the imagining in the population (Schlesinger,1991:163; McCrone,1998:6) which needs to be considered. Anderson himself recognises (Anderson,1991:xiv) that the imagined community cannot explain the imagining with an antique past.



Transformations take place as part of the development of an entity where social and economic conditions may reinforce the presence of the myths of a nation (Smith,1984:118-119; Lekkas,1993:46-48; Smith,1996b:377). There is the possibility that large parts of the presentation of a nation are invented or changed. These changes may depend on a pre-existing framework of identities and they are not recent artefacts (Smith,1986:13; Smith,1994:376-377). Hobsbawm (1983:13) from a constructionist's point of view, argues that there is selectivity and reinterpretation in the national symbols, recognises the existence of 'genuine traditions'; "[w]here the old ways are alive, traditions need be neither revived nor invented" (ibid:8). In that way, it is acknowledged that traditions may not be wholly imaginary and get meaning from the sense of a common past. Gellner (1964:168) even if he argued that nations were created in the modern era by using the phrase "it [nationalism] creates nations where they do not exist", he nonetheless agreed that nations use some pre-existing elements that derive from the past for their creation (Gellner,1964:168; Gellner,1983:49, 55).

National sentiments obtain their significance from a variety of factors such as religion and language which may provide a connecting bond to awareness with national identity (Smith,1996a:448; UNESCO,1996:67). Smith (1991:161) arguing on the role of national identity noted that "the primary function of national identity is to provide a strong 'community of history and destiny' to save people from a personal oblivion and restore collective faith". Although departing from different points, Gellner (1983), Anderson (1991) and Smith (1991) refer to the role of the belief of people belonging to a community, a belief that reinforces a sense of security to them, brings the 'transition from culture-religion to a culture-state' (Gellner,1983:72) and substitutes for the role of the 'religious community and the dynastic realm' (Anderson,1991:12).

Anderson's cultural point of departure (1991:36) comes from the notion that the nation provides faith for the people, the faith that has been removed from the religious institutions. While Anderson (1991:36) claimed that the uncertainties, that were created through the implementation of communications in print capitalism, caused a decline in the role of religion and the 'conception of temporality' which gave place to the nation as an imagined community, according to Balakrishnan (1996:205) Anderson manages to relate the national and the religious: "society is by necessity both a social structure and

an artefact of the imagination". Yet, as Schlesinger (1987) argued, nationalism could still provide the faith for the people even in a post-Gutenberg era that it is not incorporated if nationalism is defined in time of print capitalism. Smith's (1991:161) view is that national identity restores collective faith yet the role of religious beliefs and the clergy are significant for the transformation of nationalist visions to movements. Religions which are fortified by a strong tradition and script may lead to sentiments that provide the sense of community (Gellner,1983:72-73; Smith,1999:341) forming a basis for the national sentiments that inspired national and political activism. The role of faith, either in the form of religion or belief in the state, seems to be considered part of the sense of identity of a people.

Nevertheless, the existence of myths related to religion is not without problems. Myths of ethnic descent may have different points of departure, an issue that may create tensions between the groups who espouse one myth over another. Figures of religious authority may oppose the way heritage is presented in relation to religious sites by archaeological authorities who may threaten the bases of the specialised and sacred texts. This may be the case within the society in its pre-state form (Silberman,1995:258). This relationship may take place not only during the foundation of the states but also in their contemporary life; the significance of religion may exist in the contemporary environment. With regard to the World Heritage Site of the Cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris, France, Girard (1990:3) referred to the way in which information, provided for ecclesiastical monuments, is written by art historians who provide emphasis for the architectural information while more information could be written about the religious aspects. A site may be related to contemporary religious traditions and be of significance for the people of the area where it is situated (Herbert,1995b:9). Nevertheless, this may cause problems and debates between the religious and political representatives of the state over the management of the sites.

Language is another important indicator of the collective sense of belonging which may reinforce the myths of ethnic descent. Hobsbawm (1990) mentioned that the existence of an elite literary language may lead to the proto-national cohesion of a population, especially if it coincides with a particular area. Even the symbolic status of a minority language and its connection to the nation may account for its emergence in minority

language media (Cormack,1998:41). Language may act as the main repository for the preservation of identity as in the case for minority language communities (Cormack,1999:294). There are different languages spoken by different people which contribute to their distinctiveness where “language is at the heart of sociocultural resistance to homogenisation” (Schlesinger,1993:12) in relation to European integration. The role of the language in nationalist political movements such as in the Irish case is significant (Cormack,2000). Language is intimate and natural. It is associated in the minds of a population which speaks the same language although the boundaries of a territory and the linguistic boundaries may not coincide (Balakrishnan,1996:207). Language sets limits since the condition to participate in the imagined community is to speak the specific language (McCrone,1992:29).

Language and religion are cultural and symbolic characteristics that nationalists use to distinguish the nation that Smith (1988:21) mentions as meriting more scholarly attention. Breuilly (quoted in Hobsbawm,1990:182) and Breuilly (1996:160) criticises both Gellner and Anderson who assume that “nationalism is very strongly rooted in the thought or behaviour of people”. Smith (1991:140) argues that when people are “bestow[ed] a unique identity and destiny upon them”, they may sustain that sense of belonging in the same group that shares the same vernacular and has a relation with pre-modern ethnic ties. There needs to be a tie with the past. We can argue that even from different perspectives Gellner (1983), Anderson (1991) and Smith (1991) give emphasis to the will of people. The “process of continual reconstruction” of an identity is considered by Schlesinger to be the important issue that Anderson’s argument does not take into account since the imagined community does not consider differentiations which may exist within the boundaries of the imagined community as to what constitutes its ‘elements’ (Schlesinger,1987:250). Schlesinger (1987:244) raises the question of whether the continued reproduction of identity is secured through a national educational system in the passage of time where differentiations may emerge. The educational system may be an important mechanism for the “nation-building role of identity” (Schlesinger,1987:248), yet we are interested in this thesis in the process of the presentation of identity as is it is manifested through heritage from two bureaucratic mechanisms of the Greek state, the MoC and GNTO.



Both political and cultural elements are of significance for the presentation and preservation of a perceived identity. Sites are part of the national identity and they are manifestations and signifiers of the iconography of nationhood offering a sense of continuity and belonging for a population (Smith,1991:77; Feilden & Jokilehto,1993:77; Hall & McArthur,1993a:3; McCrone et al,1995:7, 181). Nonetheless, selections take place on the way in which heritage is presented and interpreted which is also the case for World Heritage Sites (Fowler,1992:122; Feilden & Jokilehto,1993:100). Considering the case of Greek World Heritage Sites, we aim to address the definitions, provided by two bureaucratic organisations, for heritage sites that will enable us to make inferences about national identity as they are translated to the institutions' actions.

Smith (1991:93) distinguished intellectuals as the ones who create artistic works and produce ideas from the wider intelligentsia or professionals who transmit and disseminate those ideas and creations. However, he admitted that in practice the same individual may produce, disseminate and consume ideas. In the case of Greece and the people involved in the presentation of cultural heritage, intellectuals are identified as intelligentsia, acting as agents of the state who produce and deliver ideas to a people while at the same time they are consumers of these ideas. There are mechanisms at work which ensure some connection and even continuity between the modern nation and one or more pasts (Smith,1996b:378). Smith (1994:378) suggested that the intelligentsia plays an important role in the promulgation of national identity, yet they are presented as depending on cultural ties in order to mobilise the population.

The role of intellectuals is important in the selection of the elements that are promoted, a process that takes into consideration previous types of traditions. They may decide those elements from which a sense of national identity may be forged and provide a sense of continuity and dignity to reconstruct a collective life (Smith,1988:13; Herbert,1995b:14; Smith,1996a:451). Their role does not seem to be isolated. Intellectuals require cultural ties to strike a chord in order to mobilise a people and continue to mobilise them. Smith (1994:378) mentioned that although the role of the intelligentsia is important in order to forge national sentiments, the use of ethnic ties is significant in order for the people to attach to the nation. Each member needs to participate in the preservation of the nation and has commitments and rights towards it

(Smith,1999:338). There are, thus, limitations of state-centred approaches (Smith,1996a:448) -the imposition of a political and cultural identity in the former Soviet Union is an example as is the dissolution of the Soviet Union which consisted of many different ethnic groups joined together under the laws and systems of a political federation (Brubaker,1996). Homogeneity did not exist within these populations. Thus, although Hobsbawm (1990:65) uses the example of Russia which left behind a common ancestry and ethnicity in order to come under the state of Russia, disintegration eventually came. McCrone (1998:166) mentioned that one criticism that may be made of Brubaker's work is that he takes for granted the differences between groups in the case of Russia. Thus, he is not taking into account that they may be institutionally real and reinforced.

## 2.8 Heritage as capital

Hall (1994) argued for the political process that dominates tourism while more emphasis has been put on the economic imperative. State decisions in relation to tourism may not be only motivated by economic or political ends and purposeful activities related to the objectives of interest groups and individuals, yet such a political process as Hall argues is present (1994:20-21).

Research related to the political impacts of interpretation and tourism has received relatively little attention owing to the unwillingness of state governments to acknowledge that tourism has political dimensions (Hall & McArthur,1992:157; Hall,1994). In fact, Hall argues for the relationship of tourism with politics given tourism's concentration in specific areas which have developed adequate infrastructure and have attractions. As Hall further argued, locational conflicts may emerge for the distribution of land use and the location of tourism development.

Urry's argument in relation to geographical space (1990b:29) addresses the concept of the consumption of heritage. That places less emphasis on the limited resources that Hall (1994) has argued for and the presence of a middle class in society able to produce and consume goods such as heritage. Urry, depending on Bourdieu's work (in Urry,1990a:87-88; McCrone et al,1995:40-41) argues for the power that was sought

through heritage by the emergence of a middle class which gained power from a bourgeoisie, a power that was based on symbolic forms such as heritage. Some factors which accounted for such change were the growth of the people working in posts that were not related to agriculture or manual work, the presence of loose boundaries in order to be part of this class and the possibility of crossing these boundaries and thus holding an intermediate position between bourgeoisie and working class (in Urry,1990:88; McCrone et al,1995:41).

A few points need to be raised for Urry's argument and are related to McCrone et al's (1995:21) correct comments about Urry's link of a middle class and its pursuit of production or consumption of heritage for reinforcing class or status and the issue that consumption is "indelibly social" (Urry,1990b:24) which according to McCrone et al (1995) is a hypothesis that needs to be tested and not to be taken for granted.

McCrone et al (1995) and Burns (1999) argue for the contribution of Urry's work to the need to research the link between heritage consumption rather than only on the production level of heritage. Visitors may read differently the meanings and interpretations made where people may not be "similar to each other with shared tastes, albeit determined by the providers" of the industry that promotes a symbolic form (Urry,1990a:87). Urry's account of the role of media and the constant flow of information in contributing so that people can cross boundaries and his account for the increase in the people working in the service class are helpful (Urry,1990a:88, 91) but should not be used to predetermine who may attend theatrical performances or the Arts in general.

In fact, Urry by abandoning one system of differentiation in society, embraces another which although perhaps less strict and with loose boundaries, as he argues, still predetermines structures such as, the presence of a middle class in which a person can easily move, the presence of a bourgeoisie, and does not consider how these arguments might differ if one takes into account historical processes in specific contexts. Greece for example did not have an indigenous bourgeoisie and there were and still are very few statuses (see Chapter 1). We would then agree with McCrone et al (1995:142) that "taste is neither the outcome of natural disposition, nor the automatic expression of class



power". In addition, Richards emphasises that a symbolic form of capital, such as heritage sites or monuments, and its use may not be merely a way for personal distinction but can be used as an attribute of a place so that it may attract investment and people (1996:267). Therefore, heritage may be used in regional economic development strategies (ibid:267-268) and sustainable economic development may take place (Cossons,1985:345; Hall & McArthur,1992:158; Wager,1995:519). The use of culture then as 'a product' is a concept that should be acknowledged (Urry,1990a; Burns,1999). The consumption of culture is used as a way of economic regeneration accompanied by cultural facilities as a weapon to attract investment and in that way, culture becomes a product through tourism (Cohen,1988; Richards,1996) seeking to attract capital and middle-class spending.

It is not the aim of the researcher to examine the social basis of the consumption of heritage although we are aware that officials decide what is of significance for presentation. The literature suggests that there exists power relations which are reinforced through the presence of cultural forms, and the pursuit of power through the production and consumption of this heritage that is considered as capital (Urry,1990a, Richards,1996) but it also provides the possibility for aspects of development (Hall,1994; Loukaki,1997; Burns,1999). Our perspective nonetheless will be broadened if we consider that the presentation of the World Heritage Sites that this research focuses on, examines the interpretation of data in the light of the fact that the Ministry of Culture and the Greek National Tourism Organisation are part of the bureaucratic system and it should critically examine the meaning that is given to the World Heritage Sites.

**PART II**  
**METHODOLOGY**

## CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

### 3.1 Introduction

The research questions were refined in the specific framework of the way the past is treated through the policies of the Greek Ministry of Culture (MoC) and the Greek National Tourism Organisation (GNTO). Issues are described in order to present the situation in the Greek environment while processes for the presentation of cultural heritage are explored. The researcher employed qualitative research methodology which explored the interpretation given by the interviewees and the information gathered from the official narrative about the cultural sites of Greece with emphasis on the World Heritage Sites.

According to Rubin et al (1993:186) “message -or artifact- oriented research” looks at communication messages and attitudes associated with messages.... and focuses on examining and interpreting messages and relates ideas such as people’s attitudes and opinions about messages, issues or events”; this method of communication research includes archival research and interview research. The researcher employed the analysis of documents from the archives of the two state mechanisms; had interviews with official experts in charge of Greek cultural heritage and explored the presentation of the past in official printed promotional material. The analysis of the data provided insight to the rationale of the way the two organisations initiate and implement decisions taken for the presentation of the heritage sites.

The research is a case study which explores and outlines the process for the presentation of cultural heritage by the MoC and GNTO and the values associated with heritage underlying the logic of activities as they are explored through the properties of the List. It is research where “a how or why question is being asked about a contemporary set of events, over which the investigator has little or no control” (Yin,1989:20). Data collected from each organisation are considered as part of the ‘overall scope of inquiry’ (ibid:52-53). The scope of inquiry is related to the role of two state organisations from different points of departure, that of preservation and that of promotion of cultural heritage, towards the heritage properties. The thesis aims at discovering practices from



the two state organisations with the further aim to explore and more fully understand how heritage of outstanding value is defined by two different organisations that operate as part of the Greek state.

### 3.2 Data gathering technique

Comparisons in the implementation of decisions over time are very relevant to the research questions addressed in this project. For “[a] research project that involves any study of, or comparison with, a period before the present, documentary sources immediately become the main source of information for that period” (Calvert,1991:117). Analysis of documents that were written at a time contemporary to the period that nominations took place were examined and objectives from the decisions taken for the presentation of the cultural properties were sought.

Interviews were used as another technique since they enabled the researcher to elicit in-depth answers from the experiences of the interviewees. King (in Cassell & Symon,1994:16) argued that the method of interviews is considered to be among the most appropriate methods employed to gather data when research in an organisation takes place. The point of view of the interviewees about the state institutions’ activities provided insight about their experiences that could be compared with the data of the administrative texts. The researcher also explored official promotional material created as a means of informing and emphasising the country’s distinctiveness. Translations were made for the data collected since they were written in Greek.

In the specific research, access was a process of continuous negotiation between the Departments of the organisations and the interviewees. The researcher had to seek permission from the Departments of the organisations which were identified through the organisation charts related to their structure. In addition, the researcher verified the responsibilities in each Department through the Official Gazette of the Government (FEK) where the responsibilities of each Department were specified and purposefully chosen.

According to Maxwell (1996:70), a purposeful sample is a sample when “particular settings, persons or events are selected deliberately in order to provide information that cannot be got as well from other choices”. The researcher showed a letter countersigned by the supervisor that explained the research very briefly when data were collected. Since the collection of the official documents, the interviews and the gathering of the written promotional material needed time spent in the field, the researcher could plan ahead and collect material of one source that was not available at a certain time or arrange interviews with the archaeologists and officials of the two organisations.

Data collected from the MoC comes from the Department of Educational Programmes for Prehistoric and Classical Monuments, Department of Exhibitions for Prehistoric and Classical Monuments, Department of Museums, Exhibitions and Educational Programmes for Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments, the Directorate of Contemporary Culture, the Directorate of Archives of Monuments and Publications and the Archaeological Receipts Fund (ARF). Information about the role and activities of the Departments exists throughout the chapters where the researcher presents their function. With regard to GNTO, data were collected from the Departments of Advertising, Publications and Audio-Visual that operate within the Directorate of Advertising, the Directorate of Research and Development, the Directorate of Cultural Activities of GNTO, the Creative Office, the Press Office of GNTO.

### **3.3 Sources of data**

#### **a. Official documents**

The research analysed rich sources of primary materials from the two institutions. Documents were primary sources (Calvert,1991:119; Sapsford and Jupp,1993:141; May,1997:161; Atkinson & Coffey,1997; Birley and Moreland,1998) which were original papers from the official correspondence within the Departments of the state and were written and collected by those who personally witnessed the events described.

Administrative documents that were used for the correspondence of the officials in the Ministry of Culture for the nominations of properties to the List were explored. These

included records of proceedings; reports from the Greek Permanent Delegation in Paris that accompanied the proceedings of the nominations of the sites from Greece; legislative and statutory texts that specified the programmes of actions for the presentation of Greek cultural heritage; deeds of correspondence of the Departments within the state organisations that were in charge of initiating educational programmes, exhibitions, advertising activities, publications for the presentation of Greek cultural heritage where emphasis was put on the World Heritage Sites; reports for the annual communication activities of the Departments within the organisations and extracts from the Greek market study held of the Greek population in 1998 by GNTO.

The documents were intended for the exchange of information and suggestions between the Departments of the organisations and they provided a first-hand account of the objectives for decisions made for the way the past is treated by the two organisations. They consisted of the administrative records “containing mainly factual information ... and used by organisations to record the development and implementation of decisions and activities that are central to their functions” (Hakim,1993:131).

The issue of accessibility is salient (Forster,1994; Sapsford and Jupp,1993; May,1997). Unobtrusive measures were used for the documents which were part of the internal communication within the organisations and provided information about the rationalisation of acts that took place. An unobtrusive measure of observation is any indicator that does not influence the phenomenon studied and the observer is not related to the situations being studied (Schwartz and Jacobs,1979; Sapsford and Jupp,1993:299). The use of unobtrusive measures is a way of verification of the research (discussed in section 3.5).

Institutional and organisational documents offer the researcher a way to explore the state’s aims and goals towards cultural heritage and the way decisions are incorporated for the heritage on the legislative agenda. “[Official documents] are often contemporaneous records of events in organisations. This can help researchers to look more closely at historical processes and developments in organisations and can help in interpreting informants’ ‘rewriting’ of history in later verbal accounts” (Forster,1994:148). Mason (1996) and May (1997:157) stated that documents are



particular readings of social events and they “structure the decisions which people make on a daily and longer term basis”. In addition, the acts of Parliament with regard to the laws implemented for the cultural patrimony that are presented in this project and the Presidential Decrees are classified as open-published documents which are catalogued in the Library of the Greek Parliament and the Greek National Publishing Center.

#### **b. Interviews**

The perspective of the interviewees in the MoC and GNTO offered the researcher ground to explain the purposes and reasons for the implementation of decisions related to Greek cultural heritage. Interviews consist of another source of information that presents the point of view of individuals as regards the nature of Greek cultural heritage. Interviewees plan and implement communication activities related to decisions and choices made for the presentation of Greek heritage<sup>1</sup>.

The researcher sought to explore the action and the experience of the respondents that shed light on the mediated meanings with regard to the way cultural heritage of Greece is seen by the state and the representations that take place. Respondents were able to present their experience and defined concepts according to their official position and experience. Interviewees discussed incidents and events that were not mentioned in the documents and provided another way to determine processes and practises related to the presentation of cultural heritage from those involved in the decisions made and implemented. Their perspectives and their interpretations of the context is of value for comprehending reality (Wimmer & Dominick,1987; McCracken,1988; Maxwell,1996; May,1997). In order to establish a rapport with the interviewees, the researcher informed the officials about the research, emphasised that their experience is of importance and interest. Some interviewees supplied the researcher with useful names of individuals who had been initially identified in the organisational charts of the state’s Departments of the MoC and GNTO as potential interviewees. It was easier to approach them once it was mentioned that they have been recommended by others.

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix IV presents the lists of interviewees and the position they hold within the MoC and GNTO.

Interviews were semi-structured to elicit responses in a more free way than in a structured interview and to allow for comparisons to be made between the different answers of the respondents but also let the interviewees provide their own justification and examples to accompany their point of view. Ivey et al (1996:53) suggested that open-ended questions can be very helpful in the beginning of an interview and they help to get examples of specific practices, techniques or strategies<sup>2</sup>.

A combination of open-ended questions and closed questions were used. There was a set of questions regarding general information -mainly factual or descriptive- factual issues in order for the researcher to become acquainted with the interviewee; they also provided descriptive accounts of the respondents' experiences with regard to the specific positions held within the specific department related to the organisation, which are the 'grand-tour' questions (McCracken,1988; May,1997). Questions related to the way decisions are taken about the presentation of Greece and the procedure of the nominations to the List followed, forming the core of the interviews. In the case of open-ended questions, the interviewees had the opportunity to reply to questions with elaboration and express their point of view. Issues about their position within the organisation and the functions they carried out, communication strategies, plans of action and implementation of decisions about Greek cultural heritage were asked through open-ended questions. Closed questions were used to confirm events and facts.

"Researchers record information from interviews by using note taking or audiotapes" (Creswell,1994:152). The researcher asked the respondents whether they wanted to speak in the presence of a tape recorder. The researcher wrote down the information by hand for those interviewees who felt more comfortable without the presence of the tape recorder. At the end of the interviews the researcher asked the interviewees to comment on issues that might not have been mentioned.

Questions were simple and comprehensive, and double-barrelled questions asking for multiple information were avoided (Wimmer & Dominick,1987:108; Robson,1993:232). The researcher did not ask leading, or short-answered questions that would not allow the respondents to present their perspective (McCracken,1988:34;

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<sup>2</sup> Translation from a Greek text.

Maxwell,1996:90). The interviews were made by similar questions for the two organisations and certain questions that were not related to the post of a particular interviewee were not asked (questions related to the procedure of nominations of properties to the List were only asked to the curators of the MoC who are in charge of the nominations to the List).

Robson (1993:231) argues that “the interviewer can change the way the questions are worded, leave out particular questions which seem inappropriate with a particular interviewee or include additional ones”. Nonetheless, the meaning and the key ideas in the questions that were asked from one official to the other did not change since the researcher was interested in exploring whether there existed regularities, patterns or divergences for the policy of the state implemented for the presentation of the cultural sites and in particular the World Heritage Sites. Interviews with people in key positions provided the researcher with another way of relating the processes as they are stated in the documents with their actual implementation.

### **c. Official promotional material**

The material that was searched from the two organisations incorporated brochures, publications of museum exhibitions, photographic albums related to productions for cultural heritage, material for educational programmes, leaflets of archaeological content that are offered free of charge in the admission entrances of the sites. Advertising campaigns were part of the study as examples which present the efforts and interventions of different Departments for the implementation of communication approaches as regards the presentation of Greece and the importance or not attributed to the heritage sites.

Brochures, advertising inserts, leaflets and albums are among the main tools for the presentation of the narrative by GNTO and leaflets of archaeological content, educational programmes, exhibition catalogues are publications of the MoC. With regard to the MoC, promotional material was collected from the Department of Educational Programmes in charge of Prehistoric and Classical Monuments, the Department of Museums, Exhibitions and Educational Programmes in charge of



Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments, the Department for the distribution of the productions of the Archaeological Receipts Fund. The material that was collected relating to GNT0 was gathered from the Central Warehouse of the Despatch of Advertising Material of GNT0 where the researcher was provided with permission to search the archives and photocopy the relevant promotional material.

Material from educational programmes held in the World Heritage Sites is published for Greek students; as regards the advertising inserts in the Greek press of the advertising campaign 'Discover Greece' that took place by GNT0 in 1997, it was intended for the Greek population while catalogues of museum exhibitions, leaflets of archaeological content, photographic albums in Greek are also published in English.

The researcher did not explore the presentation of the audio-visual material or artefacts produced as part of the communication activities of the MoC and GNT0. "Documents are usually considered to be text-based...other non-text based forms of data sit less comfortably under the heading of 'documents' and there are less clearly established conventions for using them in social science research" (Mason,1996:71). The material that was explored was created by the two organisations. Written promotional material for the last 14 years was collected since the first nomination of Greek properties took place to the List, a representative period to explore occurrences or changes in the presentation of the heritage sites and the values associated with heritage properties.

### **3.4 The approach to qualitative analysis**

Different data sources were divided into segments and they were sorted into groups in order to create an organising system of categories which were small parts that shared common themes and were grouped together. Coding in qualitative research attempts to "fracture the data and rearrange it into categories that facilitate the comparison within and between these categories" (Maxwell,1996:78). Indexing the data or coding helped the researcher to take the text segments of the data from their context and put them in the category to which they belong and this process was applied to the sets of data. In that way, the researcher could see the overall picture and not only those parts that could be immediately seen. The focus is on contextualised meaning, and the researcher is

interested in mapping out the convergences and divergences that emerge and discover links in the data. In that way, categorising -coding categories drawn from theory and developed inductively- takes place that fractures the data and rearranges them into categories that facilitate the comparison of data within and between these categories. The data is then linked in an attempt to understand data in context by looking at relationships that connect statements and events within a context, a process called contextualising (Maxwell,1996).

An important question that was asked in organising the data for the analysis was “[w]hat categories will help me to organise the essential aspects of what is written here?” (Ely et al,1991:145). The identification of topics for the creation of the categories of the system were based on the perspectives found in processes and actions presented in data and recurrent phrases that characterised the actors’ practices were sought. Issues that emerge in the data and are repeated create patterns for the research (Yin,1989; Forster,1994:150-152, Maykut & Morehouse,1994; Ericson et al in May,1997).

“A theme can be defined as a statement of meaning that (1) runs through all or most of the pertinent data, or (2) one in the minority that carries heavy emotional or factual impact” (Ely et al,1991:150). The research followed a cross-case analysis or cross categorical analysis (Yin,1989; Mason,1996) where themes were examined across cases -databases and identify cases studies as examples. Comparisons and connections within the data are made and provide another way to illustrate whether themes which occurred in the analysis of documents and interviews about the role of the institutional mechanisms in the way the past is seen were also addressed in the official promotional material from both organisations.

Classification served as a data management tool for the purpose of bringing order so that the researcher could see thematically across the data set; each data set from the two institutions was explored but they were considered as part of the larger analysis which sought to explore the way the past is treated by these organisations and shows how ideas related to heritage are articulated. The researcher focused on the occurrence of the phenomena and found ideas behind separate categories that were used in the data. The researcher also sought for information that was different from or was contrary to the

themes that most commonly appeared; the disparate, contrasting themes and exceptions were then connected to the central set of concepts.

Following McCracken (1988:44) the researcher took metaphors that were explored in the data literally and supplied assumptions when respondents insisted on one point which also aimed at building a sense of understanding of the way heritage sites are seen by the two organisations. May (1997:36) emphasises the distance and different meanings that may occur between the language used in research and its interpretation in everyday life. The researcher put emphasis on the presentation of data the way it was explored in the different sources of information being aware of the different perspectives that may exist. “[The organising system] can be created from prior material, such as the theoretical framework adopted and/or the research questions that guide the investigation; or 2) can be constructed from the data themselves... In many cases the two methods are combined” (Tesch,1990:119). The presentation of data were related to values identified by the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICCROM) that contributed to the formulation of Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites written by Sir Bernard Feilden & Jukka Jokilehto (1993) for ICCROM.

Due to the fact that cultural values can be classified in a number of ways in relation to the World Heritage properties such as that of identity value, technical value and rarity value (ibid:18-19) the researcher presented cultural values of the three categories under the same heading with emphasis on the identity value of the properties since information about technical value and rarity value is based on research carried out on sites that the researcher does not claim to be able to decipher. Besides, the functional value of a property is interrelated to the economic value (ibid:19), and both economic and functional values are presented under the same heading in the presentation of findings.

In that way, the researcher found a way to arrange the overwhelming data that was gathered while the aim of the research was to explore the presentation of the heritage sites that are nominated to the List. Heritage sites hold a variety of meanings and for these values we need to consider the role of the people at national and international level who decide the nominations to the List but also provide interpretations for the



presentation of heritage. In the process of the analysis the process of deconstruction, interpretation and reconstruction was made according to patterns (Ericson et al in May,1997:173; Forster,1994; Creswell,1994:154). While the researcher initially sought to divide the data into smaller parts, in the end the aim was to present how these parts were linked together. The further aim was to take the separate sections and then pull them together creating a picture where the themes are interrelated with each other (Robson,1993; Creswell,1994; Ericson et al in May,1997). The researcher worked from part to whole, from specific issues emerging in the research that were then interrelated with each other.

Presentation of the codes was made in a descriptive way and then relations among categories and themes were made and related to the theoretical framework. Differences and similarities that emerged were presented, and the main themes identified provided the core of the interpretation and comparative explanations between the two organisations and within the sets of data. Comparisons of interconnected set of concepts -‘patterns’- with theory, tracing changes over time -time-series analysis- (Yin,1989) consist of modes of data analysis for the policy processes of the two organisations. The data are put into the socio-political context related to Greece and do not form a narrative recitation of events. “A purely literal reading [of the documents] is not possible, ... because the social world is always already interpreted” (Mason,1996:109). The researcher sought the broader implications and considerations keeping in mind to explore the socio-political context within which the process of the presentation of specific sites to the List took place. “A descriptive explanation may involve the construction of some kind of explanatory account of what is going on in a particular social location, or of the co-operation of a set of social processes” (Mason, 1996:137).

### **3.5 Methods of verification of the research**

The researcher searched a diverse range of sources. ‘Triangulation’ enabled the researcher to have a mixture of sources for gathering data and thus “gain a better assessment of the validity of the explanations” (Maxwell,1996:75-76). Since most instruments are not as accurately desired, the use of multiple measures of the same construct pointing information in the same direction, allows for a better interpretation

since different sources of evidence are used for the presentation of findings (Yin,1993:69). The multiple sources of evidence provided multiple ways of measuring the same phenomenon. One source may provide the cross reference for the other sources and supplements information from different angles about the general question of inquiry that was related to the way Greek heritage sites are treated by the Greek state. Besides, when the same procedures are followed reliability may be accomplished (Yin,1989). It is the credibility that is searched in qualitative research; convergence of a major theme or pattern provides credibility to the findings (Maykut & Morehouse,1994:146; Robson,1993:404).

Calvert (1991:121) and Forster (1994:155) stated the issue of authenticity that the researcher should deal with in order to verify whether the data are genuine. The internal validity of the documents may be justified due to the fact that the documents were used for personal correspondence between the people involved in the decisions taken within the organisations and consisted of the principal by-products of the Greek state's practices when reference was made to cultural heritage. Documents were created at the time of the events. They are sources of information that present accurate reports of the events recorded and decisions were taken by the two state organisations on the grounds of these reports. In that way, the validity of the documents is strengthened. "Unobtrusive measures can derive from institutional memoranda, produced as a normal part of bureaucratic functioning but to which the social scientist can gain access in order to study key aspects of institutional processes. The effects of the observer on the data are reduced, thereby improving internal validity" (Sapsford and Jupp,1993:299).

Official documents were dated and placed into files; they were signed by the people who wrote them. In that way, "the accuracy of the documents and their authorship could be validated by the individuals who had produced them" (Forster,1994:155) with regard to the verification of the authenticity of the documents. The documents were photocopied from the files of the state organisations since it was not possible to keep field notes due to the rich material and every time the researcher used a document, archival or promotional material from the archives of the MoC and GNTTO, the document was presented according to the related Department, the registration number of the file to which it belonged and the date which may be used for reliability checks.

The researcher is aware that “every narrative or representation is a version rather than an objective and neutral description” (Mason,1996:130). The use of literal metaphors as used by interviewees and the different perspectives by which people perceive the presentation of heritage were reported, a fact that aimed at showing the existence of different perspectives. “We start with the experiencing person and try to share his or her subjective view. Our task is objective in the sense that we try to describe it with depth and detail. In doing so, we try to represent the person’s view fairly and to portray it as consistent with his or her meanings” (Miller & Glassner,1997:100). Since more than one person was in charge of the presentation of cultural heritage, interviews were conducted with more than one person from the same Department and information could be cross referenced.

Data were investigated according to a critical approach and took into consideration the analysis and interpretation of conflicting and contrasting issues that were not compatible with the prevailing themes; the presentation of negative and contradictory cases are issues mentioned by Lincoln and Guba (in Ely et al:1991:96) and is a process that leads to the verification of the research. The procedures followed in the specific research can be extended in the exploration of other cases. The researcher is aware that the results will not be easy to generalise for other countries since processes are explored for the specific case of Greece with emphasis on the World Heritage Sites and the articulation of ideas related to heritage presentation. Nevertheless, generalisation in case studies is about theoretical propositions not about populations (Yin,1989:38; Hartley,1994:225).

### **3.6 The role of the researcher**

Hammersley and Atkinson (in Maxwell,1996:67) use the term ‘reflexivity’ to show the interdependence between the researcher and the research since the researcher is part of it and the one who forms the lines according to which the research proceeds. Wimmer and Dominick (1987:139) and Maxwell (1996:91) called reactivity the subject’s awareness that is under investigation. The role for the researcher needs to be a balanced one. A relationship with the respondents should be created while at the same time the researcher should not impose or lead the way of the interview since the respondents



might elicit responses that the researcher would like to hear; the questions that the researcher asked had to do with laws and regulations related to the heritage sites. When too much confidence is being expressed from the researcher's point of view regarding the area of investigation, the respondents may feel that the researcher should not be trusted, thus, not much information should be revealed; in the opposite case when the researcher is not aware of the basic ideas and issues related with the research, it is possible that not much information will be provided (McCracken,1988; May,1997). As a researcher "you need to be respectful -especially in regard to their areas of professional or expert knowledge- but at the same time confident of the worth of what you are doing and of your own expertise" (King,1994:23).

Perseverance and stamina were needed in order to arrange the appointments with people in the hierarchy of the organisations but was counterbalanced because the interviews could be arranged at the period the interviewees wanted while the researcher was collecting other sources of data. After conducting the interviews or the gaining of access to the documents the researcher sent a letter to the people in charge, thanking them for their kindness and willingness to help with the research. The researcher is not a historian who aims at deciphering meaning through this research about the presence of historical facts and accounts; indeed the researcher studied historical books to be able to argue about specific points made in the data. Rather this project explores how the past is presented by two institutional mechanisms. Besides, the researcher had no vested political or partisan interest in the organisations; the researcher does not work for the organisations that are under investigation sharing the assumptions of these organisations, nor does she aim at presenting findings favourable to them.

The role of the researcher is to ensure that the different points of view and perspectives which emerge are presented in the chapters that follow where quotes from the data provide a way to the researcher to show the perspectives that exist and how results are discussed.

In the chapters that follow, the date of publications of archival or promotional material are presented at the related footnotes that also demonstrates the specific periods that intensification of heritage presentation took place.

**PART III**

**PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS  
GREEK MINISTRY OF CULTURE**

**ANALYSIS OF DOCUMENTS FROM THE  
MINISTRY OF CULTURE**



## CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS OF DOCUMENTS FROM THE MINISTRY OF CULTURE

### 4.1 Introduction

The Greek Ministry of Culture (the MoC) is a governmental body in charge of the protection and promotion of cultural heritage in Greece. This Chapter explores the importance attributed to the sites which have been nominated to the List in contrast to other sites which are not prioritised for presentation. Choices are found to be carefully selected as was found in the official documents related to the decisions made for the nominations and the implementation of communication activities for their presentation.

There are Services called Directorates and they are administrative offices situated in the Central Office of the MoC located in Athens. The heritage properties nominated to the List come under the responsibilities of the Directorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (DIPKA) and the Directorate of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments (DBMM). Each Antiquities Service aims at presenting the heritage which is situated in the region of its responsibility as the most valuable and representative in the history of the Greek state. However, the Central Office of the MoC decides the way activities are implemented.

The objectives of the MoC are related to the presentation of the connection of sites with the depths of history and their authenticity contributes to such an illumination. The role of the people in charge of the MoC is illustrated with regard to the presentation of heritage that is nominated to the List. It is found that decisions are based to a significant degree on the way the World Heritage Committee, which makes the nominations, perceives Greek heritage.

The use of heritage sites as educational resources, the effort made to incorporate them into the life of the community and to illuminate their social value are issues that are discussed. At the same time their economic value can bring revenue to the area where they are situated. Nevertheless, decisions are not value free and political issues emerge through the presentation of the sites.

## 4.2 Cultural values

The establishment of the Archaeological Service and the issuing of Acts protecting antiquities were among the earliest actions of the contemporary Greek state in the 1830s. Greek national legislation, related to the protection and elevation of heritage sites, highlights policy directives which give priority to antiquities over more modern Greek heritage. The enactment of the first Greek archaeological law took place in 1834. The ‘Antiquities Act’ bearing the number 5351/1932 consists of the continuation of the legislation which was issued after the Greek state’s foundation and puts the protection of sites dating before 1830 under the guardianship of the MoC.

“The repair or transformation, in any way whatsoever, of churches or other artistic and historic monuments and edifices dating before 1830 may be...accorded upon the recommendation of the Archaeological Council”<sup>1</sup>.

For those sites built after 1830, there is the Act 1469/1950<sup>2</sup> which also refers to the ‘Antiquities Act’ 5351/1932. There are different laws for ancient and contemporary monuments. Laws that have been in effect in the Greek setting stipulate that the national patrimony should be protected, thus attributing high importance to the past. In 1997 Law 2557<sup>3</sup> aimed at establishing an all-encompassing and diachronic protection and presentation of the cultural heritage. It is the first Law in Greece where issues for the cultural heritage of different periods are combined together, while the Antiquities Acts mentioned above are still in force. Emphasis is put upon the ancient period before the foundation of the Greek state and the sites dating before 1830 are part of Greek national patrimony.

The List may incorporate nominations from different periods from the States Parties to the Convention (States). Nonetheless, Greece has not nominated contemporary sites. The monuments of Greece nominated to the List may be divided in two broad sub-categories, that of prehistoric and classical antiquity and those sites related to the

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<sup>1</sup> The Antiquities Act 5351/1932, Unofficial translation prepared by UNESCO, Article 52, *Concerning the Protection of Antiquities*.

<sup>2</sup> Act 1469/1950, FEK 169 A’, (7-8-1950), *Act Concerning Protection of a Special Category of Edifices and Works of Art Dating After 1830*.

<sup>3</sup> Law 2557, FEK 271 A’, (24-12-1997).

Byzantine Empire where the Christian Orthodox religion played an important role. These categories illustrate that choices are directed from the MoC towards sites dated before 1830.

States compile tentative lists (inventory) of the proposed nominations to the List. The inventory of the properties situated within the territory of each State presents those properties which the State considers suitable for inclusion in the List. It is not exhaustive but is necessary for the World Heritage Committee to consider the nominations<sup>4</sup>. In 1985, a Greek Committee was introduced within the MoC to make a decision for the choice of Greek monuments which would be included in the List. Nominations have been made from Greece to the List since 1986 from that initial inventory although, from time to time, the proposed nomination sites are evaluated so that the nomination of specific sites to the List takes place at specific periods. From the outset of the Greek Committee's report, the criteria for the choices of the heritage sites were specified for the nominations to the List. Specific sites which are carefully chosen may be used to represent Greece on the List.

“The choice depended on a threefold consideration, that is, simultaneously historical, typological and geographical”<sup>5</sup>.

“Mystras needs to be included in the List since it consists of one of the most remarkably preserved wholes of the Byzantine epoch. It preserves the whole of the fortifications, churches, palaces, homes and streets”<sup>6</sup>.

Historical, typological and geographical elements are related to the historical period that the sites represent, the state of preservation of the sites and the area of their location. In other words, how well preserved they are and the geographical area in which they are situated play an important role for the nomination (which is presented in section 4.7 of this Chapter). In fact, the nominations which have taken place so far by Greece to the List highlight that sites from different geographical areas and historical periods are not

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<sup>4</sup> Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (UNESCO:1983), Article 11; WHC.99/2 March 1999, Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, *B. Indications to State Parties concerning nominations to the List*, Article 7.

<sup>5</sup> [YPPE], A.P. 3898, Athens, (30-5-1985), Report of the Committee that was created according to the YPPE/DIOK/A3/F70/56963/23.10.84 decision of the Minister of Culture and Sciences.

<sup>6</sup> MoC/ARX/B2/F91/50365/808, Athens, (23-11-1988), Inscription of Mystras on the World Heritage List.



equally represented. Choices are made for the presentation of Greek heritage which are far from balanced. Furthermore, the condition of preservation and the authenticity of the sites is important when their presentation takes place. Sites which are visible and recognisable and which make palpable the abstract ideas that may carry are at the forefront (Smith,1991:77). In that way, the emotional ties of the people with the sites can be more easily understood through a recognisable whole when it is presented with concrete evidence.

When sites present a whole, the sense of the imagined community can be presented more explicitly. Sites that are recognisable can be incorporated into the life of the area where they belong if they are located at their natural environment. These sites carry symbolic meaning which may be transmitted to the people. Sites that are palpable may reinforce the efforts made by state organisations to uphold the sense of distinctiveness for a population and they may be used as signifiers of a country at the international level.

It was also mentioned in the report of the Greek Committee, which was sent to the World Heritage Committee, that the presentation of sites which illustrated Greek history as clearly as possible was a priority.

“The aim of the nominations is the presentation of all the periods of Greek history so that the attribution of a sense of continuity would be accomplished”<sup>7</sup>.

The aim is the presentation of a unified Greek heritage which dates back to prehistory. The monuments of Greece which have been presented for nomination since the first nomination that took place in 1986 have not incorporated ‘all the periods’ as the report initially mentioned. On the contrary, they consist of part of the most vigorous examples in the history of the Greek state. Monuments are promoted with the aim of reinforcing a glorified past while reference to their periods of decline is not forcefully promoted.

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<sup>7</sup> [YPPE], A.P. 3898, Athens, (30-5-1985), Report of the Committee that was created according to the YPPE/DIOK/A3/F70/56963/23.10.84 decision of the Minister of Culture and Sciences.

Furthermore, it was noted in the report of the Greek Committee that sites do not need to be ‘internationally known’ in order to be nominated to the List and that they may be selected from periods of decline.

“The policy for the choice of the sites aimed at the connection of periods of prosperity (with the elevation of sites which chronologically belong to periods of decline) and also the presentation of monuments that are of equivalent importance, nonetheless, less internationally known”<sup>8</sup>.

A combination of glorious epochs with less ‘prosperous’ periods is sought. Nevertheless, it seems as if the presentation of nominations is made on the basis that sites are well known. The decisions taken for the presentation of cultural sites emphasised the role which world-renowned sites play in order for the sites to be nominated to the List and further promoted. This was clearly presented when decisions were taken within the MoC about the nomination of the sites. The choice was limited to ‘the world known’ sites.

“Many monuments with huge problems of preservation and restoration were not included in the List and the choice of the monuments was limited to the world-renowned ones”<sup>9</sup>.

The state of preservation and the fact that monuments need to be world known are elements that are also considered for the implementation of the communication activities of the MoC, and the further presentation of the sites to the public. It was mentioned in the report for the evaluation of the educational activities of the MoC related to the activities that were initiated for the celebration of the European Days of Cultural Heritage in 1996, that:

“As it is logical, the important and well-known monuments were chosen to be visited by teachers at schools. Thus, there is need to direct awareness towards the idea that monuments are not only the big and well-known ones but every

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<sup>8</sup> [YPPE], A.P. 3898, Athens, (30-5-1985), Report of the Committee that was created according to the YPPE/DIOK/A3/F70/56963/23.10.84 decision of the Minister of Culture and Sciences.

<sup>9</sup> [YPPE], (26-4-1985), Introduction for the inscription of the monuments on the World Heritage List, Concise Summary with sites of international importance from a historical, architectural or artistic point of view.

construction of historical, archaeological, aesthetic, scientific, social or technically interesting”<sup>10</sup>.

Teachers chose to visit sites that are well-known according to the report. The historical significance of the monuments and their popularity are determining factors which encourage visits by the student population. On the other hand, the MoC specifies that all properties are significant. The ideas that the MoC follow in theory are the protection and elevation of all the monuments and sites irrespective of their importance and the period that they were built. Yet, it is considered ‘logical’ when teachers visit only well-known sites.

These sites are chosen for the implementation of educational programmes by the MoC as the next quote shows. Important archaeological sites provide a motive which determines the activities of the MoC for the presentation of a glorious past and well preserved sites provide the way for this aim to be carried out.

“The choice of sites for the implementation of the educational programmes took into consideration that the sites are important archaeological ones”<sup>11</sup>.

When important archaeological sites were mentioned in the report of the educational activities of the MoC, World Heritage Sites were presented as examples. It is a fact that shows how programmes which aim at promoting the awareness of history are chosen to initiate and implement activities with a priority to specific heritage. At this point it should be borne in mind that the presentation of the World Heritage Sites and the transmission of information to future generations are measures encouraged by the Convention (UNESCO:1983, Articles 4, 5 & 17) which may determine the State’s activities. This may account for the choice of the World Heritage Sites as the sites which are a priority for presentation through educational programmes (this is discussed in the next section of the Chapter).

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<sup>10</sup> MoC, DBMM, (1996), Report on the educational activities of the academic year 1995-1996, *European Days of Cultural Heritage*, page 18.

<sup>11</sup> MoC, DBMM, (1997), Report on the educational activities of the academic year 1996-1997, *Introduction*, page 1.



The aim of the presentation of specific heritage sites is the justification of history which goes back to the depths of history. The report, which was created by the Greek Committee which chose the heritage properties of Greece, mentioned the element of continuity as a factor that was considered for the decisions made for the Greek nominations to the List.

“[The choice depended on] the specific character of the country as the cross road of civilisations and its reflection on the monuments. In particular, the Byzantine civilisation as the guardian and depository of the ancient spirit, during the Middle Ages, contributed to safeguard manuscripts that provided the source for the European Renaissance. Monuments were preserved from this period that later assimilated elements from the Frankish and Ottoman domination”<sup>12</sup>.

This quote illustrates the importance attributed to the ties with the past when sites are chosen to be presented. The intention is to show a sense of continuity with the past. It is a process that the MoC aims at promoting through the presentation of specific sites related to a glorified past of the state. Greece is part of a family of cultures acknowledging that other civilisations have left their imprint. At the same time, the intention of the MoC is to highlight how these elements were assimilated by the Greek state. In addition, the MoC seeks to create a feeling of prestige which would act as an indicator of a perceived distinctiveness. Furthermore, the concept of religion consists of a constitutive element related to Greek national identity and the significance of religion is presented in order to verify the development of the state in the passage of time.

Emphasis is put upon the importance of Byzantium for the safeguarding of Hellenism. The Greek Orthodox Church is presented as co-existing comfortably with the ancient spirit of classical ideals which it preserved during the Ottoman Empire even if the concern of the Orthodox Church was the preservation of the religion among the Orthodox populations of the Ottoman Empire (Kitromilides, 1989). Even if antiquity and the Byzantine era related to Orthodoxy entail different points of departure, the intention of the MoC is to show a continuity which exists between historical periods.

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<sup>12</sup> [YPPE], A.P. 3898, Athens, (30-5-1985), Report of the Committee that was created according to the YPPE/DIOK/A3/F70/56963/23.10.84 decision of the Minister of Culture and Sciences.

The next quotes show how Greek temples (sanctuaries) are presented as evidence of the common denominator between classical antiquity and the Byzantine Empire.

“Representative diachronic monuments are suggested for nomination to the List, which, apart from their uninterrupted aesthetic eminence, also present historical interest from the point of view of studying the continuity of the historical periods”<sup>13</sup>.

“Every sanctuary reflects a historic point of view, a personal contribution to the unified Greek civilisation. The unique importance of Greek sanctuaries upon which the later fate of Hellenism till the early Christian years depends, constitutes them not only wholes of monuments of world-renowned but symbols of humanistic values. This is the reason that sanctuaries, in particular the internationally known ones, are proposed as representative of the period of historic years”<sup>14</sup>.

Greece inscribed many ancient temples and sanctuaries on the List satisfying in that sense the representativity of the List (criterion v, Figure I). At the same time, the presentation of a sense of continuity with the past could be depicted through these nominations to the List. The issue that is raised is that the aim is the presentation of glorious periods. Even if the religion of ancient Greece is obsolete today, there is the aim of showing that the relics of pagan sanctuaries provided the basis for paleochristian temples which contributed to the Byzantine Orthodox religion. There is reference to the conversion of sites of antiquity to Christian temples. On the other hand, when reference is made to paleochristian and Byzantine monuments, the connection of these sites with antiquity is illustrated. There is promotion of a sense of continuity between historic periods.

“The workshop in which the sculptor Phidias fashioned the chryselephantine statue of Zeus was converted into a Christian church [in Olympia]”<sup>15</sup>.

“Right through the Middle Ages the monuments of the Acropolis remained virtually intact; the temples were converted into Christian churches with only minor changes”<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> [YPPE], (26-4-1985), Introduction for the inscription of the monuments on the World Heritage List, Concise Summary with sites of international importance from a historical, architectural or artistic point of view.

<sup>14</sup> [YPPE], (undated), Introduction, Monuments of Historic Years (Mainly Sanctuaries).

<sup>15</sup> MoC/F91/Olympia (1988), Format for the nomination of cultural and natural properties for inscription on the World Heritage List, *Historic Identification for Olympia*.

<sup>16</sup> [YPPE], (15-4-1986), Format for the nomination of cultural and natural properties for inscription on the World Heritage List, *Historic Identification for the Acropolis*.

“Remains of a large Basilica in the Heraion, ruins of early-Christian Basilica and cemeteries as well as parts of a settlement in the area of the ancient city, prove that Samos had not been completely deserted in the Byzantine period”<sup>17</sup>.

Elements of classical Greece became integral parts of Christian Byzantine culture (Toynbee, 1981; Browning, 1987; Chatzidakis, 1987; Norwich, 1998), yet an evaluation does not appear in their presentation that would intensively discuss the implications of history. Furthermore, when the sites that are presented to the population are recognisable wholes, popular memories attached to them may become national. The sites become sacred and are related to historic homelands (Smith, 1996a:453). Criteria (ii) and (iv) of the Convention are the most common criteria for inscription on the List among the Greek properties (as of 1999). They refer to properties that:

“exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture, monumental arts or town-planning and landscape design”<sup>18</sup>.

and

“[are] an outstanding example of a type of building or architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history”<sup>19</sup>.

The aim of presenting the specific sites is to show ‘the interchange of human values over a span of time’ and their influence in ‘significant stages in human history’. Well known monuments from antiquity and Byzantium are presented, monuments whose state of preservation permits visits and they do not only form ruins of ancient epochs (Appendix V presents the criteria of nomination of sites from Greece to the List). Greece aims at illustrating a glorious past with an eminent influence through the present use of the sites. The properties selected for inclusion in the List are the best ambassadors to do so. The role of the state is admitted as a facilitator of the national

<sup>17</sup> MoC, F91/Samos (July, 1990), Format for the nomination of cultural and natural properties for inscription on the World Heritage List, *Historic Identification for the Ancient City and Heraion Samos*.

<sup>18</sup> WHC.99/2 March 1999, Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, *c. Criteria for the inclusion of cultural properties in the World Heritage List*, Article 24 (a) ii, page 6.

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*



identity which contributes to that the citizen 'recognising' that (s)he is part of the imagined community.

"The elements that constitute the cultural heritage of a nation, mainly, objects of art and of historic significance, bear a unique testimony to its creative force... Belonging to the public domain, they establish inalienable and sacred deposits that serve as cohesive tokens of its national identity and consciousness... The sensitisation of the public is enhanced through the creation of scientific and simplified publications, catalogues, guidebooks, temporary exhibitions circulating domestically and abroad and many other appropriate manifestations which facilitate every citizen to recognise him/herself as a partner and continuator of the common collective cultural tradition"<sup>20</sup>.

Heritage is used to preserve national identity and reinforce the emotional ties of the people with the state to which they belong. The presentation of architectural heritage to a population consists of visual memory, a living proof and testimony of the existence of a civilisation (Van den Abeele,1990; Lavvas,1993). The Greek citizen should feel 'continuator' of a glorious past so that (s)he may take an active part in this imagined community which shares a common heritage. The population becomes acquainted with the sites and awareness and protection of the cultural inheritance is raised. The reinforcement of the engagement of the public with the preservation of the sites is an issue that seems to be of importance to the Greek state. This, nonetheless, shows the role of the state is to forge specific aspects which define the nation. Choices entail selection with regard to the heritage that is presented to the people (Feilden & Jokilehto,1993:100; Palmer,1999:318). The MoC as the sole proprietor of Greek heritage aims at ensuring that the popular memories which surround these sites are reinforced so that the maintenance of the state continues.

The aim is the connection of different periods through the use of religion while at the same time these sites are recognisable wholes which may illuminate the connection of the past with the present. Recognisable wholes may illustrate the presence of ideals which make palpable abstract ideas. Priority is given to ancient over more recent sites.

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<sup>20</sup> MoC, F91, (18-12-1989), Report of Dr Kakouris for the 13th Session of the Committee for the protection of the world natural and cultural heritage (Paris, 11/15-12-1989), *The Museological Viewpoint behind the Hellenic Experience*.

### 4.3 The role of people who decide the nominations of the world heritage and its presentation

Decisions are made by people in charge of the presentation of heritage in the MoC to illuminate values of the sites and their rarity while, at the same time, the past is also externally determined by the international community. Section 4.3a illustrates the influence of the World Heritage Committee on the decisions of the MoC about the heritage that is nominated to the List. Section 4.3b presents the role of the officials in the MoC. Questions about the presentation of heritage and, who decides what is of significant historical value to be preserved and presented, are raised. The definition of heritage of outstanding value was found to be influenced by the way the World Heritage Committee perceives Greece.

#### 4.3a The World Heritage Committee

Both natural and cultural sites need to be represented on the List and this is justified in the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. The balance of the nominations between natural and cultural sites is of concern.

“Efforts will be made to maintain a reasonable balance between the amount of cultural heritage and natural heritage properties nominated to the List”<sup>21</sup>.

Yet, Greece is seen as a country of cultural sites. There was reference in the report prepared by the Permanent Delegation of Greece in UNESCO, who attended the 19th Session of the World Heritage Committee, to a statement made for Greek heritage by a representative of the International Union of Conservation of Nature (IUCN), the technical advisory body of the World Heritage Committee for issues of natural heritage. It was mentioned that:

“The concept of balance between natural and cultural nominations does not apply to each country. Greece is a country with cultural monuments”<sup>22</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> WHC.99/2 March 1999, Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, *Establishment of the World Heritage List, A. General Principles*, Article 6 iii.

<sup>22</sup> Permanent Delegation of Greece in UNESCO, Paris, (5-2-1996), APF: 8.4-2/66, Report of the 19th Session of the World Heritage Committee, (Berlin, 4-9/12/95).

“Some countries were in favour of the inscription of more natural sites (Canada, Australia, Germany) while other countries (Italy, France) argued that this would not be possible”<sup>23</sup>.

Nominations from Greece related to classical antiquity are welcome in the circles of the World Heritage Committee. Greece is acknowledged as a country of ancient heritage. It could be argued that this may account for the fact that Greece nominates antiquities mainly in an effort to reinforce the connection with the past through approval in the international domain, a past that is recognised by the international community. Symbols which are different are considered as being part of a country’s identity which aims at celebrating it through the presentation of these symbols as part of national heritage.

Countries rich in natural, rather than cultural resources, are more willing to present natural heritage to the List. “New countries like the United States and Australia compensate for relatively recent human histories by celebrating their prehistoric natural heritage” (Lowenthal, 1985a:54). It is an issue of specific policy which heritage is presented. The analysis of documents provided information about the positive behaviour towards specific Greek sites by members of the World Heritage Committee who were expecting Greece to nominate specific properties. These sites were initially chosen to be nominated to the List<sup>24</sup> and the files for the specific sites were prepared for nomination to the List at that time<sup>25</sup>. The way the international community sees Greece is of importance for the nominations made. Besides, the approval and significance attributed to the Greek nominations to the List is illustrated by the way the World Heritage Committee refers to them.

“Delphi is one of the foremost sites those who drafted the World Heritage Convention must have been thinking of when on 16 November 1972 at the UNESCO General Conference, they drew up the ‘list of cultural properties of exceptional value whose handing down to future generations is a duty for all humanity’, not merely for those countries who possess the heritage”<sup>26</sup>.

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<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> [YPPE], A.P. 3898, Athens, (30-5-1985), Report of the Committee that was created according to the YPPE/DIOK/A3/F70/56963/23.10.84 decision of the Minister of Culture and Sciences.

<sup>25</sup> Permanent Delegation of Greece in UNESCO, Paris, (17-9-1987), F. 3330.1/AS1182, Meeting of ICOMOS for the harmonisation of proposed catalogues of cultural sites from the Balkans.

<sup>26</sup> ICOMOS, No 393, May, 1987, Archaeological site of Delphi.



“The absence of Mount Athos from the World Heritage List has been a periodic subject of concern for the Committee since 1978. ICOMOS is thoroughly pleased that the nomination concerning this landmark has been submitted... Mount Athos is directly and tangibly associated with the history of Orthodox Christianity which, in varying degrees, is present in more than 20 nations in the 20th century. It is no exaggeration to say that this thousand year old site, ... has retained even today its universal and exceptional significance”<sup>27</sup>.

The World Heritage Committee acknowledges and expresses the importance of the Greek nominations being presented. Greek sites were considered to be ‘absent’ from the List prior to their nomination and their inclusion in the List was taken for granted by the international community. Sites inscribed on the List from Greece are well known to the international community.

The MoC aims at nominating heritage which will not be doubted by the World Heritage Committee. The recognition of the most important historic sites is dependent on a non-Greek view of Greece, that of the international community, a stereotypical view of Greece as representing classical civilisation (Woodhouse,1969:37; Herzfeld,1982:4; Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987:2). Acceptance of sites on the List fills national glory and prestige and emphasises specific aspects of Greece. Greece is the country with the sixth highest number of nominations in the geographical area of Europe. The number of nominations within Europe (as of 1999) is presented in Figure II in the next page.

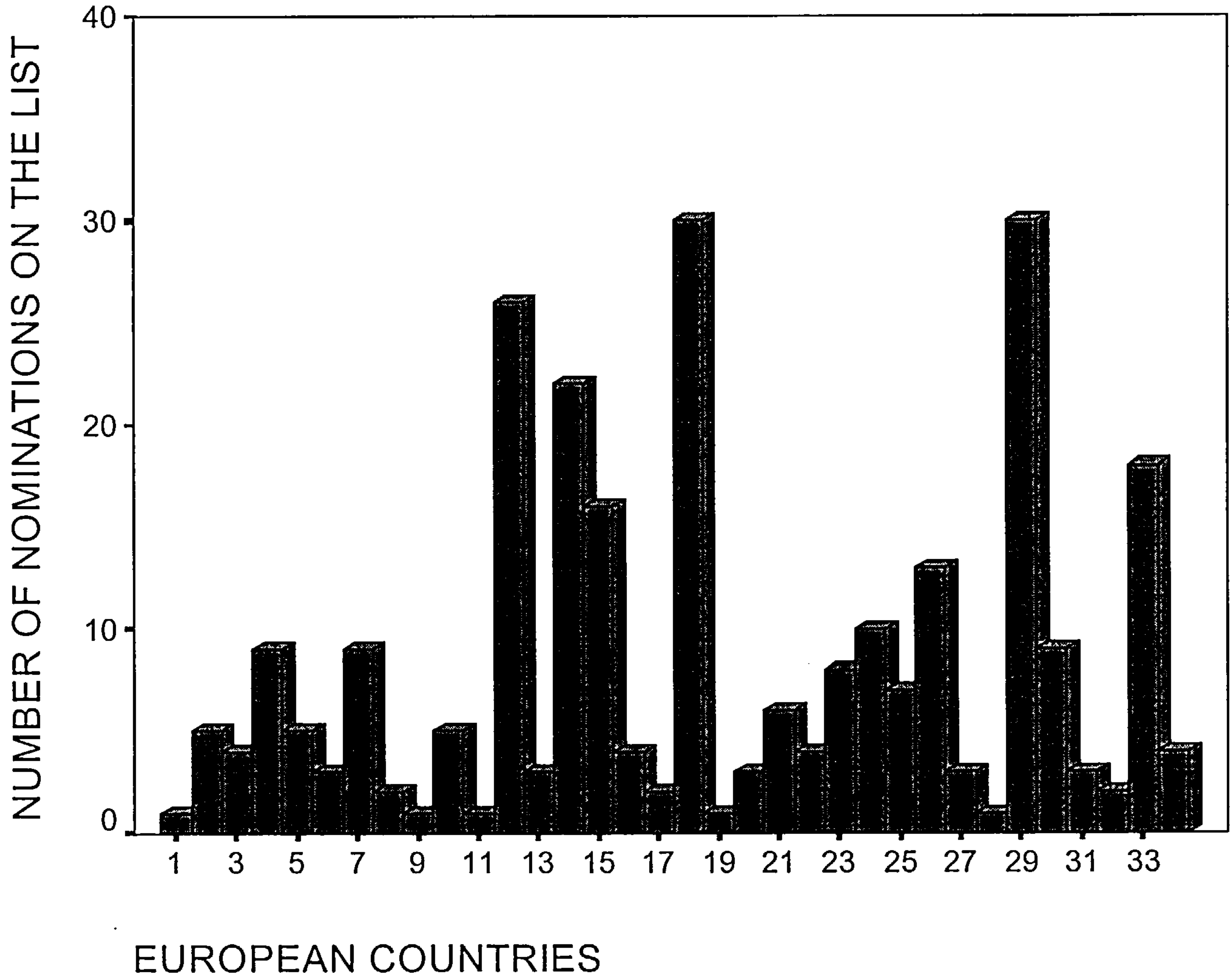
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<sup>27</sup> ICOMOS, No 454, September, 1988, Mount Athos.

**TABLE I: EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WITH NOMINATIONS**

1. <sup>28</sup>	ALBANIA	18.	ITALY
2.	AUSTRIA	19.	LUXEMBOURG
3.	BELGIUM	20.	MALTA
4.	BULGARIA	21.	NETHERLANDS
5.	CROATIA	22.	NORWAY
6.	CYPRUS	23.	POLAND
7.	CZECH REPUBLIC	24.	PORTUGAL
8.	DENMARK	25.	ROMANIA
9.	ESTONIA	26.	RUSSIAN FEDERATION
10.	FINLAND	27.	SLOVAKIA
11.	FYROM	28.	SLOVENIA
12.	FRANCE	29.	SPAIN
13.	GEORGIA	30.	SWEDEN
14.	GERMANY	31.	SWITZERLAND
15.	GREECE	32.	UKRANIE
16.	HUNGARY	33.	UNITED KINGDOM
17.	IRELAND	34.	YUGOSLAVIA

**FIGURE II: NOMINATIONS TO THE LIST WITHIN EUROPE (AS OF 1999)**



<sup>28</sup> The numbers in Table I equate to the numbers of Figure II and represent the European countries with nominations. <http://www.unesco.org/whc/heritage.htm>

The choices for the presentation of the cultural monuments of outstanding value are made by each State. It is at the discretion of each State to present specific heritage. The MoC carefully selects the nominations that take place and their presentation. Choices are made taking into consideration the guidelines set by the Convention and the possibility of the sites being visited. The Convention encourages protective measures from the States in order to inform people and commemorate the sites.

“[The duty of the State is that] of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage”<sup>29</sup>.

“The States Parties to this Convention shall endeavour by all appropriate means, and in particular by educational and information programmes, to strengthen appreciation and respect by their peoples of the cultural and natural heritage”<sup>30</sup>.

Emphasis is put on the necessity of informing the population about the world heritage, heritage that is also part of the national patrimony of the Greek state. The Convention encourages the realisation of educational programmes for the heritage sites. States show good will towards the guidelines of the Convention if they implement such activities. In that way, people may be informed with regard to the protection and preservation of the world heritage, thus the implementation of the Convention is fulfilled. Besides, the MoC intensifies the activities which aim to acquaint the public with heritage.

#### **4.3b The role of officials in the MoC in the presentation of heritage**

There was continuous reference in the documents to the role and the decision-making power of the MoC which shows that there are specific aims with regard to the presentation of the World Heritage Sites from Greece. There was also reference to the influence of the international recognition of the sites towards the implementation of the preservation projects.

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<sup>29</sup> UNESCO (1983), Article 4.

<sup>30</sup> UNESCO (1983), Article 27.



“The Greek authorities are in charge of judging the possibility and the grounds of expediency for the presentation of monuments within the framework of the conditions and guidelines set by the Convention”<sup>31</sup>.

“The MoC proposes monuments for inscription on the List where projects for their systematic preservation and restoration take place since the MoC is interested in substantial co-operation with UNESCO and the other international organisations”<sup>32</sup>.

“The world promotion of the monuments through international organisations is an important project and essential for the protection, restoration and their study”<sup>33</sup>.

“The Antiquities Service takes into consideration in its activities for the protection of the site [Delphi] its characterisation as a World Heritage Site and this effectively contributes to the success of our projects”<sup>34</sup>.

The MoC presents those sites at which projects for their restoration and preservation take place. The MoC aims at presenting the best preserved sites to the List. Greece is full of monuments and sites but it seems that restoration works take place for the best preserved and world known sites. The issue that may be raised concerns the power which officials have to determine the projects for specific sites. World Heritage Sites are a high priority for implementation of projects in relation to other Greek monuments and the MoC is in charge of judging the grounds of expediency for their presentation. European Archaeological Schools excavated and contributed to the development of the areas a long time ago (this is an issue presented in the Chapter about the analysis of the Greek National Tourism Organisation’s documents, section 7.6).

In addition, nominations to the List provide a political advantage to authorities who are in favour of preservation because they get international support for their views (Prott,1991) and agreement within the state about projects (as the last quote mentioned above shows). Nominations of sites to the List by the MoC may strengthen decisions made for heritage’s preservation while co-operation with the Antiquities Services is required for the implementation of activities related to the sites.

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<sup>31</sup> Permanent Delegation of Greece in UNESCO, Paris, (5-2-1996), APF 8.6-7/AS70, Proposal of inscription of Asclepieion of Kos on the World Heritage List.

<sup>32</sup> MoC/ARX/A2/F91/7718/500 k’ 6727/425, Athens, (10-3-1988), World Heritage Committee.

<sup>33</sup> MoC/ARX/B2/F91/54689/861, Athens, (20-12-1988), Inscription of Moni of Daphni and Hossios Loukas on the World Heritage List.

<sup>34</sup> MoC, Delphi, F.13/8/173, (26-2-1991), Information about the archaeological site of Delphi.

“The Antiquities Services’ availability of staff plays a vital role for the organisation and implementation of the educational programmes”<sup>35</sup>.

The Greek state organised activities for the celebration of the 25 years of the Convention in 1997 which also aimed at “strengthening the ties between the Antiquities Services and archaeologists of the MoC”<sup>36</sup>. Antiquities Services implement the decisions made in the Central Office of the MoC and delays may take place. Communication activities are organised by the MoC to present heritage and the contribution of the Antiquities Services is needed. The above mentioned quote may also imply that the ties are not sufficiently strong and the Central Office may aim at initiating activities which would strengthen relations at the regional level.

Another example, related to the preparation of the file for the nomination of the World Heritage Site of Vergina to the List, may also provide evidence of the centralist approach according to which activities are implemented which need to get the approval of the Central Office of the MoC. Vergina was inscribed on the List in 1996 while the procedures for its nomination initially started in 1992. It was then that disagreements were intensified between Greece and FYROM over the historicity of cultural and ethnic Macedonian identity. The Central Office of the MoC asked the Antiquities Service for the preparation of the file in order for the site to be nominated to the List and the Antiquities Service had to prepare the file at short notice for approval by the Central Office of the MoC but it was ‘delayed’<sup>37</sup>.

The need to strengthen the relations between the Central Office of the MoC and the Antiquities Services is of paramount importance for the implementation of administrative activities and activities which reach the public. When communication between Antiquities Services is implemented, co-ordinated activities may reach the public. Thus, the MoC aims at rehabilitating the relations with the Antiquities Services so that activities for the presentation of heritage take place. This is an aim that illustrates

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<sup>35</sup> MoC, DBMM, (1997), Report on the educational activities of the academic year 1996-1997, *Introduction*, page 1.

<sup>36</sup> MoC, DBMM, ARX/B2/F93/ Athens, (13-6-1997), Note to the Minister of Culture for the 25th anniversary of the signing of the UNESCO agreement on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.

<sup>37</sup> MoC /ARX/A2/F91/44363/3355, Athens, (19-9-1995).

the centralist point according to which decisions are implemented even if the Presidential Decree on the 15th of January 1980 empowered Antiquities Services<sup>38</sup>.

Even the role of the Greek Orthodox Church may influence decisions taken for the implementation of decisions for the World Heritage Sites and in particular for Byzantine heritage. The power of the Church is present within the Greek state where Orthodoxy is recognised by the Greek Constitution as the religion of the people (Kourvetaris & Dobratz, 1987; Georgiadou, 1995) and thus provides the Church with secular power.

With regard to the World Heritage Committee's concerns about the threats to the integrity of Mount Athos after its nomination, it is illustrated that the Church may advise the MoC for religious sites:

“Co-operation with the Holy Community of Mount Athos is necessary because the Community's opinion is of significance”<sup>39</sup>.

The power that the MoC has is not unlimited. The implementation of decisions may be influenced by agents and associations involved in the preservation and promotion of heritage sites within and outside the operation of the MoC. This leads to a confinement of the activities of the MoC while it illustrates the will of the Greek Orthodox Church to exert influence.

#### 4.4 Economic values

The MoC is in charge of the protection and elevation of Greek cultural heritage. The inventory that had been created by the Greek Committee in 1985, included the sanctuary of Eleusis for nomination among the other sanctuaries that Greece has already nominated to the List (Olympia, Delphi, Epidaurus, Delos, Samos)<sup>40</sup>. It is interesting to note that Eleusis has not been nominated although the others sanctuaries of the inventory have been included. The fact that the sanctuary of Eleusis was not included in

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<sup>38</sup> Presidential Decree No 16, FEK A' 8, (15-1-1980), Article 1.

<sup>39</sup> MoC/ARX/B2/F21/44416/960, Athens, (15-9-1994), State of conservation of Mount Athos.

<sup>40</sup> [YPPE], A.P. 3898, Athens, (30-5-1985), Report of the Committee that was created according to the YPPE/DIOK/A3/F70/56963/23.10.84 decision of the Minister of Culture and Sciences.



the List is a contrasting case with regard to the policy followed by the MoC for nominating sanctuaries to the List. It should be noted that the site is situated very close to the Greek cement factory Hayiet Heracles and the Greek shipyards and the inclusion of the site would mean that zones of protection would be needed that would influence the operation of the factory and shipyards although the MoC managed to confine further development of the industrial activities in 1981 and 1982 (Loukaki,1995:221). Such an example may show that different factors are considered and choices are carefully made.

Another example which may illustrate the role of economic values is the site of Delphi. The MoC is in charge of the decisions made for archaeological sites, yet, in the case of the construction of an aluminium plant in the area of Aghia Ephimia Fokidas, that is very close to the World Heritage Site of Delphi, it was accused on the one hand of restricting the development of the area while on the other hand, it was confining the boundaries of the protection of Delphi's surrounding to serve economic benefits. In the end, it was decided after the intervention of the international community that the plant would not be built in the area<sup>41</sup>.

Law 2557 "Institutions, Measures and Activities of the Cultural Development" came into force in December 1997. The creation of the Association for the Elevation and Presentation of Greek Cultural Heritage initiated in Law 2557 may illustrate the tendency of the MoC to give a more commercial essence to the presentation of cultural heritage. The MoC aims at presenting cultural heritage in an organised way with the creation of an Association which is in charge of presenting the heritage of Greece. The aim of this Association is the presentation of cultural heritage and the cultural potential of the country within a framework which will be associated with the objectives of the MoC but will function under the rules of private economy. This may be successful through the production, publication and promotion of books, magazines and other print material, audio-visual, organisation of conferences and congresses, all related to the presentation of cultural heritage. Whatever is produced by the Association may be

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<sup>41</sup> Permanent Delegation of Greece in UNESCO, Paris, (8-9-86), 3330 8/1313, Nomination of Delphi to the World Heritage List.

offered and purchased from the national museums and the sales points of the Archaeological Receipts Fund (ARF) for the promotion of cultural heritage<sup>42</sup>.

A letter sent to the MoC by the Association of Greek Archaeologists was related to Law 2557<sup>43</sup>. Archaeologists disagreed with the implementation of Law 2557 on the grounds that it diverted the stewardship of the cultural resources from a state obligation to an object of exploitation of private associations of profiteering character. The initiatives implemented by professional private bodies may increase the number of ways heritage is presented and initiate the adoption of techniques that were not previously used.

The other side of this intense disagreement by the archaeologists with the creation of the Association for the Elevation and Presentation of Greek Cultural Heritage may imply the unwillingness of the archaeologists to hand over part of their power, related to the management of the sites, to Associations other than that of Archaeologists. It could be argued that the maintenance of the power that archaeologists have with regard to the management of the sites is an issue of concern. It was also mentioned in the letter that the scientists and archaeologists are separated from the sites and the museums and the Association of Greek Archaeologists emphasised their ability and expertise to offer their services in the MoC in a better way than private Associations might do.

The fund raising potential is another opportunity that exists for the World Heritage Sites in relation to applications for financial assistance made in the international community. The World Heritage Site of Apollo at Bassae<sup>44</sup> or the Acropolis<sup>45</sup> provide examples of the willingness of the international community to support projects for these sites financially.

The interplay of the national and international significance that exists for heritage of outstanding value may be exemplified with the site of the Acropolis. In the case of the

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<sup>42</sup> Law 2557, FEK 320 A', (24-12-1997), Article 6, *Promotion and elevation of cultural heritage-Museum policy-Scientific agents*, §23. This paragraph complements Article 10 of the Presidential Decree No 941/1977, FEK 320 A', (17-10-1977).

<sup>43</sup> Association of Greek Archaeologists, Athens, (9-6-1997), General Assembly of the Association of Greek Archaeologists on the 9th June, 1997.

<sup>44</sup> Permanent Delegation of Greece in UNESCO, Paris, (7-7-1986), 3330.1/AS1124, Epicurius.

<sup>45</sup> UNESCO Document, (10-1-1977), For the Safeguarding of the Acropolis.

Acropolis, world-wide campaigns have taken place. The campaign was initiated in 1977 with the appeal of the Director General of UNESCO aiming at encouraging the international community

“to make a common cause in order to save cultural treasures which, although they belong to the heritage of Greece, are also part of the shared inheritance of mankind”<sup>46</sup>.

This is a quote which clearly states that Greek heritage is not only Greek but of international significance. Money had been collected by the international community and Greece was to inscribe a plaque indicating that money was gathered by the international community. However, the Greek state informed the international community that there already was an annual subsidisation by the Greek state and therefore it would be no longer necessary for UNESCO to seek additional financial contributions<sup>47</sup>. The ratification of the Convention acknowledges that the sites inscribed on the List are World Heritage Sites. This is a point that shows the dual nature of Greek heritage as a signifier of national and international significance.

Another example in the documents is that of Mount Athos. With regard to the World Heritage Site of Mount Athos, when the World Heritage Committee sent a questionnaire to be completed for the World Heritage Sites and tourism it was mentioned that

“Mount Athos consists of a self-governed area of the Greek state (Article 208 of the Constitution) and the entrance to male visitors is approved after the written permission of the Holy Community. The aim of the visitors who may stay at the monastery free of charge, is the worship, the participation in the prayer and the spiritual concentration. The meaning of tourism is definitely contrary to the religious and spiritual character of those controlled and limited visits in Mount Athos”<sup>48</sup>.

The MoC nominated Mount Athos to the List, a fact that raises its appeal to visitors. Nevertheless, the Greek Orthodox Church may decide on issues related to the monasteries and churches. The rules of Mount Athos determine that permission needs to

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<sup>46</sup>ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Permanent Delegation of Greece in UNESCO, (27-10-1992), No200/8.2.3.

<sup>48</sup>MoC/ARX/B2/F91/58343/1097, (15-12-1992), Questionnaire for the World Heritage List and Tourism (Mount Athos).



be sought before visits are allowed to the monasteries, visits that are only allowed to men. The economic values may not be of interest in this case to the MoC. The MoC nominated this site as a significant site of Orthodoxy. Issues of national aggrandisement through the nomination to the List may be implied (Ashworth & Tunbridge,1990:30). This shows the significance attributed by a state organisation such as the MoC to relate heritage to issues of nationality as a priority. Although the MoC's activities are restrained with regard to Mount Athos, its presentation as a World Heritage Site nominated by the Greek state confers status and dignity but also relates Greece to Orthodoxy.

The economic value may not be restricted to a financial value although revenue may accrue. The management of heritage resources under conservation activities also consists of an economic value. With regard to world heritage, the functional value of the resource is related to economic value and initiation of interpretative activities may take place (Feilden & Jokilehto,1993:19). Theatres provide an example where their functional value may be illustrated through performing arts.

“The uniqueness of the archaeological site of Asclepieion is the theatre of Epidaurus... the best preserved theatre of the ancient world. Performances of ancient drama take place even today”<sup>49</sup>.

Present day use of the sites is sought through their continuing use in the passage of time. The further aim of the presentation of heritage resources goes beyond the commercial values.

#### 4.5 Educational values

Educational programmes are organised for sites of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquity, Byzantine and Post-Byzantine monuments and are also initiated for Contemporary monuments<sup>50</sup>. The Department of Educational Programmes for Prehistoric and Classical

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<sup>49</sup> MoC, F 91, (undated), Monuments of Historic Years, *Epidaurus*.

<sup>50</sup> MoC, Directorate of Contemporary Monuments, Kalamata, (April 1997), Report on the educational activities.

Monuments aims to present the sites to the student population and it is in charge of the presentation of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquity.

“The Department of Educational Programmes deals with the design, organisation and presentation of archaeological educational reports, activities and events in museums and archaeological sites of the country, to schools, aiming at reinforcing the social, educational role of museums and the awareness of the public with regard to issues of cultural heritage”<sup>51</sup>.

Educational programmes for the student population are intensified and function on a permanent basis. Younger generations are the continuators of the state. Awareness of history is the main objective that the MoC aims at fulfilling through the presentation of heritage sites. In that way, messages about the cultural values of the sites are presented while preservation measures are illustrated. With regard to the educational programmes for the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine monuments, they are designed and presented in the wider framework of the policy of the MoC that aims at; the revival of the museums and the archaeological sites; closer communication between Antiquities Services and the local community; incorporation of cultural heritage into contemporary life and inspiration for respect of cultural heritage<sup>52</sup>. It was mentioned for the educational programmes related to Byzantine heritage:

“The educational programmes are within the framework of the policy for raising the awareness of youth in aspects of Byzantine heritage through their acquaintance with the monument and the surrounding setting and their participation in a series of interpretative activities. The uniqueness of the programmes lies in the way of approaching the historical information and knowledge. All the senses participate, the school team observes the buildings, listens to Byzantine music in the church and tastes the food of the monks. Fantasy is activated and moments of the monastic life are experienced when students ring the bell and eat at the Holy Table. The connection with the arts is direct, the students try their artistic skills by creating their own mosaics”<sup>53</sup>.

The MoC aims to raise awareness about sites to student populations while providing information at a level complementary to that of school. Putting emphasis upon cultural heritage has a pedagogic purpose through key references that are made about the

<sup>51</sup> Law 2557, FEK 271 A', (24-12-1997), Article 6, *Promotion and elevation of cultural heritage-Museum policy-Scientific agents*, §23 aa.

<sup>52</sup> MoC, DBMM, (1998), Report on the educational activities of the academic year 1997-1998.

<sup>53</sup> MoC, DBMM, (1995), Report on the educational activities of the academic year 1994-1995.

influence of the sites on the history of art, its architectural and artistic significance, activities that aim at providing an understanding for Byzantine heritage so that students take pride in their culture and become acquainted with it. Furthermore, effort is made to ensure that sites become part of the contemporary life. Nevertheless, it should be considered that the MoC is a mechanism which may contribute to the mobilisation of the will of the people towards 'awareness' and 'acquaintance' with the monuments.

The attraction of attention is important so that students are informed in an entertaining way. Information is communicated to them through their participation and involvement, a process which makes them become motivated towards a greater understanding. The point that is raised is that these activities have been initiated for the important archaeological sites among which the World Heritage Sites have a prominent role. Another point is that the acquaintance with the monument is a process initiated by an institutional mechanism that aims at ensuring the presentation of cultural heritage to the student population. Examples of the aims of the educational programmes were presented in the documents and World Heritage Sites were found to be a priority:

“Among the aims is the acquaintance of the students with the environment of the site, the approach to the history of the site, the development of observation”<sup>54</sup>.

“The archaeologists discuss with the students the diachronic use of the site, the interventions that have taken place. The students construct mosaics with the help of a special preserver”<sup>55</sup>.

Students learn about the heritage of their homeland and get pride in the culture of the state. Cultural heritage is not confined to the description of architectural or artistic creation. Communication activities aim at incorporating sites into the life of the community. Archaeologists' effort is to show how cultural heritage is part of the area where it is located. The educational value of the sites aims at illustrating a connection between the everyday life of the people and the sites.

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<sup>54</sup> MoC, DBMM, (1996), Report on the educational activities of the academic year 1995-1996, *Discovering Mystras*.

<sup>55</sup> MoC, DBMM, (1998), Report on the educational activities of the academic year 1997-1998, *The secrets of a monument (Moni of Daphni)*.



It is typical to note that these educational programmes are initiated and implemented by archaeologists and not by teachers. The aims and the operationalisation of the educational programmes are presented to the teachers by archaeologists who are informed about activities which can be initiated and are related to the sites. In addition, teachers make the introduction in the classroom about the attendance to the educational programmes<sup>56</sup>. Archaeologists initiate and implement the educational programmes which is dependent, importantly, on the availability of staff of each Antiquity Service in order to initiate the educational programmes to the sites (as it was cited in section 4.3b). Besides, it may show the way in which the people in the MoC perceive their role (it is discussed in Chapter 5, section 5.3b).

#### 4.6 Social values

Sites that are nominated to the List have unique characteristics and consist of irreplaceable treasures for people to see and admire. The aim is to integrate heritage sites into the life of the community through communication activities which take place and aim at presenting their values. Sites nominated to the List and the activities initiated for them entail social values. The state of preservation of the site plays an important role for it to be incorporated into the life of the community. The MoC aims at promoting sites that are well preserved and they are related to traditional social activities.

“The preservation of the architectural heritage needs to depend on active measures of protection, so that we not only speak about ‘remains’ of the Byzantine art in Greece but of living organisms that are incorporated in the urban planning framework of contemporary Greece in a harmonious coexistence of the old with the new”<sup>57</sup>.

“The educational programme [of Nea Moni] aims at the connection of the students with the local tradition and the monuments of the island, their

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<sup>56</sup> Law 2557, FEK 271 A', (24-12-1997), Article 6, *Promotion and elevation of cultural heritage-Museum policy-Scientific agents*, §23 cc, dd; MoC, DBMM, (1995), Report on the educational activities of the academic year 1994-1995; MoC, DBMM, (1996), Report on the educational activities of the academic year 1995-1996; MoC, DBMM, (1997), Report on the educational activities of the academic year 1996-1997.

<sup>57</sup>[YPPE], (26-4-1985), Introduction for the inscription of the monuments on the World Heritage List, Concise Summary with sites of international importance from a historical, architectural or artistic point of view.

aesthetic cultivation, the approach to the art of the mosaic and their familiarisation with the techniques of its construction”<sup>58</sup>.

Sites are presented as continuing to have importance in contemporary Greek life. Techniques which promote the active participation of the students towards heritage can be used to teach local history (Prentice & Prentice,1989:146). The term ‘remains’ that was used in the first quote can be contrasted to the term ‘living organisms’ of the same quote; it could be argued that ways of incorporating the sites to the framework of contemporary Greece are sought. The aim seems to be that of giving meaning to the sites. Interpretation is sought which may show that the meaning of the site is related to developing and changing ideas. In that way, sites can be used to convey messages that they also reflect the values of a particular epoch. A parallel aim may be the presentation of the continuity of epochs where different chronological periods are brought together with the aim of showing a sense of continuity of the past with the present. In that way, ideals that sites are thought to imply are brought forth in contemporary time. Then, the issue that is raised is that the meaning of the site is decided by the people involved with its presentation. The interpretations of each epoch and judgements of the value of cultural heritage sites may change over time (Feilden & Jokilehto,1993:17).

Raising the awareness of Greek people for Greek heritage is a way to reinforce the sense of belonging to a state. Programmes which take place in search of historical accuracy, aesthetic beauty or even entertainment, can contribute to popular agreement on the decisions made (Ashworth & Tunbridge,1990:28-29). With regard to the exhibition organised for the Byzantine World Heritage Sites in 1997 objectives that were identified from the presentation of heritage were the following:

“The familiarity of the public with the sites of their municipality and those from other regions of Greece. The broadening of the informal co-operation with the military forces of Greece so that soldiers, who mainly serve on the borders of the country, visit the national patrimony and become familiar with the monuments and the history of the area. The acquaintance of the public with

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<sup>58</sup> MoC, DBMM, (1995), Report on the educational activities of the academic year 1994-1995, *Nea Moni and its Mosaics*.

the objectives of UNESCO, with its successful Convention and the idea of the global cultural heritage”<sup>59</sup>.

Presenting heritage of outstanding value to the public raises feelings of prestige while information about the World Heritage Convention is also provided and people are informed about the coexistence of different cultures. Besides, the MoC aims at reinforcing elements of national identity to the people through the presentation of the national patrimony of Greece. Greek male citizens are obliged to join the armed forces and they are the defence system of Greece. Emphasis is put on the visit of the World Heritage Sites by soldiers. The army has been a mechanism used since the foundation of the Greek state (Kitromilides, 1989:163) where soldiers moved around the Greek state so that they could become aware of the borders of the state, a process that serves to create the awareness of the imagined community. The issue that needs to be raised is the degree of intensification of such presentation for the ‘border’ areas that implies the political values that heritage may entail.

#### 4.7 Political values

Political decisions exist within the presentation of World Heritage Sites. The political values which are associated with sites may determine decisions taken for their further elevation. The temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae was the first site nominated to the List from Greece in 1986. A quote is mentioned related to the text presented by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), an advisory body of the World Heritage Committee for cultural properties, in the justification report:

“The first archaeological investigation in 1812 was profitable but equally prejudicial for the integrity of the site. The discovery of the Ionic frieze’s 22 sculptured plates ultimately divested the site of these remarkable sculptures, which were acquired in 1814 by order of the future King George IV of England and transferred to the British museum along with the Corinthian capital”<sup>60</sup>.

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<sup>59</sup> MoC, DBMM, ARX/B2/F93/ Athens, (13-6-1997), Note for the Minister of Culture for the 25th anniversary of the signing of the UNESCO agreement on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.

<sup>60</sup> ICOMOS, No 392, April, 1986, Temple of Apollo Epicurius, Bassae.



The MoC used a similar text to justify the nomination of the temple of Apollo Epicurius<sup>61</sup>. Nevertheless, the language used by the MoC was stronger and brought out the example of the Elgin Marbles, an issue that was not directly related to the temple of Apollo Epicurius. It was stated:

“This appropriation of the Ionic frieze gave CHR. MULLER cause for a strong protest (1821), characterising the fact as an act of vandalism and comparing it to those of Lord Elgin”<sup>62</sup>.

This latter sentence was not mentioned in the ICOMOS justification. An international nomination offered ground to the Greek state to make political statements for the return of the Elgin Marbles. Greek heritage and especially the Elgin Marbles have a dual nature of both Greek and global importance (Lowenthal,1998:244). Countries aim at presenting their heritage at international level, heritage that celebrates their national identity and this is where priority and emphasis is put on by the Greek state. It was also stated by the Permanent Delegation of Greece in the headquarters of UNESCO that decisions for the presentation of heritage by States take place on the grounds that heritage confirms issues of national identity but entails political choices.

“The perceptions of the states differ towards the way of presenting their culture since it is an issue of specific political policy with regard to the monuments that countries nominate. Western Europeans had a tendency to underestimate Byzantine and Post-Byzantine monuments while priority was given to cathedrals. It would be important for our country to nominate sites that fill in the gaps in the List while the nominations of the Greek sites are promoted (classical, Byzantine and contemporary ones)... the role of the ancient, classical Hellenic civilisation as well as the Byzantine one and their influence (colonies, monastery dependencies) had been very profound in all the Mediterranean basin”<sup>63</sup>.

Periods of vigorous and triumphant epochs for the Greek state are presented. It is at the discretion of each State to present heritage that is considered as being of outstanding

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<sup>61</sup> [YPPE], (5-2-1986), Format for the nomination of cultural and natural properties for inscription on the World Heritage List, *Historic Identification for the temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae*.

<sup>62</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> Permanent Delegation of Greece in UNESCO, Paris, (6-2-1988), F.3330.1/AS1182, Note of the first meeting of the Working Group of the World Heritage Committee. Prott (1991:10-11) referred to the aim of states for presenting heritage that is most significant for each civilisation to the List. He mentioned the presence of ruins of Roman towns for the Mediterranean and castles and cathedrals for West Europe.

value. Contemporary sites have not been nominated to the List from Greece. World heritage was described by Pocock (1997:267) as the “sum of scrutinised national heritages”. It is typical to note what was written in the file prepared by the MoC for the inscription of the archaeological site of Vergina in 1996 when intensification of the presentation of Greek history in relation to the archaeological site of Vergina took place since disagreements have been created with the neighbouring country of FYROM.

“Aigai constitutes the oldest and most important urban centre in northern Greece and promises to provide important information about the culture, history and society of the ancient Macedonians, the Greek border race that preserved age-old traditions until late Hellenistic times and carried Greek culture to the outer limits of the ancient world”<sup>64</sup>.

“The inscription of this site [Vergina] on the List is an excellent opportunity to raise awareness at local, regional and national level about the World heritage values of the site and the importance of the Convention in national and international heritage conservation”<sup>65</sup>.

The decision of the MoC for the nomination of the site of Vergina to the List in the period following the disagreement may not be characterised coincidence. A nomination to the List by the Greek State would indirectly verify the site of Vergina related to Greece. The bilateral relations between Greece and FYROM may be related to the way emphasis is put on Macedonians as ‘the Greek border race’. That raises issues of the historicity of Macedonia, a controversial issue per se (Danforth,1994; Mouliou,1996). Political decisions emerge.

With regard to the World Heritage Site of Heraion situated in the island of Samos, it was characteristically mentioned that:

“the inscription of our important border monument is a success for the Ministry”<sup>66</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> MoC/426/14-2-1996, Format for the nomination of cultural and natural properties for inscription on the World Heritage List, *Justification for Inclusion of the Archaeological Site of Vergina*.

<sup>65</sup> WHC/74/513/ASW, (28-1-1997), The inscription of ‘The Archaeological Site of Vergina (C780)’ on the World Heritage List.

<sup>66</sup> Permanent Delegation of Greece in UNESCO, Paris, (24-2-1994), A.P.F: 8.2.3-293/AS152, Forwarding of a parchment for the inscription of Samos on the World Heritage List of UNESCO.

The monument becomes 'border' because of its location in a border island. It is described as 'our' monument which clearly differentiates it from the monuments of the 'other' neighbouring countries and the 'other' nominations. The way the 'imagined community' is presented for Greece is specified within certain borders, "beyond which lie other nations" (Anderson, 1991:7). Eight out of the sixteen nominations of Greece to the List come from areas in the borders of Greece. It should also be mentioned that the use of the possessive pronoun 'our' presents the sense of belonging to the imagined community but also illustrates the way curators and people in charge of the protection of heritage perceive it. The documents which were searched were not intended for reading by the public nonetheless the sense of belonging to the community is strong among the archaeologists themselves. Their own ideologies towards heritage sites are presented through a quote like this. Nonetheless, it should be also borne in mind that these people represent the official state.

Monuments from specific areas seem to be a priority for nomination to the List and presented especially if they are situated on Northern and Eastern Greek borders which is the 'nationally sensitive arc'. There are specific geographical areas which are presented as 'sensitive'. The geographical area is a factor which may also determine the choice of monuments where there are monuments of equivalent importance to be chosen for nomination to the List. The nominations from Greece are far from balanced on a geographical level. Many choices for presentation of sites from Greece to the List are made from sites located on islands of the Aegean Sea and Northern Greece. National identity is forged to fulfil political reasons associated with the borders of the state.

"The origin of monuments from the broader Northern Greek area renders them automatically as the most suitable in relation to those from other geographical regions of our country"<sup>67</sup>.

When the term 'cultural landscapes' was adopted by the Convention (it is a term that is presented in the Introduction of the thesis concerning the combined works of nature and of human), certain landscapes were identified which might be suitable for nomination to the List. The Permanent Delegation of Greece in the headquarters of UNESCO

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<sup>67</sup> MoC, A1DF. 3330/35/AS6171, Athens, (5-1-1988), Meeting of ICOMOS for the harmonisation of proposed catalogues of cultural sites from the Balkans.



suggested that the inventory of cultural landscapes should be representative of the north part of Greece.

“cultural landscapes from the sensitive area of Macedonia and Thrace need to be presented. North Greece is absent from the inventory with the exception of Zagorochoria [traditional villages in the northern part of Greece]”<sup>68</sup>.

The choice of the cultural landscapes took into consideration specific representations from specific areas of Greece. The socio-political environment is brought out to determine the selections made over heritage. Disputes with neighbouring countries of Greece in the north borders of the country (Danforth,1994:40-41) have as a result that emphasis is put on the presentation of properties on the List from border areas. The ratification of the Convention sets the conditions for safeguarding heritage since it automatically protects monuments in case of armed conflicts. This provides an explanation for the emphasis put upon monuments that are close to borders, those that belong to the sensitive area of Macedonia and Thrace, areas that are also described as ‘sensitive’ by the Greek National Tourism Organisation (cited in Chapter 7).

The case of the Northern borders is not the exception. Another example was illustrated by the fact that when the World Heritage Committee requested a contemporary aerial photograph of the area of Samos as a supplementary document for the file with the nomination of Pythagoreion and Heraion of Samos, the Greek point was that

“aerial photography is impossible to obtain since the area of Samos is a military zone”<sup>69</sup>.

Disputes between Greece and Turkey in the South-Eastern borders of the Aegean (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987:110; Clogg,1992:174; Mouliou,1996) may explain the nomination of properties from the Southern borders of Greece and the presentation of heritage from these areas. The case of the inscription of the Medieval city of Rhodes on the List, situated in the island of Rhodes on the South-Eastern borders of Greece with Turkey, consisted of another example where the issue of the geographical significance

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<sup>68</sup> Permanent Delegation of Greece in UNESCO, Paris, (10-9-1993), 8.2.3-1785/AS 931, Inscription of unique cultural landscapes on the World Heritage List of UNESCO.

<sup>69</sup> Permanent Delegation of Greece in UNESCO, Paris, (15-7-1991), No la-1397.

of the properties was brought forth. A letter sent to the MoC for the nomination of the Medieval City of Rhodes by the municipality of Rhodians stated that:

“The nomination is fulfilled in such a crucial period for the sensitive area of the East Aegean where Rhodes is situated. There is deliberate cultivation of tension that may threaten the safeguard and balance of peace in our borders that are borders of the whole Europe”<sup>70</sup>.

Tensions in the Aegean Sea where Rhodes is located exist between Greece and Turkey. There are explicitly political statements with regard to the role of Europe and the need to safeguard Greek borders as part of the South-Eastern borders of the European Union. Greece is a full member of the European cultural community and the borders of its territory are also perceived as Europe’s borders.

The Convention does not explicitly mention in the guidelines the obligation of the States for World Heritage properties in case of armed conflict. Nonetheless, declarations were adopted by the World Heritage Committee in General Assemblies and there was reference to such obligation of States (Wheatley,1997). The Convention is an additional measure for the protection of heritage to that of the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Heritage in case of Armed Conflict of the 8th of July, 1954.

Besides, it is no coincidence that decisions for the implementation of educational programmes at the sites of Greece take into consideration whether sites are important and whether they are situated on the frontier and the borders or remote areas of Greece<sup>71</sup>. These activities aim at reinforcing the existence of the heritage property of Greece, providing information for the sites and raising awareness about their preservation. These are issues that are decided by those people who may popularise elements of national identity depending on the scientific evidence from archaeology and history while choices made are not value free.

The nomination of the site of Olympia to the List is another example that shows how the presence of ideals may be mobilised by the Greek state to justify its plans to host the

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<sup>70</sup> MoC, F91/ Demos Rhodou/4100/ 20-7-1990.

<sup>71</sup> MoC, DBMM, (1997), Report on the educational activities of the academic year 1996-1997, *Introduction*, page 1.

Olympic Games while at the same time aiming at serving the connecting bonds between a glorious past and the reinforcement of contemporary national identity. It was mentioned in the file for the nomination of the site of Olympia:

“It was at the Panhellenic Sanctuary of Olympia, where the Olympic Games were held every four years, that the noble ideals of fair competition and the peaceful coexistence of peoples were first conceived. Greeks gathered there in ancient times irrespective of city or tribe”<sup>72</sup>.

The ideals of fair competition brought ancient Greeks together under the religious character of the Games. It could be argued that the aim of such presentation is the enforcement of an imagined community for ancient Greece based on religious grounds that is used to join different political units together. In that way, cultural aspects such as religion are used to illustrate a connecting bond between the different political city-states of ancient Greece which are joined together under Hellenism (Augustinos,1989:27; Smith,1991:47).

The presence of these ideals in contemporary life are also used as manifestations for presenting eternal ideals. The coexistence of political and economic returns should be also considered. The inscription of the heritage site of Olympia on the List took place at the time when Greece aimed at hosting the Olympic Games of 1996. Greece aimed at presenting itself as the most suitable country to host the Olympic Games which were celebrating the 100 years of their modern opening in 1996. Nonetheless, the international community was not willing to hand over the organisation of the 1996 Olympic Games to Greece.

Greece will host the 2004 Olympic Games. Articles showing the enthusiasm of Greek people in hosting the Olympic Games were written in the press (Rodda,1997:20). Nonetheless, the president of the International Olympic Committee, Juan Antonio Samaranch has drawn the attention to the Greek Organising Committee over their financial management due to the delays caused in decisions being made (Mackay,2000:35). The use of ideals that have not faded in time is related to specific

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<sup>72</sup> MoC/F91/Olympia (1988), Format for the nomination of cultural and natural properties for inscription on the World Heritage List, *Historic Identification for Olympia*.



tangible heritage and accommodates the role of the state to promote the imagined community while at the same time other purposes associated with political or economic decisions may exist.

#### 4.8 Conclusion

A significant difference exists in legislation in relation to the protection and preservation of historic monuments, (this is what monuments dating before 1830 are called under legislation), and those dating after 1830 (which are called contemporary monuments). The sites that are promoted to the List are mainly related to classical antiquity and Byzantine heritage and there is an absence of nominations of contemporary sites by Greece to the List. Classical antiquity sites that the MoC has nominated to the List are pagan sanctuaries which are explicitly related to the concept of pagan religion, as was found in the MoC's documents. The issue of interest that is raised from this finding is how the cultural element of religion is used by the MoC to present transitions from one period to another for these sites as if there is connection and continuity in the passage of time. When the World Heritage Sites are presented at national or international level, it was found in the primary sources that religion is a significant issue that is emphasised both for classical and Byzantine sites. In fact, religion is used as the common denominator between different periods in a perceived unbroken continuum although classical ideals and Byzantine tradition depended on incompatible points of departure.

Our concern nonetheless is not whether there is any link between different periods in relation to the technical value of the sites based on archaeological research and in terms of construction. The issue that is raised is that the presentation of a perceived relationship based on religion sets the ground for the arguments made about a 'fixed' continuity between classical antiquity and Byzantine Orthodoxy. We should point out that Byzantine Orthodoxy is presented by the official discourse as co-existing comfortably with the ancient spirit of classical ideals. These two traditions merge together as if they were part of the same reality according to the official discourse that aims to promote meanings "as absolute and unchanging" (Herzfeld, 1992:73).

A sense of continuity of ideals from the past is presented as being part of heritage sites. Ancient monuments are perceived as significant sources and reflections of this connection with the past praising the identity of the Greek population and aiming at reinforcing linking bonds between antiquity and present time. Nevertheless, the concern of the Orthodox Church before the creation of the modern Greek state, had been the preservation of the religion among the Orthodox populations of the Ottoman Empire irrespective of class, race or ethnic distinction (Runciman,1975; Kitromilides,1989). The emphasis of the East Byzantine tradition in communal life and family ties was in contrast to the individualism and rationality that the classical models of Greece offered and were espoused by the West (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987; Veremis,1989) which are issues that are left unsaid.

It was also found that the aim of the MoC is to nominate Byzantine sites which were considered to be 'underestimated' and 'underrepresented' to the List. In that way, Greek heritage is presented as being related to both classical and Byzantine antiquity at international level. This is not the only objective to strengthen the organisation's nationalist claims for an unbroken continuity, that one might be quick to conclude, true though it may be. The most important reason is to highlight that Greek heritage is not only related to a stereotypical view of Greece as a territory of classical civilisation (Greekness has been defined by the West as the country of classical ideals as we have seen in Chapter 1), but is associated with symbols of Byzantine heritage. Therefore, Byzantine sites provide a motive for the redefinition of Greekness internationally as a country of Byzantine heritage in addition to classical heritage.

This fact coupled with the way in which the international organisation of UNESCO approves of the idea of the protection of World Heritage and defines the global cultural heritage, indicates Greece's aim to take a share in this definition which would place Greek heritage sites (both classical and Byzantine) among the global heritage. The argument that we then make is related to the definition of Greek identity as being associated with Byzantine heritage in relation to UNESCO and the European Union and the explicit associations made with religion. These are, nonetheless, activities that go beyond the responsibilities of the state that should not enforce cultural forms but be based on the rationality of law (Herzfeld,1992; Sutton,1997).

In the light of the historical processes that are presented in Chapter 1, where external forces have contributed to the definition of Greekness, we may argue that the approval of heritage sites (classical and Byzantine heritage) internationally is indirectly related to the approval of the dual Greek national identity. What constitutes Greek identity is an issue that remains unresolved even today (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987). These findings have demonstrated the promotion of antiquity and Byzantium at international level.

The analysis of the documents indicates the social role attributed to the sites by the MoC in relation to their promotion at national level. What is more interesting is that a meaning is sought for the sites in order for them to be related to “the contemporary framework of Greece”. Such promotion transforms the sites to living entities. It is shown that sites do not have merely a functional role that is value free but their presentation is related to the wider context with reflections from the present day. This, then, allows us to argue that the presentation of social values related to the sites may be negotiable. Sites may be defined by present day standards and from this point, it is further argued that this negotiation of meaning for the sites shows the search for the meaning of identity considering that “heritage is the prime manifestation of a cultural identity” (Handler,1987:139).

Nevertheless, it must also be considered that it is mainly on the ancient heritage sites that a search for meaning is sought in order to bring them into the present, a fact that strengthens the power of these sites. This is where a paradox emerges: while the sites’ status is affected by present day ideology and one may argue that the meaning attributed to the sites by the MoC is context dependent (Urry,1990a:125), at the same time, these sites transcend their value in time and place. In addition, there is a continuous process in the reinforcement of heritage sites and thus of identity (school education, visits of soldiers to the World Heritage Sites of the borders), an issue which is consistent with Kitromilides’ argument (1989) on the role of the education and army mechanism as employed by the Greek state for the cultivation of a common identity in the 18th and 19th century and we can extract conclusions for their continuing role in the construction and preservation of identity.



When decisions are initiated for the presentation of the sites by the MoC, it is to the student population that communication activities are emphasised. The areas of sites attract student populations not only in Greece but in many countries considering the fact that students are the inheritors of the perceived national patrimony (Prentice & Prentice,1989; Herbert,1995b). Heritage is an integral part of the concept of nation-building and “treasured heritage can become an instrument to create a sense of belonging to a common place” as Herbert (1995b:13) argues. Nonetheless, we need to cast a critical eye and consider, that, the way in which sites are chosen to be promoted attempts to demonstrate a perceived continuity to the student population that not only presented antiquity and Byzantium as inseparable but in an unbroken continuum.

The presentation of the sites was also found to be related to political priorities of the Greek state acting as a vault from which claims were found to be made at national and international level about Greek identity. These claims include: explicit appeals for the return of the Elgin Marbles through the nomination of the archaeological site of Acropolis; the nomination of the archaeological site of Apollo at Bassae, and the references made to the transfer of its frieze to the British museum; the presentation of the archaeological site of Vergina to the List at a time when disputes over the historicity of Macedonia exist between Greece and FYROM; the consideration of the broader Northern Greek area and East Aegean as a ‘sensitive’ area, or as ‘the most suitable for nominations’ with reference to the tensions that exist with neighbouring countries in these borders; and visits of soldiers to the World Heritage Sites on the borders. These highlight the meaning attributed by the MoC to the sites which abandon their neutral role and indicate the political values of the sites which may coincide with the political priorities of the state. What is of interest to discuss is that the state “claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory” as Weber would argue (in Schlesinger,1991:9), and enforces the sense of belonging to the national community.

Sites are not only material constructs of the past but may become signifiers in the present day. It could be argued that there are political interpretations which take place in relation to the World Heritage Sites over disputes of Greece with Turkey and FYROM. These disputes can be connected to the outcomes of historical processes

which provide a way to explain the degree of intensification of such presentation for the 'border' areas which implies the political values that heritage may entail. The Greek state becomes congruent with the nation (Smith,1986). On the one hand, the state exercises its political power over issues of sovereignty. On the other hand, the state becomes the nation and emphasises the solidarity and the reinforcement of an imagined community beyond which other nations lie (Anderson,1991:7) with the symbolic use of the sites. This is, though, a point that shows how the state not only promotes this heritage for political interests but also depends on the symbolism of these sites. Therefore, it is not only decisions related to political values and priorities of the state (that we might be quick to conclude), but the most fundamental issue of the way in which the state adopts the language of the nation and in fact is dependent on it (Herzfeld,1992). The state's role, as an institution, becomes congruent with the nation that so successfully has been managed in Greece (Smith,1986). Our point is that the 'sensitive' areas are not only related to the promotion of classical heritage but also Byzantine which in fact, outweighs the number of classical heritage. In addition, the state functions in the name of the nation and other economic or political interests are also fulfilled.

Economic parameters are also considered when heritage sites are promoted. The sanctuary of Eleusis is an example that has not been nominated to the List. It should, nonetheless, be considered that it is located in one of the few industrial areas of Greece and the impossibility of determining zones of protection that are specified by Criterion (ii) of the World Heritage Convention (Figure 1, Chapter 2) due to the plants, limits the possibilities for inclusion to the List, although it was initially defined as suitable for nomination. The site of Eleusis or the decision to construct a plant near the archaeological site of Delphi indicate that decisions made, in relation to the sites, consider issues of economic development and economic objectives. Furthermore, projects are financed for the preservation and promotion of these sites by the national and international community. At times, culture is used for the development of an area or it is not promoted because it may influence economic activities in the area. This, then, shows the exchange value that heritage may have (Urry,1990a; Hall,1994; Loukaki,1997). It could be argued that the promotion of identity lies beneath the promotion of the sites and such promotion should not be seen to serve the needs of the

tourist industry. In the specific data, we also found a priority by the Greek state to promote sites but not relate them to tourist activities, as was the case for the Acropolis or for Mount Athos.

Although the thesis does not aim to explore the function of the organisations and the different levels of power which may exist, the findings would argue that tensions exist between the Church and the MoC's perception of the Church's role. The Church under the Constitution is given power (see literature review). Although the Church does not have political power, its secular role is recognised by the Constitution (Pollis,1992; Georgiadou,1995). In regard to the World Heritage Sites, decisions cannot be made if there is no written permission by the Holy Community, an issue which shows that the Church may at times have more power than the state in relation to the Byzantine sites.

The Presidential Decree in 1980 reinforced the competencies of the Antiquities Services although the administrative offices of the MoC form the Operational Plan at the central level (Loukaki,1997; Psycharis & Garezou,2000, see Introduction of the thesis). The administrative office of the MoC is in charge of the decisions made for the nominations and the promotion of the sites and such nominations may strengthen its relation to the Antiquities Services which supervise projects in the periphery.

The different levels of power struggle that exist can be related to the effort made by different groups to give meaning to the definition of Greekness not to mention the unwillingness of the archaeologists to comply with Law 2557 (1997) in order to give a commercial tone to the presentation of cultural heritage. It would not be oversimplification to consider the role of the historical processes at work in the identification of categories of identity according to Reicher & Hopkins (2001:38). Reicher & Hopkins argue for the ability of individuals or groups who are deemed to be representative of an aspect of identity to define this category. In the specific case of the World Heritage Sites, antiquity and Byzantium are interrelated and different representatives, such as the Church or the MoC, attempt to define Greekness from different perspectives and points of departure. Categories of identity such as religious, national and international may be in conflict since different representatives aim to



provide meaning for identity. Nonetheless, this meaning may not be related to counterposition as Reicher and Hopkins would argue (2001:51).

The next Chapter presents material from interviews with archaeologists who work in the state organisation of the MoC. It highlights the communication activities for the presentation of World Heritage Sites and the significance attributed to heritage as is described by key officials. This then provides another way in the objective to examine the social construction of Greek identity as it is manifested through the presentation of these sites by two bureaucratic state organisations.

**INTERVIEWS WITH THE MINISTRY OF  
CULTURE**

## CHAPTER 5: INTERVIEWS WITH THE MINISTRY OF CULTURE

### 5.1 Introduction

This Chapter presents data collected from interviews held with curators who work in the MoC and are in charge of the protection and presentation of Greek cultural heritage. Information is provided about the way choices are made for the presentation of sites. The role of people from the MoC, to mobilise the presentation of specific heritage with specific characteristics and the role attributed to the World Heritage Committee, is illustrated. Values associated with heritage nominations and their influence on decisions made are also presented.

### 5.2 Cultural values

Emphasis is put upon antiquities dated before 1830 as constitutive elements of Greekness. Antiquities initially attracted the interest of the state even before nominations to the List started taking place.

“Many sites have beauty of outstanding value. Yet, those selected are preferable as representative samples of the history of art. It is more suitable for antiquities to be inscribed on the List. Greece is more organised in the antiquities sector” (Trianti).

The sites proposed for nomination consist of the best known from the Greek state according to Law 5351/32 related to antiquities. In fact, the sites which have been inscribed on the List are only selection of the monuments of Greece. Preferential treatment is given to antiquity sites, ‘Greece is more organised in the antiquities sector’. In order for the heritage sites to be inscribed on the List, there are specific guidelines which need to be satisfied and the conditions of rarity, representativity and authenticity are among the criteria which need to be taken into consideration<sup>1</sup> before nominations take place.

“The file prepared for the nomination of a property to the List should safeguard

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<sup>1</sup> WHC.99/2 March 1999, Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, *c. Criteria for the inclusion of cultural properties in the World Heritage List*, Article 24, page 6.



specific conditions such as their typological or their geographical position. What also needs to be included in the file is the topographical map that illustrates the further area around the site, photographic transparencies, historical accounts of the site, justification of reasons for the nomination” (Tzedakis).

“When the file of a site is prepared, specific guidelines are required such as, the existence of zones of protection or whether the site is close to an industrial area” (Tselenti).

Sites presented are the best preserved. They are recognisable wholes that represent Greek heritage at international level.

“It is not a rare phenomenon that restoration works may influence the worth of the project and its value because too many interventions have taken place in the site. The inclusion of these sites to the List is avoided. For example, the archaeological site of Knossos where many restorations have been carried out, we have not decided to nominate it, in case the World Heritage Committee doubts its outstanding universal value. Apart from the restoration projects of Evans there, the village located beside the archaeological site has encircled the site from both sides and there is an absence of a zone of protection. The new constructions that have taken place there contributed so that the traditional web was broken” (Tzedakis).

The authenticity of the sites is a criterion that is shown by the Greek state so that doubts are not raised by the World Heritage Committee. The Minoan civilisation of the Cretans cannot be characterised as being directly related to Greek heritage (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987; Cartledge,1993). The Minoan civilisation began on the island of Crete about 2600 BC with peoples who came from Asia Minor and perhaps Libya. It ended about 1100 BC (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987:25). The inventory created by the Greek Committee in 1985 with those properties which could be nominated to the List included the sites of the Minoan civilisation as representative for inscription on the List. Nonetheless, the Minoan civilisation was not nominated to the List between 1981 and 1999.

The World Heritage Site of Hossios Loukas related to Byzantine heritage provides a different example to that of Knossos. Hossios Loukas is a monastery of the 10th century and few restorations have taken place since then. It is a site which was inscribed on the List in 1992. The archaeologist in charge of Hossios Loukas mentioned that it is in a very good original condition and there is space for intervention which allows the

maintenance of an unaltered situation for the monastery.

The condition of restoration of a site is also a factor that is considered for the implementation of the educational programmes. The maps and the designs of the sites in the educational leaflets have to be readable by students. Specific elements and ideas related to a site are presented. In that way the values of the site which reinforce the emotional ties of the people to that site may gain shape through the use of tangible evidence.

“What do we aim at illustrating to the students from Byzantine heritage? What is a first priority that we want to illustrate? We aim at providing the composition of Byzantine heritage to the students. Of course, you do not just take the students where there are only two pieces of stones and they cannot comprehend anything else. Byzantine heritage consists of pictures, mosaics, monasteries, castles and these are the issues presented to them” (Eugenidou).

A factor that is taken into consideration when sites are visited is whether the site fulfils the necessary conditions for accepting visitors due to preservation projects that have taken place. Students should be able to understand ‘what it is’ that they see so that they have a thorough picture when they leave the site. Byzantine heritage is considered to be part of Greekness (Xydis, 1969; Toynbee, 1981; Herzfeld, 1982). The identity value of the sites may be more explicitly presented when sites are tangible. Abstract ideas seem to become concrete and recognisable when there is material evidence from the past.

Ideas and symbols related to the past are connected with tangible sites. The existence of a complete archaeological site is of importance in order to attract students. The readability of the site plays an important role when ideals from antiquity are presented. In the inventory which the Greek Committee prepared of possible sites for inclusion in the List, two sites were included, Sesklo and Dimini, from the prehistoric Stone Age (Neolithic excavations). There is generally an absence of Neolithic sites from the List. Sesklo and Dimini are sites which could represent such a category from Greece, yet they have not been proposed since 1986 when Greece initially nominated a heritage site to the List. Sesklo and Dimini belong to agricultural settlements of a civilisation which was abandoned circa 4800 BC and 4000 BC<sup>2</sup>. Emphasis is put on remains which

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<sup>2</sup> GNT0 (1979) *The History of Greece through the Centuries*; Toynbee (1981:11); MoC, ARF, (1995)

represent a complete whole. These choices are related to the stereotypical view of Greece as a country of classical heritage. Nonetheless, interviewees implied that all Greek sites are of equivalent importance.

“Cultural heritage is not only ancient monuments; it is a term that may incorporate everything, even a building of the 19th century that may have all the elements of continuity with the past is also part of the cultural heritage” (Tselenti).

“Contemporary monuments also belong to cultural heritage, it is not only antiquity and Byzantium that are worth mentioning. Contemporary monuments are related with memories and signal moments of contemporary Greece. The structure, the architectural patterns of industrial and contemporary sites for example, wine-presses, oil-presses and windmills, have not changed, they continue to have a similar function with those from antiquity” (Tsofopoulou).

There is a separation made between Classical and Byzantine and Contemporary sites. In reality contemporary sites are not the ones which are a priority for presentation as the representative sites of Greek heritage. Specific sites are carefully chosen not only to satisfy the Convention’s criteria but also to illustrate the objectives of the Greek state to relate Greece to antiquity. Even the connection of contemporary sites with antiquity is unavoidable and their operational functions are related with those functions that can be traced in antiquity.

The fact that only specific ones are inscribed on the List differentiates them from the others and indirectly illustrates that they are treated in a different way. In fact, there is not one contemporary site, dating after 1830, that Greece has nominated to the List. It is interesting to note the point of view of the interviewee in charge of the Directorate of the Contemporary Monuments of Greece:

“The sites related to a place are witnesses and evidence for local history and the socio-political logic of the place. They consist of traces of the place in time. They are a sample of logic of the environment as a whole” (Chatzinikolaou).

Although contemporary sites are part of Greek cultural heritage, they are not a priority



for presentation. Choices entail decisions as to what is to be treated. The spectacular, the unusual will be preferred over the most subtle indicators of the past (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 1990:24). With regard to Greece, it seems that not much emphasis is put on contemporary sites such as industrial monuments (an issue also presented in the next Chapter, section 6.2) and illustrates that priority is given to the presentation of glorious periods of antiquity. Local museums related to contemporary traditions are not usually owned by the state.

Sites from antiquity are used to illustrate the continuity that exists between different periods. Emphasis is given to the relation of ancient sanctuaries which were converted to Christian temples in the passage of time. Religion in classical antiquity was different from that in the Byzantine Empire, yet it is suggested that the principal ideals remained the same with the aim of the presentation of a sense of continuity which existed between different periods.

Presentation takes place for sites of antiquity which may illustrate the connection between different periods. They are national symbols which may make palpable abstract ideas related to the identity of a nation (Smith, 1991:77). Priority is given to the presentation of ancient sites in contrast to more contemporary ones. Effort is made to relate sites to cultural values and symbolic features apart from the structural level.

“The monuments of the Acropolis were turned into churches when there was development in religious rituals. The Asclepieion functioned as a temple devoted to the worship of the god, Asclepios, the god of medicine. This temple was converted to an Orthodox church for the worship of Zoodochos Pigi [Life-giving Spring], attributing equivalent responsibilities to those of Asclepios” (Trianti).

“If there are specific elements that exhibit a connection to a different period from the one to which the site belongs, we point them out. This takes place in all of the processes; the nominations, the promotional activities or the educational programmes” (Eugenidou).

When an exhibition at a Byzantine site takes place, there is a presentation of finds of classical antiquity which preceded to the Byzantine period and were excavated in the Byzantine site although symbols related to the Byzantine site and Orthodoxy are a first priority for exhibition there. This chronological presentation of exhibits is used to

illustrate a continuity between different epochs and shows how the transition from one chronological period to the other took place.

When restoration projects take place, the MoC approves the detachment and extraction of ancient signs and inscriptions on slabs which were discovered and are related to antiquity. In that way, exhibits have a prestigious and prominent position in the exhibition of sculptures in Byzantine monasteries. Finds are presented according to chronological order. The aim is the presentation of an organised whole with beginning, middle and end, where constructs and interventions take place if they do not alter the uniqueness of the sites providing a linking bond between chronologically different periods.

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There is, obviously, a different approach between issues related to antiquity and those related to more contemporary sites. Tangible heritage related to ancient past is presented as being of importance to Greece since it may be used to ensure the identity of the Greek state and this is where emphasis is put. Priority is given to ancient over more contemporary sites.

### 5.3a The World Heritage Committee

Emphasis is put on the presentation of antiquity with world known sites and it is the Greek state which selectively decides what to restore and what to nominate to the List following the guidelines of the Convention. It lies with the curators and archaeologists to make decisions about Greek heritage although their power is not unlimited (as is presented in the next section). The Greek state purposefully decides to present heritage related to antiquity.

“The fact that contemporary sites are not inscribed on the List by Greece is because the other states do not show any interest in inscribing monuments from Greece that are not related to antiquity. The fact that Greece has been associated with antiquities is an ideological burden; contemporary monuments in Greece are not considered as unique sites of world significance” (Chatzinikolaou).

“We, as a people, cannot make ourselves understood if we do not speak for antiquity. Archaeology consists of a prop for the state. It offers liveliness and makes history come to life where it would otherwise be monotonous. The

character of archaeology may change with new evidence and previous ideas may be reversed proving that hypotheses are not binding. We are drowned in the past which functions as a double-edged sword because the standards are raised too high for Greece and it is difficult to achieve them” (Kottaridou).

Antiquity consists of a decisive element that is brought forth in the decisions of the MoC for the presentation of cultural heritage. Heritage related to antiquity is the heritage identified with Greece by the international community. It is this heritage that seems to make Greece identifiable to the international domain. Greece’s relation to a glorious past is seen as a ‘burden’ from which Greece cannot escape since it is through the past that the state may be defined in the world of nations.

“The World Heritage Committee wants us to present cultural sites. There are guidelines and we work to these guidelines. The sense of continuity is an element that the World Heritage Committee asks for. When sites present such a complete whole and continuity it is a better reason to present these sites; this is an opportunity that Greece has and I do not see a reason not to use it” (Tselenti).

“So eager were Western allies to restore ancient Hellas that Greeks felt bound to exalt the classical legacy, the Acropolis coming to symbolise national rebirth (Lowenthal,1998:244). Thus, policy decisions for the presentation of heritage incorporate a preference towards ancient over more recent sites. This is a fact which may influence the way decisions are made for the heritage that is presented. Besides, another point is related to the awareness that there are issues in archaeology that are not definite.

“The countries that submit a request [to the List] may prettify the presentation of the sites; it is a matter of prestige for the country to nominate many monuments” (Tzedakis).

“There are two kinds of visitor [in the site of Vergina], the ones with a medium level of education who write phrases in the visitors’ book like ‘I feel proud that I am Greek’, and the ones with a higher level of education often write ‘I feel that I have been in among the best museums of Europe’” (Kottaridou).

The presentation of heritage of outstanding value raises Greek citizens’ pride. A sense of common ancestry confers sentiments of prestige and dignity to the population (Smith,1984:102). At the same time, Greek heritage is presented internationally. Different sites carry different symbolic meaning for the state, not only for their



importance for the period of their construction but also for their significance in the contemporary environment. World Heritage nominations confer status and are carriers of national identity which contribute to the celebration of the national identity of those sites (Ashworth & Tunbridge,1990; Shackley,1998).

### 5.3b The role of officials in the MoC in the presentation of heritage

The provision of information about the sites aims at informing people about the sites. The Greek state aims at informing the citizens of the heritage which also consists of the national patrimony and its presentation opts for showing the past and its connection with present day life.

“Byzantium has a peculiarity since it is very much connected with contemporary Greece. There are many elements of Byzantine heritage that can be found in the everyday life of modern Greeks and they have not even noticed them. Initially what we aim at succeeding is to demonstrate this connection is not a barren element of national identity, and to help the modern Greek realise that what (s)he lives today is the continuity of yesterday” (Eugenidou).

“The role of archaeologists is to protect heritage. We aim at recalling memory piece by piece so that it is carried off by the Greek citizens of today. Research takes place from the study even of the smallest finds and then transmits this knowledge to a smaller audience of experts and to a larger audience which does not have specific scientific knowledge. This is a primary objective of the Ministry apart from the projects of restoration and preservation” (Trianti).

Archaeologists are presented as being the guardians of the cultural inheritance and they explicitly mention their role. The aim is not only to show a glorious past but to present continuity with yesterday. They perceive that they have a role to play in relation to people since they are in charge of illuminating that connection of the state with the past. A point is raised: it is assumed that memory emerges from the material elements of the past and the sense that these elements form the national identity of people.

The role of archaeologists is presented to be that of shedding light on specific aspects that illuminate continuity with a glorious past. The differentiation that is made between those who have the expertise and those who do not have the scientific knowledge was another interesting point. It is presented as if archaeologists have a special authority over the way past is presented to the public.

The MoC aims at reinforcing the sense of the imagined community to Greek citizens, the sense that people are entitled to be and, at the same time, have the obligation to be acquainted with their past. The aim is to reinforce the sense of belonging to the Greek population through the use of tangible aspects of the past. These sites are mobilised to provide the link between the past and the present. National consciousness may be reinforced through state mechanisms who present cherished symbols which sustain this sense of belonging.

Archaeologists' effort is to bring the population closer to the sites. Nonetheless, the presentation of heritage takes place according to decisions made by them even if they base their activities on scientific evidence. Archaeologists aim at illustrating that the position they hold entails responsibilities that require expertise. This is a process which may validate archaeologists' projects to the public in order to gain the public's agreement over their activities (also section 4.3b). Nonetheless, activities do not always take place for a site's presentation.

“Greece is interspersed with monuments. In some cases the state presents cultural heritage and at other cases not. We cannot expect everything from the cash-box of the MoC” (Tselenti).

“The presentation of the sites is a small part of activities of the MoC, it is the cherry in the pie since the main effort is to restore the sites” (Kavvadia).

Greek archaeologists are in charge of excavations and inform people about archaeological findings. In that way, they legitimate their power and the results of the excavations. When their power is presented as legitimate, they may justify their position and the projects that are initiated. Differentiation between what is known and what is part of a hypothesis should be considered before archaeologists give a formalised view of a definitive past (Stone & MacKenzie, 1989:118). The issue lies beyond that point and is related to the initial choices that are made to give emphasis to some sites more than others. Choices exist as to where emphasis is put in relation to the presentation of sites (Feilden & Jokilehto, 1993).

The question that might be raised that the MoC seems to be willing to present and allocate financial assistance to specific sites while this is not the case for all the sites. Even financial assistance illustrates the priority over the protection of sites of antiquity.

This may lead to the argument made beforehand with regard to the specific aims which are satisfied through the presentation of specific sites. The state decides on the use of monuments for the service of different purposes whether cultural, religious, educational, or archaeological, for museum purposes or entertainment according to the nature of the monument and the activities that can be held there. Choices are made even on the grounds of political judgements and the intensification of heritage sites at specific points in time.

“In the site of Vergina, what is of importance is not only the site itself, but the spectacular art of small objects such as the gold and ivory royal beds of the king, the painting, for which the MoC spent 80,000,000 drachmas [£160,000] for their restoration. The paintings require maintenance and preservation and nowadays technology contributes to their preservation” (Kottaridou).

Funding was provided and contributed so that innovations could take place for the site of Vergina. On the one hand, it is difficult for the state to act because many contemporary sites (dating after 1830) are privately owned. On the other hand, the MoC decides the allocation of money and priorities emerge over sites from antiquity. Choices take place and as Hewison argues, “choice is practically demonstrated by the decision to spend money on something” (Hewison,1987:16). Thus, a condition for a more contemporary exhibition of finds is the financial aid by the Greek state.

The above mentioned quote is about the World Heritage Site of Vergina. Nonetheless, such innovation in the presentation of Greek heritage had not taken place without problems. Difficulties were created according to the interviewee from the Central Office of the MoC and people were sceptical of such presentation. There is struggle of power which illustrates the approach according to which decisions are made.

“Not so many people liked the idea and I had to fight in order to provide another approach for the Greek museum which other countries have been following for years” (Kottaridou).

Key officials in the MoC may exert influence on the way sites are presented. Competencies have been reinforced with the Presidential Decree No16, FEK 8 A' (15-1-1980) for Antiquities Services (as has been presented in the Introduction) but are not fully implemented (Loukaki,1995; Psycharis & Garezu,2000). The centralist approach



according to which Antiquities Services operate for the implementation of activities has as a result the rigidity that exists between the different Departments of the same organisation, that of the MoC. Delay in the implementation of activities is caused since the approval rests with the Central Office of the MoC.

With regard to the educational programmes for Byzantine monuments, the archaeologists mentioned that the educational programmes in the sites are held by people with special experience on the transmission of information about the sites.

“Educational programmes are delivered by archaeologists and byzantinologists who have specialised experience or training and work for the Central Office of the Ministry. These archaeologists initiate the programmes about the archaeological sites and organise seminars which inform archaeologists from the Antiquities Services who attend them, about the programmes at the sites in their own regions. Teachers do not know how to transmit the archaeological and historical information. It is a function which concerns the MoC” (Eugenidou).

“The teacher may not be aware of archaeological details, that is why schools put off going to archaeological sites which is the case for many sites in Greece. Teachers are not very well informed about the sites” (Kilakou).

The archaeologist is presented as important in informing the students about the sites. These quotes express a tendency by the interviewees from the MoC to raise the profile of archaeologists, aiming in that way to justify their actions. Their expertise on archaeological issues puts them in charge of deciding the issues presented to the students. They organise and implement the educational programmes in the sites while it is presented that the teacher does not have the knowledge to perform the programmes. A similar point of view was expressed by the archaeologist in charge of the educational programmes for the sites of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquity.

“With regard to the educational programmes, the organisation of a framework is important and that is why the Central Office of the MoC organises training for the personnel who implements the programmes” (Chrysoulaki).

On the contrary, the educational programmes for contemporary sites do not have specific conditions to fulfil due to requirements from legislation; ethnologists are more open to the way they write about them.

“The approach is more open for the presentation of contemporary sites and

ethnologists do not have strict conditions to fulfil towards their description” (Chatzinikolaou).

This quote also shows the different approach between the initiation of programmes to the sites and the emphasis put on the presentation of the sites dating before 1830 which differentiates them from contemporary sites (as is discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.1).

The relation between the MoC and the Greek Orthodox Church was also shown. The Church decides on issues related to worship in the churches and monasteries. Thus the MoC does not have the ultimate say about the sites. In fact, the Greek Orthodox Church may sometimes inhibit the way the MoC acts in relation to the heritage sites. The Antiquities Service in charge of the World Heritage Site of Meteora, for example, mainly exerts control on the works of construction on the monasteries and on other issues that are not related to worship and the way the monasteries are managed. The responsibilities of the MoC are limited, and the Church does not allow many interventions.

The monastery of Hossios Loukas was another example that was brought forth. The MoC has attendants as staff of the monastery apart from the monks there. The Church has a role to play since worship is important and appeals to the emotions of the public. The monastery is open till late afternoon, a rule that applies to churches but not for archaeological sites which may be open later especially during the summer. The Church may decide the hours of visiting for the churches and monasteries or whether entrance is free when a site of Byzantine heritage is visited by the public or part of the Byzantine property operates as a museum<sup>3</sup>.

“The Church’s presence is everywhere. The Church does not want monateries open to visitors from 1 till 3 in order for the monks to rest. The political leadership does not have any other option but to obey” (Kilakou).

Another example that illustrates the role of the Church is related to the fact that the political leadership does not take a position when monks and the MoC have problems to

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<sup>3</sup> Information in relation to the hours that are determined by the Church for the Byzantine World Heritage Sites exists on the World Wide Web:

<http://alexander.macedonia.culture.gr/maps/macedon/salonica/salonica-gr.htm>;  
<http://wysiwyg://700/http://www.culture.gr/2/21/212/21201a/g212aa02.htm>.

solve. In that way, the important role of the Church within the state is illustrated since the political leadership of the state does not want to intervene when problems are created between the MoC and the Church. This recognition automatically gives the Church secular power although it does not have a political role, yet, it is a role that provides the clerics with decision-making power. Personal relations and in general the communication between the Antiquities Services or the Church and the MoC play a significant role in the management of the sites.

The section attempts to show the way in which key officials may influence decisions in order to safeguard the aims of the state when heritage of outstanding value is presented. The next part presents data from the interviews about the presence of economic values that heritage entails and they are combined with the social values of the heritage resources.

#### 5.4 Economic values

The Archaeological Receipts Fund (ARF) is a Service of the MoC which collects the receipts from the tickets sales of the archaeological sites and museums. It then allocates it for preservation activities, and also collects money from salesrooms which exist and also from various forms of copyright. ARF has an aiding and reinforcing role with regard to the collection of money for the preservation and maintenance of monuments. Besides, ARF contributes so that the money is brought back to the archaeological sites through activities which aim at informing the public about heritage sites. ARF publishes the promotional material for the sites of Greece<sup>4</sup>. Effort is made so that sources of funding are found and projects or restoration in the sites are completed. Excavations take place and there is maintenance and preservation of museums as well as the payment of expropriations.

Money is spent on those sites nominated to the List. It is not only from the Greek state that sites are funded but their nomination is a motive which ensures that there is allocation of funding from the European peripheral programmes<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> Law 736/1977, FEK 186 A', (10-9-1977).

<sup>5</sup> The researcher had an interview with Mr Pennas who is a member of the Council of Europe for heritage issues and he informed the researcher about the priority that sites nominated on the List have when



“The fact that the site has been nominated to the List, acts as a reinforcing factor for funding by the European Union. The case of Rhodes and Mystras, where complete restoration works and scientific interventions take place, are two examples” (Konstantios).

Money is required for the preservation of the sites. Their nomination to the List makes them more eligible for aid from European Funds (an issue that is also presented in the analysis of documents from GNTO, Chapter 7, sections 7.2 & 7.6). Furthermore, visitors are an important source of funding through the sales of admission tickets and the purchase of souvenirs although archaeologists are interested in the protection of the sites. It was stated by the interviewees that the aim is to open the archaeological sites to the public although archaeologists mainly seek the protection of the sites. Economic returns from the presentation of the sites are welcome because returns are made to the sites where projects of restoration and preservation may then take place.

Casts, faithful copies of exhibits in the archaeological museums of Greece, made out of plaster, are sold, money is gathered and messages may be conveyed about glorious epochs and ideals. Thus, a further aim is accomplished by the presentation of the sites, the awareness of the heritage value is raised. The economic dependence on the visitors is important because they provide significant financial support for Greek heritage. The MoC's share from the allocation of money from the Greek State's Regular Budget from 1982 to 2000 is about 0.44% while in the beginning of 1990s the proceeds of the lotteries were introduced as a way of financing cultural activities (Psycharis & Garezou, 2000:4-5).

“We construct kiosks and sell casts in the sites and thus the revival of the ancient tradition takes place” (Mennenga).

“In other countries they have realised the importance of the tourist nature of such sites and benefit from the fact that these sites exist in their country. The Greek state has not realised that the World Heritage Emblem of the Convention can be used as a source of income. The local community may also promote them since the history of the whole area will be then presented” (Konstantios).

Communication activities are used to present the cultural values of heritage resources. The World Heritage Emblem of the Convention identifies properties protected by the

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decisions are made for funding by European Funds.

Convention and the fund-raising potential of the World Heritage Emblem of the Convention is also suggested in Annex 3 of the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the Convention. The interviewee's comment with regard to the World Heritage Emblem of the Convention, although it has a fund-raising potential, may be verified with the example provided from the nomination of the Acropolis. The emblem was located in a prominent position near the site three years after the nomination of the Acropolis to the List<sup>6</sup>.

Furthermore, requests for written permission to the MoC to video sites is another way of promoting heritage and, at the same time, of collecting money through various kinds of copyright. Among the primary priorities of the MoC is the protection of the sites. Nevertheless the economic gains that the sites may bring are considered, not to mention that they are combined with the fact that cultural values are presented through heritage sites. The curator for the Byzantine site of Hossios Loukas mentioned:

“There is a direct relation in Greece's past with Orthodoxy. Visitors request to video Hossios Loukas' site. The MoC realises that it is a way of indirect presentation, people get permission and a payment is made” (Kilakou).

The permission to video heritage sites is regarded as a way to raise revenue, yet it is not the only end. Presentation of values is also important. The MoC takes into consideration that the preservation of the sites is a higher priority than the promotion and archaeologists do not seem to agree with the use of sites for tourist development.

“The fact that the sites may be developed towards a tourist approach is an issue of secondary importance, the protection is the primary aim, and we do not just see monuments as tourist attractions with a purely utilitarian basis” (Tselenti).

“There are European peripheral programmes that provide money. The protection takes place for the sake of protection and not for the tourist development in these sites. Values nowadays are considered according to economic gains. Humanistic values have been replaced by values that the tourist development brings forth. The aim in the 19th century was the excavation and protection and identification of the archaeological sites while in the 20th century, the tourist development consists of the aim to appreciate everything” (Kavvadia).

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<sup>6</sup> The placing of the World Heritage Emblem on the Acropolis took place with the Vice-Minister of Culture, and not archaeologists, performing the ceremony was reported in the press. The inauguration was attributed to the pre-election period (Inauguration with unveiling, *Rizospastis*, 15-3-1989, page 27).

The nomination of the sites to the List is a motive for further economic support. It is interesting to note that such emphasis upon locality is directed largely by the European Union. European decisions determine activities that contribute financially to the regions of the states and the Greek state follows European directions<sup>7</sup>. Projects are funded by the European Regional Development Fund which promotes projects related to culture and tourism (shown in Chapter 7). On the one hand, activities take into consideration preservation issues, on the other, economic returns are welcome which justifies the sites as economically viable so that they have additional funding.

Many areas aim at constructing museums to attract visitors. The people of the region of Imathia sent a letter requesting the construction of a new museum in the archaeological site of Vergina where they showed their enthusiasm for the opening of the museum<sup>8</sup>. To this enthusiasm for heritage, economic gains for the area can be added. Nevertheless, it was mentioned by the archaeologists that not every single area needs to have its own museum in order to become a pole of attraction for tourists. It seems that finds have to be 'important', not necessarily many, in order to be presented which brings out the role of the people in deciding such presentations. The presentation of sites may lead to the economic development of an area. At the same time, it may be assumed that there is a priority for a few large museums in contrast to smaller museums which shows how policy decisions determine the heritage that is presented. Loukaki (1997:698) referred to the priority that is given to the construction of a few large museums over smaller local museums although smaller museums also exist.

There is provision of revenue through the presentation of the sites that is acknowledged. Besides, there is provision of revenue through the production of copies of exhibits while at the same time there is reinforcement of issues of national identity. There are differences of opinion within the MoC related to the fund-raising potential of the sites. The issue that is raised is related to the selectivity in the presentation of the sites and not whether sites are utilised by 'a heritage industry' as was also identified in a case study for England (Palmer,1999).

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<sup>7</sup> This emphasis to locality owes part of its existence to European policies implemented for the members of the European Union (O'Connon & Cronin,1993:9; Tsartas,2000).

<sup>8</sup> The letter is presented in Appendix VI.



### 5.5 Educational values

The MoC aims at opening sites to the public so long as they fulfil the conditions of safety for the protection of visitors and the sites. In order for the sites to be visited, specific conditions need to exist that may allow preservation measures to take place. The archaeological sites may attract the visitors' attention and provide awareness for the history of the place. The audience is carried away with special effects that are created in the sites, the interplay of the light, elements that aim at creating 'a unique atmosphere'. Nonetheless, these activities that aim at promoting the educational values of the sites have been initiated for a specific number of sites.

“The aim is to create an exhibition (for Moni of Daphni) according to the modern way of exhibiting and presenting heritage and not to the old-fashioned way of the 1960s; a map and audio-visual material should exist so that the visitor can become acquainted with the area of the site” (Tsofopoulou).

“Museums of classical antiquity exhibit artefacts in the traditional way while this is not a problem for the Byzantine which was created later in time, they are presented in a more modern way. When one reads foreign publications, and experiences with the ways of exhibiting in foreign museums, (s)he is influenced by it and the re-exhibition in the same museum may take place in a more modern approach” (Eugenidou).

The traditional way of presenting archaeological artefacts was defined as registration, exhibition and explanation. The aim is to create exhibitions in an entertaining way that does not only present registered artefacts which nonetheless shows that exhibitions do not present artefacts in an attractive way.

The museum in the World Heritage Site of Vergina is an example that differs from other World Heritage Sites of Greece. A lot of money has been provided for the creation and function of the museum within the area of the site. The presentation of an exhibition that may attract the audience can inculcate messages to the public in an easier way since the audience is in a position to visually understand the exhibits in the environment in which they were excavated. Referring to the presentation of the Archaeological Site of Vergina it was stated:

“A scenario is conjured up, a myth, a puzzle that starts with the everyday life

peasants had and leads to the funeral pyre of the king; the urn of the king which is the most prominent exhibit stands there suffused with light. It is like a labyrinth in which the visitor participates; It is a story that the visitor has to unfold; that is why the first part of the exhibition takes into consideration the audio-visual material with regard to how the exhibiting stands are created, where they should be situated. The search for the lost king consists of the central idea of the exhibition” (Kottaridou).

The presentation of the archaeological finds is based on an entertaining approach according to the interviewee’s comments allowing for an interactive approach to take place between the visitor and the site. The museum in Vergina is among the rare exhibitions of Greece where the visitors participate in an interactive way while awareness of history is created. The presentation and the use of specialised vocabulary in Greek museums for the description of exhibits does not provide many opportunities to the visitors who are not experts in the field of archaeology to understand the exhibits (Kiosse,1999). There are shortcomings in the manner of exhibiting and presenting finds in museums, a way that does not allow for many opportunities of an organised participation for the visitor. The point of view was that there is over-abundance of information for the public and not much presentation is needed.

The paradox that emerges is that people do not have the incentive to search for information about the sites and since the majority of people lack expertise on a subject that requires archaeological and scientific knowledge, they might not search for information related to the sites. In that way, the provision of information for the sites is left to the public’s own will rather than the state’s efforts that are not of first priority (section 5.4). The MoC may aim at preserving the sense of distinctiveness to the Greek population but intensification of activities does not take place.

A lot of the visitors to archaeological sites are foreign while the Greek population does not generally visit sites. An illustrative example is the Acropolis where there is a small attendance of Greek people while many foreign tourists visit the site. Effort is put into encouraging the citizens of Greece to visit the Acropolis which may show that it is not a first priority for the Greek population.

“The Acropolis is a national emblem for Greece, the aim is to raise the number of visits by the Greek population. Foreign visitors will visit it anyway; we just want to keep the flow of foreign visitors at a steady number and raise the

number of Greek visitors” (Trianti).

The MoC aims at making Greek people take pride in their culture through the presentation of sites like the Acropolis, which are considered to be ‘national emblems’. The Acropolis’ role as a national symbol is an example which is used to foster a sense of national unity and pride, a symbolic landscape that is part of the iconography of nationhood. In that way, the process by which popular memories attach to specific territories, which are often associated with sacred sites (Smith,1996a:453-454), is used by the state as a way to reinforce connections with the past. The imagined community needs the sharing of a common descent, of a common past that reinforces, in people’s feelings, the sense that they are members of a community.

Activities for the presentation of the sites to the Greek population are not many and they are intensified for the student population as an organised audience at a homogeneous level of knowledge. Educational programmes may incorporate activities such as excursions to a famous site, a talk from an archaeologist about sites and the ideals related to them<sup>9</sup>, or the use of museum kits which contribute to the active participation of the students in the production of copies of ancient art. Activities for awareness of history are directed towards the student population as the future citizens of the state.

“Presenting cultural heritage from an early age in school is an issue of national communication policy of the state. Archaeologists present information about the sites, information of which the students are aware because they have discussed the topics as part of the educational curriculum. The adult population is also welcome. The bonds in the family are close and when students are informed about the monuments, they may convince their parents to visit the sites and family excursions may take place to them. Students consist of the axes of success for bringing the family to the archaeological sites” (Chrysoulaki).

Students may be the reason for the whole family to visit the sites. The student population is the young generation and they need to be informed about the past (Herbert,1995b; Schouten,1995). The protection of monuments, the sense of understanding about their preservation should be reinforced in people’s minds from

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<sup>9</sup> On the 25th of January, 1999 the researcher attended one seminar related to the World Heritage Site of the Acropolis. Questions were asked from the archaeologist to the students according to the history that were taught at school so that students could actively participate.



early years so that there is sensitisation for Greek cultural patrimony. Material evidence of the past may provide a fuller understanding in the minds of the school population and may strengthen the sense of belonging to the imagined community. It was mentioned about educational programmes:

“Our educational intervention aims at the elevation of the national cultural heritage. Opportunities are offered to the students to approach every aspect of our rich national cultural heritage, to meet and respect it. Activities may strengthen the belief in society, their cultural roots and bring the need of communication, co-operation and dialogue” (Chatzinikolaou).

“The aim is to teach the students the history of the art of the mosaic in a practical way so that a live picture exists in their memory after their departure from the site” (Kilakou).

“The educational programmes aim at illustrating the archaeological sites to the children in combination with some activities so that children may understand abstract concepts through objects of reference” (Tselenti).

With regard to the World Heritage Site of Mystras, there are educational programmes that take place. One is entitled ‘Management and Administration of the Byzantine City’, and students perform the events of the day of siege of the city of Mystras that includes elements of dramatisation. The other programme that has been designed is called ‘A Stroll around the Archaeological Site’ and it demonstrates to the students how to approach the archaeological site and they learn how to orient themselves and read a plan of a site.

Educational values associated with the sites and their connection with the roots of the state may reinforce the sense of belonging. The term ‘site’ in a literal way is related to static objects, tangible remains that are used to contribute so that the imagined community is visualised. Nonetheless, there is a choice made with regard to which sites gain ‘voice’ are presented. It is an issue decided by the people in the MoC. A point that is raised is that a site from distant antiquity is an ancient relic, yet the MoC chooses those sites that are in a recognisable condition or best preserved as a first priority to be promoted. Heritage that is recognisable may be connected to ideals and meanings because it is tangible evidence from the past.

There is an educational role attributed to the sites. Education consists of a state

mechanism which contributes to the “training required for the generic cultural base” as Gellner argued (1983:37-38). Written language may bring together the meaning of concepts, the way people think and express themselves. School and education have a pedagogic role to play that may also contribute to the imagined community. Sites entail values which aim at presenting, through education, a sense of belonging and reinforce national identity. Younger generations consist of the future of the country who needs to be informed about the heritage of the state. The underlying logic for the emphasis put upon the younger generations is to ensure that the past related to national identity is cherished and admired.

“The basic creation of character is formed through education. There is a danger that the media, whose message is aimed at everybody, tends to ignore differences among peoples. There is a danger of levelling. Archaeology provides food for history in order to preserve memory that encapsulates special elements of the identity of a people” (Kottaridou).

Greek education brings the core of Greek national consciousness to the sense of belonging and sharing of common characteristics. An archaeological site existing in its natural location comprises material evidence of the societies of the past. In the mean time, the aim is to show that it consists of an indispensable part of the contemporary area and contemporary social life.

Archaeology contributes so that people are aware of the excavations and the history of the written sources. Nevertheless, it should be considered that a person is not born with predetermined characteristics but these are cultivated through different mechanisms. Thus, the role of state mechanisms is brought out. It is up to the intellectuals to decide the presentation of heritage.

## 5.6 Social values

Sites that are presented to the student population and to the general public are presented as an important part of the area in which they are located. The aim of the MoC is to raise the feeling of the sense of belonging among the Greek population while raising the profile of Greece in the international community with the nomination of sites that are of outstanding universal value. Curators in charge of Byzantine heritage mentioned:

“The sensitivity of the younger generation with regard to the sites needs to be safeguarded. The aim is not only the provision of knowledge, but the familiarisation of the students with the sites” (Eugenidou).

“What is needed is for the students to acquire a sense of sensitivity around the issue of cultural heritage” (Tselenti).

“The nomination of those sites takes place on the grounds that our national identity is presented through our cultural heritage” (Konstantios).

National identity is interrelated with cultural heritage and the familiarisation of the students with the sites is presented as an objective. The ‘sensitivity’ that students acquire was mentioned by the interviewees in charge of Byzantine heritage. Connections of contemporary Greece with Byzantine heritage aim at providing the familiarisation of the students to the sites (also presented in section 5.3b). Byzantine heritage sites are considered as making explicit the relation of Byzantine heritage with contemporary Greece.

Social values which heritage resources are implied to have may bring disagreements over the management of the sites between the Greek Orthodox Church and the MoC. The MoC aims at safeguarding sites’ historical and archaeological value and the Greek Orthodox Church sees the sites as religious places where people may practise their religion. The Church may disagree on the function of a religious monument as a museum.

“We are more interested in the cultural point of view when presenting heritage sites that include elements of Orthodoxy, while the Church sees the monuments as holy places of worship” (Kilakou).

“The Church sees the sites mainly as places of worship and this is where problems emerge because the Church may disapprove of restoration projects” (Eugenidou).

The state may aim at preserving and elevating the monuments as national treasures on exhibition, while the use of the sites as religious sites is another issue that emerges and the role of the Church is interrelated to compatible present day use of the sites. Not all sites are presented as museums and they are used as places of worship. Religion plays a role in the contemporary Greek state and disagreements emerge between the Church and the MoC over the use and management of heritage (Lavvas,1996). Nevertheless, sites of



Byzantine heritage are presented by the MoC for the ‘familiarisation of the students with the sites’ as was mentioned earlier in this section. The relation to Byzantine heritage provides a way that may be used to reinforce a sense of belonging to a continuity. Religion and language consist of factors that may create and reinforce nationality (Smith,1996a:448).

Another site related to Byzantine heritage that was nominated to the List by the Greek state in 1999 is the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian and the Cave of the Apocalypse in Patmos.

“Patmos has been accepted on the List not only for the monastery of Saint John the Theologian but as a historic whole of buildings” (Tselenti).

Patmos is related to Orthodoxy and it is a Greek Orthodox pilgrimage centre. The Cave of the Apocalypse in Patmos is where Saint John the Theologian wrote the works of the Gospel and the Apocalypse between 95 and 97 AD. It is a site which signifies the connection of Greece with Christianity. A religious event that demonstrates the relation of Greece to Orthodoxy set off the nomination of the site to the List. The nomination of Patmos and the Cave of the Apocalypse to the List was the proposal of Greece to the World Heritage Committee that took place in 1999 after the celebration of 1900 years since the writing of the Gospel and the Apocalypse. When elements of antiquity are presented, they emphasise the relevance of the past and the present, while at the same time, sites’ presence in time is shown. There is a celebration of national identity and the presentation of aspects related to Byzantine heritage that may reinforce Greekness.

With regard to classical antiquity sites, their compatible present day use is to inform people about the past. An example that illuminates the effort made by the MoC to give the sites compatible present day use is related to the ancient theatres. The archaeological site of Vergina has a theatre, which is a wreath-shaped stone area in a hollow depression in the earth. If ancient drama or performances were to be recreated in the ancient theatre, the theatre would be damaged. In order to avoid causing any destruction in the area, performances are held at another theatre next to the ancient one. In that way, visitors may attend performances of ancient drama in an ancient environment while the ancient theatre that cannot accommodate visitors is preserved.

Sites entail values that involve contemporary social interaction in the community (Feilden & Jokilehto,1993:20). The examples for the ancient forum of Kerameikos in Athens and the Acropolis were mentioned.

“There are gravestones where one may read inscriptions for those who fought for the defence of the city-state of Athens. The messages of these inscriptions have not changed and are very similar to the inscriptions attributed to the Greek people who fought in the Second World War in 1940-1944 for the defence of their country” (Kakouris).

“Comparisons with the past may be made through language in order to distinguish the connection with the past. Take for example the names of streets in the ancient forum of the Acropolis. Names of people in the guided tours are common ancient names after which streets are named. People get emotional when they realise that. It is through these examples that parallel comparisons are made and you see that the language is still the same even if 2500 years or more have passed” (Trianti).

References to ideals that are perceived to be characteristic of the nation in the passage of time are used to reinforce the sense of the imagined community. Eternal values are brought to connect the future with a glorious past. Ideals related to classical sites are presented as cherished and aim at sustaining a sense of belonging to the community. National symbols “evoke instant emotional responses from all strata of the community” (Smith,1991:77). The interviewees who are in touch with the public through personal experiences, eg. tour guides, perceive that the feelings of people are reinforced by the sites and the inscriptions such as street signs and memorial stones which can be shared through the use of the same language. Nevertheless, issues related to the prevalence of demotic or katharevousa as the language of the Greek state in the 1820s should be considered (cited in Chapter 1).

### 5.7 Political values

The MoC through policy decisions aims at safeguarding the official ownership of heritage and its further use as a means to demonstrate a sense of identity.

“There is a national, political base in the proposals from the States” (Tzedakis).

Choices for the nominations may entail political choices. The nomination of specific monuments by the World Heritage Committee may foster political motives. The World Heritage Site of Vergina provides an example that may illuminate how events related to the heritage resource may influence the present day importance of the site because it is related to contemporary political priorities. Greek political leadership took effective measures related to the presentation of the World Heritage Site of Vergina which involved the allocation of a large sum of money. The finds from the excavations in the site were initially exhibited in the archaeological museum of Thessaloniki, a museum that already existed because at the time of excavations there was no museum in Vergina. Nonetheless, when disagreements were created with FYROM, the neighbouring country to Greece, the political leadership allocated money for the transmission of the finds from the archaeological museum of Thessaloniki to the actual location of their excavation where a new museum was created.

A documentary was also made for Vergina for advertising internationally contributing to the site being advertised all over the world. Efforts are made to present the site of Vergina internationally. It is not only the economic value related to heritage. The MoC aimed at intensifying the presentation of the site of Vergina and associate it with the Greek territory due to the dispute created with the neighbouring country. No similar project was mentioned by the interviewee in the case for the Greek population. The example with the site of Vergina may be contrasted to that of the Acropolis and its advertising at the international level.

“The Acropolis already has millions of visitors per day. If advertising took place, then problems of preservation and capacity would be created for the site” (Trianti).

There is an effort to present the archaeological finds of Vergina so that its connection with the heritage of Greece may be reinforced while advertising for the Acropolis is not considered a necessity. The Acropolis is a famous site of Greece which does not need advertisement while the site of Vergina is a relatively recent excavation that is not yet established in the international arena as a site that may be related to Greece. Political connotations emerge from the presentation of the site where issues of ethnicity form a controversial issue per se (Danforth, 1994; Mouliou, 1996). There are sites which belong



to the 'politically sensitive arc' and their presentation sustains a sense of belonging to the people while political statements may take place under the name of presentation of heritage.

## 5.8 Conclusion

Sites from antiquity are a priority for presentation by the MoC and even if it seems that an equal role is given to the promotion of contemporary sites, the roots for more contemporary heritage are found in antiquity sites according to the officials who espouse a specific version of history that has been instructed by the state. A point that is raised is that choices are made within the sites of antiquity that are presented. The aim of the MoC is to provide a sense of continuity between ancient and modern Greece including the Byzantine heritage but we need to cast a sceptical eye on the putative continuity which is presented. Sites that may not reinforce such presumed continuity, as the officials would aim to present, are not forcefully presented. The Neolithic sites of Sesklo and Dimini, that were attributed to inhabitants of Greece who were in Greece before the earliest Greek speakers arrived (Toynbee,1981:10-11), have not been nominated to the List since 1986 (when Greece nominated the first heritage site to the List).

The effort made by the state is to reinforce a sense of continuity by selectively presenting the images of the nation basing its promotion on cultural symbols like those of religion and language. Patmos is a Greek Orthodox pilgrimage centre that is associated with the writing of the Gospel of Saint John. Reference was made in Chapter 1 to the Gospel of Saint John and the Hellenic vocabulary that was used in its writing. This was an indicator that there was an audience which was educated in the Hellenic paideia (Toynbee,1981:96). There could be an argument for the effort made to present an unbroken continuity according to the ideology of the state and the nomination of the site to the List in 1999. The analysis based on the decoding of this heritage site where. At another level of analysis, rather than simply arguing that the celebration of a religious event set off the nomination of the site to the List and its promotion, it may be considered that the MoC demonstrates a relationship of Greece to Orthodoxy by presenting Byzantine heritage. Greek identity is connected with symbolic concepts

which are not only related to classical antiquity, a past that has defined Greece in the West, and the attempt of the state is to show the relationship of Greece with Byzantine heritage that is based on religion. This relationship was the project of the state in the 19th century in order to firmly unite the population of Greece which had different social and ethnic backgrounds and to lead to the definition of Greece and Greekness as we know it today (Kitromilides,1989).

Claims to a continuity in religion and language are made, although differences existed in the passage of time with the divergence of the two traditions of antiquity and Byzantium (see Chapter 1). Still, the structural level of the sites and their reference to purely archaeological information is not the only issue that the MoC promotes as was found. It is the symbolic role of the sites that attributes them with a power to define Greek identity. It is a power that is explicitly mentioned by the officials relating to heritage sites where it was argued that “our identity is presented through our cultural heritage”. The issue that is raised is that in regard to the Byzantine World Heritage Sites, their symbolic role is related to religion and this is promoted by representatives of the state whereas it would be expected that the Church would be associated with religious sites. From this point, we can conclude that since sites are related to Greek identity, and sites’ symbolic role is related to Orthodox religion, then the way in which they are promoted by the state organisation assumes that religion defines Greekness. It seems as if the state organisation takes for granted that Orthodox religion is part of Greek identity. Religion may not be a new concept in the definition of identity but certainly is puzzling when it is considered that identity, which is defined by a state organisation, is based on cultural concepts rather than on the rule of law and legislation that is not dependent on symbols.

This symbolic role of the sites causes disagreements between the Church and the MoC which are not only related to the management of the sites. The World Heritage Sites of Greece, such as Mount Athos, Meteora, Hossios Loukas, Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments of Thessaloniki were found to be associated with conflicts between the Church and the MoC which show the importance of the symbolic power of Byzantine heritage. Even international support for the decisions made by the MoC cannot provide it with the power that it seeks to have (so as to get control over the Byzantine heritage).

It can be argued in favour of the political advantage that accrues for all the authorities with a say for the promotion of the World Heritage Sites. In fact, this is shared between the authorities within the MoC and the Church over issues of religion associated with the World Byzantine Sites. Considering the dual departure of Greek identity from antiquity and Byzantium and the nationalisation of the Church by the state (Kitromilides,1989; Georgiadou,1995), Orthodoxy came to define Greekness (Herzfeld,1992; Pollis,1992) which accounts for the power of the Church in the decisions made related to the sites. This leads us to the fundamental issue of the social construction of identity by different representatives.

Therefore, it is not only a political advantage which is related to authorities in favour of preservation of sites and the international support they get for their views through the nominations according to Prott (1991). In the case of the Greek World Heritage Sites, a definition and social construction of identity takes place also. We need to consider that the Byzantine Sites are related to symbols of religion and they represent elements of a religious identity. The religious identity is one aspect that was cultivated to define Greek identity (Herzfeld,1992; Pollis,1992) and competition may exist between different identities that embrace a Greek citizen. These identities, represented by different groups, depend on different realities and symbolic processes. Religious identity depends on the symbolic and divine. Nationality or citizenship depends on the name of law as the determining factor in the definition of Greekness (see Chapter 1).

Contrary to being a straightforward process depending on religious representatives supporting religious principles and symbolic forms and representatives of the state, who would argue for equality under the name of law, it was found that the symbolic power of sites related to Byzantine heritage provides the Church with secular power as well as with a divine one. The same symbolic power of the sites is used by a bureaucratic organisation, not dependent on symbolic forms, for the definition of Greekness. Thus, citizenship is defined by religion. It should also be considered that the Church is an institution of the Greek state (Georgiadou,1996). Therefore, the roles of the MoC and the Church in relation to the World Heritage Sites appear to be switching where it seems as if there are no specific boundaries between the symbolic and the secular and the secular transcends in time and place through the symbolic.



Communication activities are initiated by the MoC for the World Heritage Sites. Heritage is an integral part of the concept of nation-building and “treasured heritage can become an instrument to create a sense of belonging to a common place” as Herbert (1995b:13) argues. The underlying logic for the emphasis put upon the younger generations is to ensure that the past related to national identity is cherished and admired with emphasis on the familiarity of the students with the sites, thus the social construction of identity is perpetuated.

An issue that emerged that was beyond the scope of this thesis is related to the co-operation between the Antiquities Services and the MoC for the implementation of activities related to the promotion of the World Heritage Sites. Disagreements exist that are related to the way in which sites are presented but they may mask the sharing of power between the people involved in the heritage activities. A struggle for power over decisions made between different groups at government level exists but goes beyond the scope of this thesis (Hall,1994; Loukaki,1997; Psycharis & Garezou,2000; Richardson,1990). This is a finding that may also be related to the meaning which ‘Greek identity’ is given, namely based on a few selected sites from certain geographic areas of Greece that define Greekness.

It was also found that ‘the tourist nature of the sites’ although not a priority or a forceful aim for presentation, is not rejected as a concept where cultural forms, such as heritage, may be seen as ‘a product’ (Urry,1990a; Hall,1994). Thus, World Heritage Sites can be used as a source of income for the state from the artifacts that are sold. Economic gains that the sites may bring are considered, yet they are combined with the fact that cultural values are presented through heritage sites. Communication activities by the MoC for the promotion of World Heritage Sites take into consideration preservation issues and the tourist development was considered incompatible with the protection of the sites. Yet, economic returns are welcome which was justified as an economically viable way so that sites have additional funding. We also need to consider the reference that was made by the interviewees to the ‘revival of the ancient tradition’ which is more explicitly related to the process of reconstructing and reinforcing an identity than to simply concluding that heritage promotion is economically based. Tourism is used as a justification for the preservation of heritage. Meanwhile, tourism serves to preserve

artifacts for promotion (Hall,1994:180; Urry,1990a) but also uses features of myth as collective symbols for establishing identity (Hall,1994; Lowenthal,1994:49; Palmer,1999:316). The MoC has a role to play in the social construction and preservation of a perceived distinctiveness. Therefore, political and economic interests of the state are fulfilled and the state depends on the power of symbols such as the World Heritage Sites. The next Chapter is related to the way heritage sites, with emphasis on the World Heritage Sites, are presented in the official printed promotional material of the MoC and explores the ways in which heritage is portrayed to the Greek population.

**PRINTED PROMOTIONAL MATERIAL**  
**FROM THE MINISTRY OF CULTURE**



## CHAPTER 6: PRINTED PROMOTIONAL MATERIAL FROM THE MINISTRY OF CULTURE

### 6.1 Introduction

The Chapter aims at providing information about the way the MoC presents cultural heritage and, in particular, the World Heritage Sites in written promotional material. The cultural values of heritage, the role of actors and the presence of contemporary values are discussed. The presentation of eternal ideals that the sites are thought to imply, the use of myth and the interplay with historical information, the presentation of heritage as belonging to the Greek population, the objective to enhance the visitor to identify with the sense of belonging to the imagined community and the political connotations that emerge through the presentation of heritage, issues that are also discussed.

### 6.2 Cultural values

There is an emphasis on the presentation of historical continuity that exists in sites in an attempt to illustrate ideals that are connected to ancient Greece and, thus may be automatically related to the contemporary Greek state. Examples from antiquity are used in the MoC's promotional material where the presentation of such a sense of continuity is shown.

“The mosaics from the Moni of Daphni are an outstanding example of monumental art at the end of the 11th century that has been influenced to a high level by the ancient Greek patterns. The posture of the prophets which remind of ancient Greek sculptures, the feminine shapes, the reserved expression of passion, the concentration on harmony and the symmetry in individual figures and synthesis, are witnesses of the intense presence of the classical tradition”<sup>1</sup>.

“The naming of the monastery as well as of the broader area derives from the sanctuary devoted to Daphnio Apollo that existed there in antiquity. After the spread of Christianity and the prohibition of the pagan religion, the ancient sanctuaries were abandoned or converted to Christian ones. The sanctuary of

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<sup>1</sup> MoC, DBMM, (1999), Educational Programme for Moni of Daphni, The secrets of a monument, *The identity of the mosaic*, Athens.

Daphnio Apollo was converted to a Christian temple (basilica) in the years of the Byzantine emperor Ioustinianos”<sup>2</sup>.

There is presentation of a recourse to ancient Greek values when Byzantine sites are presented, while elements, such as religion, are presented as being the connecting link that brings continuity of the epochs. Through the use of examples from the sites which illustrate elements of continuity, the aim is to show how they contributed to preserving the ancient spirit. This idea of historical continuity is presented as important and an effort is made to reinforce it. Nevertheless, there is no reference made to the fact that such emphasis on Hellenic identity after the 11th century provided a defence mechanism of a Byzantine Empire threatened on all its frontiers (Kokosalakis,1987). A glorious past may be presented yet no emphasis is put on the implications of history when information is presented to the public.

The element of religion is also illustrative in one of the educational programmes for the Acropolis which took place in 1995 and was called ‘A day on the Acropolis in search of the goddess Athena’. Athena had many other names which were related to physical and emotional characteristics. One of the names presented in the educational programme for the Acropolis was ‘Parthenos’, a name that is attributed to the Virgin Mary<sup>3</sup>. It is a name that is not presented in the sources of Pausanias. It could be argued that mythology and religious elements from Orthodoxy are related, providing another way for the connection with the past. The ancient historian, Pausanias, and other references exist to verify certain connections made in order to validate the information provided but no specification is made for the name.

There is interplay between the use of myths and historical information. It is a strategy implemented for reinforcing the population’s sense of belonging to a community, a community that is perceived as having roots in the distant past, while raising people’s interest in issues of preservation and safeguarding of the national patrimony. Decisions for the presentation of cultural heritage are not neutral and there is embedded meaning related to the presentation of heritage sites. Another example from the leaflet of the archaeological site of Delphi mentioned:

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<sup>2</sup> MoC, DBMM, (1997), The Byzantine Heritage-World Heritage, *Hossios Loukas, Nea Moni, Daphni*.

<sup>3</sup> MoC, First Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (1997), Educational Programme, A day on the Acropolis in search of the goddess Athena, *Athena Parthenos*.

“For many centuries Delphi was the religious and spiritual centre of the ancient Greek world”<sup>4</sup>.

Religious activities are presented as contributing so that the ancient-city states became aware of their identity. It is shown that an idea of the imagined ‘religious’ community existed for the past (presented in Chapter 4). The Olympic Games and their rituals are presented as bringing awareness to a sense of belonging for ancient Greek city-states. Religion’s role as a cultural identifier is presented. It is perceived as a unifying factor for the ancient city-states which consisted of different political units.

The Prologue of the exhibition for the Athletic Contests in ancient Greece related to the site of Olympia, also stated:

“Isokrates, who proclaimed the Panhellenic Idea, emphasised that gathering together in one place provided the Greeks with the opportunity of becoming aware of their national identity, making joint sacrifices to the gods they had in common, competing together and participating in joint festivals. Thus, religion, a unifying factor, was from the start linked with the peace observed at the Panhellenic sanctuaries, which made an essential contribution to the consciousness of the characteristics of the Greek spirit shared in common”<sup>5</sup>.

Emphasis is put on how different political units joined together under religion. The notion of unity through cultural terms is presented as having an appeal for city-states that were different on political levels. ‘Panhellenism’, a political term, appears as joining the different units together, a unity which was influenced more by cultural rather than by political terms (Smith,1991:47-48). A glorious past is presented and its perceived eternal values are also shown in contemporary life. It is a process which is initiated by the state in an effort to show the existence of eternal ideals and relate them to the present.

As regards the sites of Mycenae and Tiryns, reference was made, in the archaeological leaflets provided at the entrance of the archaeological sites, to names such as

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<sup>4</sup> MoC, Archaeological Receipts Fund, (1995) Delphi. The Archaeological Receipts Fund (ARF) is a Service of the MoC that publishes promotional material for the archaeological sites of Greece among other activities (presented in Chapter 4, section 4.2).

<sup>5</sup> MoC -The National Hellenic Committee I.C.O.M (1989), National Archaeological Museum, 15th May 1989 - 15th January 1990, Mind and Body, Athletic Contests in Ancient Greece, *Foreword*, Dr Olga Tzachou-Alexandri, page 20.



Clytaemnestra, Iphigenia, Electra, Orestes, the family of Agamemnon, all connected with the expedition against Troy which furnished material for the Homeric poems. The presentation of a myth from antiquity is used to provide awe for the visits to the sites. At the end of the leaflet, it is mentioned that no relation can be made between these names and the specific territory, showing that archaeologists are aware that there are no definitive answers related to archaeology (Stone & Mackenzie, 1989:118). This information is nonetheless presented in the end of the archaeological leaflet:

“[T]hese findings cannot be identified with particular monuments with any certainty. What is certain, however, is that on the acropolis at Mycenae is to be found the remains of the life and the work of the Mycenaeans and their ancestors”<sup>6</sup>.

Although the connections of names and places are confined to hypotheses which cannot be verified with certainty, it is, nonetheless, information which is provided to the public aiming at arousing interest about the sacredness of the place. At the same time the opportunity is offered so that memory can be anchored in specific sites (Smith, 1996a:453). Features of legend are part of the cultural values of a site which may reinforce the emotional ties of society to the site (Feilden & Jokilehto, 1993:18). The sites of Mycenae and Tiryns are archaeological sites that are recognised as World Heritage, yet, their correlation with the names of the family of Agamemnon elevates their prestige.

The presentation for the site of Mycenae is no different from other sites. With regard to the archaeological site of Vergina, it was mentioned that, it is “a highly important ancient city, certainly to be identified with Aegae” and then it makes connections of the Argead dynasty of the Macedonians with the mythical hero Hercules<sup>7</sup>. On the one hand, there is provision of information with hypotheses by archaeologists (as it was presented in the previous Chapter, section 5.3b) and on the other, the element of myth emerges that allows connections to be made to the imagined community. “Anderson talks of nations being ‘imagined communities’ because they require a sense of belonging which is both horizontal and vertical, in place and in time. The ‘nation’ not only implies an affinity with those currently living, but also with dead generations” (McCrone, 1992:27).

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<sup>6</sup> MoC, ARF, (1995), Mycenae.

<sup>7</sup> MoC, ARF, (1995), Vergina.

These archaeological leaflets are offered to the population when visiting the sites. They are not provided beforehand to inform people about the history or even the location of these sites. This activity presupposes that people will visit the sites before they can get more information about them.

The Directorate of Archives of Monuments and Publications of the MoC is in charge of creating and updating progress files where preservation measures for Greek sites are presented. The publication of a written catalogue, where declarations for sites and monuments of Greece are gathered and registered in files, to which the public can have access, was created in the spring of 1993. Before that catalogue, legislation about the sites existed in different volumes in the Official Gazette of the Government. It was stated in the Introduction of these files:

“The promulgation of this catalogue is the beginning of the inclusion of all important monuments or sites which may not yet have been catalogued, creating a complete national Archive of the Monuments of Greece which will include the cultural heritage of the country and will lead the way for research and protection of one of the most eminent assets of the contemporary Greek state”<sup>8</sup>.

It is a continuing catalogue, which means that registrations will continue to take place for those monuments and sites that have not yet been registered. Written material is used to inform the Greek people about the cultural treasures which exist, an activity that provides a step towards their identification as part of Greek nationality and their further preservation. The monuments that were first included in the catalogue were important archaeological sites according to the Introduction of the catalogue. World Heritage Sites are registered in the catalogue and the World Heritage Emblem, which symbolises the Convention, exists to show their World Heritage Status.

This catalogue includes the archaeological sites of Greece dating from before 1830 under Law 5351/1932 and it does not include the sites dating after 1830. Identification for those sites dating after 1830 started in the 1980s when a systematic mobilisation, by

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<sup>8</sup> MoC, Directorate of Archives of Monuments and Publications, (1994), Continuous Records of the Proclaimed Archaeological Sites and Monuments of Greece, *Introduction*. The eminence and necessity of the creation of records for the characterisation and study of monuments in the Greek environment was presented by Lavvas (1993:113-122) through an analytic method on the way records should be created and the information that they should incorporate.

the Directorate of Contemporary Monuments of the MoC, started for contemporary buildings and coincided with the expression of an interest for the study and preservation of monuments of the industrial heritage at international level.

It was in 1997 that a photographic exhibition of the contemporary sites of Greece entitled 'Industrial Monuments of Greece' took place for the first time in the framework of an International Conference for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage. The publication of a catalogue in 1999 as part of this photographic record for the industrial monuments of Greece, is the first publication that contains industrial monuments from Greece aimed at informing the public<sup>9</sup>. An antiquity-centred attitude towards cultural heritage is shown where sites from different periods are treated in a different way.

There seems to be a differentiation in the way heritage is seen was presented in the publications leaflet of the MoC for the Greek population:

“Another category created by the Archaeological Receipts Fund is archaeological guides, which are produced according to high academic and publication standards. The purpose of this series is to promote and disseminate knowledge not only about the more important archaeological sites and museums, but also about those that are more remote but which are, nevertheless, of great archaeological and historical interest”<sup>10</sup>.

There are important sites, which implies that other less important exist, and these 'important' sites are more accessible to the public. This evaluation may illustrate the degree of interest in the setting of the site which may also entail different interpretations over the significance of some sites over others. What is considered as being 'important' and what is 'remote' depends on the way the people in charge of the management of heritage present it. This may influence the way heritage is seen by people who read the publications catalogue. It may also show that specific sites have attracted the interest of the state in relation to other properties (presented in the next section). Excavations for sites such as Olympia, Delphi, Epidauros were initiated by foreign archaeological schools which contributed to the development of these sites initially. Specific terms are

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<sup>9</sup> MoC, Directorate of Contemporary Culture, (1999), Industrial Monuments of Greece. The International Conference was organised by the International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage (TICCIH). It was held in Thessaloniki in June 1997 when it was European City of Culture.

<sup>10</sup> MoC, ARF, (undated), Publications.



used when World Heritage Sites are presented illustrating their national and international character. The publication, "Byzantine Heritage - World Heritage" published for the photographic exhibition of the Byzantine heritage sites in Greece, mentioned in the Greek version, the Medieval City of Rhodes:

"In 1988, Rhodes, this fascinating, complex, cosmopolitan yet Greek whole, was nominated to the List"<sup>11</sup>.

The MoC aims at showing the national and international character of the sites nominated to the List. The word 'cosmopolitan' presents the international character of Greek heritage which justifies its presence on the List where sites of outstanding value are nominated. Besides, it is also 'a Greek whole'. It is worth mentioning that the phrase 'Greek whole' is not included in the English version of the album. This phrase is only presented in the Greek version of the exhibition album. The Greek version of the album emphasises 'Greekness' and confers prestige through heritage recognised internationally.

The people in charge of the presentation of heritage aim to present cultural aspects to the population in such a way that a sense of prestige is created. There is a further aim of the reinforcement of the sense of belonging to a community with a distinct heritage. The above mentioned quote is an example of how world heritage can be presented at national and international level. Both the national and international character of the sites are considered to be important while the national character is more forcefully presented to Greek people.

### 6.3 The role of officials in the MoC in the presentation of heritage

The MoC is in charge of the protection and presentation of Greek cultural heritage. The position which the archaeologists hold renders them in charge of the decisions made for the heritage sites. Terminology is used which invites people to share the same beliefs and traditions targeting the emotions of visitors. The officials of the MoC are presented as experts who invite people to this sense of belonging and to become acquainted with the national patrimony.

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<sup>11</sup> MoC, DBMM, (1997), The Byzantine Heritage-World Heritage, *The Medieval City of Rhodes*.

“Byzantium, the source of modern Hellenism, invites us to become acquainted with it in the organised museums, monuments and sites that can be visited. The MoC is expecting you”<sup>12</sup>.

The MoC acts as a host who is expecting guests and in that way its power as the sole proprietor of heritage is implied. Nevertheless, a distinction takes place between those sites which are ‘organised’ and those that are not. The visitor is invited to become acquainted with that part of Greek heritage that is preserved, those sites that were initially chosen to be preserved and managed. Archaeologists decide the way sites are presented and which sites can be visited.

The MoC aims at presenting heritage to the people so that they become acquainted with it and reinforce a sense of identity. The responsibilities of the archaeologists, to preserve and present heritage sites, are illustrated in the written promotional material that is read by the public. Archaeologists gain legitimate power to act as the guardians who protect heritage justifying in that way their role ‘to conjure up’ the picture of the past. They aim at providing a framework in order to incorporate sites into the life of the area where they belong while engaging the public in such sense of belonging.

“The archaeological and cultural services responsible for them [the monuments of Thessaloniki], are now looking into new ways of incorporating the monuments into the life of the city, by sensitively developing their role”<sup>13</sup>.

“The promotion and dissemination of knowledge about the goods associated with our Greek cultural heritage and identity, through books and other printed material, is an obligation, a challenge, and an investment in the future”<sup>14</sup>.

When Greek cultural heritage is incorporated into the life of the community it is not considered as ‘remains’ in the literal sense and they are part of everyday life while acknowledging that this heritage is part of another epoch (sections 4.6, 5.6, 8.4). The rationale which seems to emerge in the official narrative is the effort made to show that these sites belong to the people and they are presented to the Greek citizens through emotionally charged words, attempting to reinforce elements of possessiveness. The use of the pronoun ‘our’ when heritage is described, explicitly provides a sense of

<sup>12</sup> MoC, DBMM, (1997), *Byzantine Museums and Collections of Greece*.

<sup>13</sup> MoC, DBMM, (1997), *The Byzantine Heritage-World Heritage, The Monuments of Thessaloniki*.

<sup>14</sup> MoC, ARF, (undated), *Publications*.

possessiveness. Feelings may be reinforced towards the past and ideals that are reflected in this heritage where heritage is directly connected with identity.

The terms ‘dissemination of knowledge’ and ‘obligation’ (the second of the quotes mentioned above) indicate the responsibilities of the MoC. At the same time, it could be assumed that a sense of obligation and a task is assigned to the people over the stewardship of heritage which is explicitly related to identity. Each member who belongs to the state needs to have a sense of responsibility to preserve the perceived roots of the nation (Smith,1999). The material evidence of the past is used to forge a sense of responsibility to the people over heritage. The terms ‘challenge’ and ‘investment in the future’ may be associated with the benefits that derive from the presentation of heritage. The material traces from the past are tangible and may reinforce the feeling that the population has common roots which bond them together.

The educational leaflet which provides information about the programme at the Acropolis stated, clearly, that the aim of the educational programme is to ‘enhance the understanding of classical civilisation’. Ideas related to the past are more easily conveyed when there is reference to tangible evidence. Information is presented as if the archaeologists are the ones to guide and determine the way heritage is presented.

“Since the study of the Athenian Acropolis is part of the curriculum in the majority of schools world-wide, one of the Education Department’s main purposes is to enable the teacher, through intensive seminars and specially-made resource material, to take initiatives and work on his/her own with the students”<sup>15</sup>.

The expertise of the people in the MoC is indirectly presented since their position gives them the power to decide issues of cultural heritage. The presentation of the legitimate power of the people in the MoC to make decisions for the preservation of heritage enforces their actions. The following quotes may illustrate the case more explicitly:

“The publications give international prominence to the scholarly archaeological activity of the MoC”<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> MoC, First Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, (undated), Educational Programme, *Teaching Resources from the Acropolis Education Department*.

<sup>16</sup> MoC, ARF, (undated), *Publications*.



“The aim is specific, the skilled staff is available and the people in charge show special sensitivity and respect in the promotion and use so why not exploit the treasures which belong to all of us”<sup>17</sup>.

Archaeologists are presented as having ‘the skills and expertise’, elements which legitimate their power to make decisions and choices for the presentation of cultural heritage. Nonetheless, a contradiction was observed in relation to the information that was found in Chapter 4 of the Analysis of Documents (section 4.3b). Here the strengthening of the ties between the Antiquities Services and archaeologists of the MoC is yet to be realised. Despite the availability of staff for the implementation of the educational programmes, competencies are not fully implemented because of the centralist approach of the MoC (Chapter 5, section 5.3b), resulting in disagreements and arguments over the presentation of heritage between the central and the local offices of the MoC. The information that is presented to the people aims at showing that the MoC has the staff available for the presentation of information. Meanwhile, the rigidity which exists when decisions are taken is not shown as this would create a negative image for the MoC. Besides, the description of heritage as heritage that ‘belongs to all of us’ is a way of reinforcing the imagined community.

#### 6.4 Economic values

The presentation of cultural heritage may be connected to the economic returns that their presentation may bring. The economic gains are shown when the MoC refers to “exploit the treasures that belong to all of us”<sup>18</sup>. The verb ‘exploit’ may be connected to the economic values that are related to heritage resources such as the World Heritage Sites (Feilden & Jokilehto,1993). The possibility of economic gains from the management of heritage is an objective that can be fulfilled through its presentation.

The population may depend on tangible manifestations which comprise the common bond between the past and the present. The Greek citizen has a part to share in the treasures; tangible evidence from the past ‘belongs to all of us’. Its perceived connection with the glorious past may be used as a signifier of national identity. The presentation of

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<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*

treasures may reinforce the sense of the imagined community in the population while at the same time economic benefits may be gained. Sites entail economic and cultural values. There is effort on the one hand, to gain economic returns from the presentation of sites of outstanding value while an effort is made to reinforce nationality.

Another example that may show the presence of economic and political returns which exist, apart from the reinforcement of cultural values that heritage sites entail, is related to the World Heritage Site of Olympia and the Olympic Games. The exhibition 'Mind and Body' was held nationally and internationally in 1989. Greece is seen as the country that may provide the 'true character' to the Olympic Games.

“Today, Greece is seeking to host the Centenary of the Olympic Games in which man's physical prowess is brought into contact with the achievements of technology in a context of extreme commercialisation. In justly claiming the Olympic Games of 1996, Greece wishes to give them back their true character, that which imbued the ancient Games with the strong presence of the spirit and with the inseparable relationship between mind and physical exercise. The MoC has organised the exhibition 'Mind and Body', because it believes that the central idea characterising the Olympic Ideal is the simultaneous cultivation and identification of these two concepts”<sup>19</sup>.

Greek heritage was presented in an attempt to convince the international community of the presence of the true character of ancient ideals in Greece, their birthplace, and thus justify the claim of Greece to host the Olympic Games in their birthplace. It was implied that the Olympic Games ideals of antiquity are used to create the national narrative. It should also be considered that hosting the Olympic Games is a source of income for the host country. Greece is hosting the Olympic Games of 2004 and disagreements have arisen concerning the way Greek decisions were made about the management of the Olympic Games. World Heritage Sites entail economic value. When Greece started to implement decisions for the organisation of the Olympic Games, complaints were created over the allocation of funding to activities that were not seen in a positive perspective (as has been earlier cited).

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<sup>19</sup> MoC-The National Hellenic Committee I.C.O.M (1989), National Archaeological Museum, 15th May 1989 -15th January 1990, Mind and Body, Athletic Contests in Ancient Greece, *Prologue*, Spyros Merkouris, page 17.

## 6.5 Educational values

Communication activities of the MoC are concentrated on the student population. The Department of Educational Programmes, an institution which plans and operates educational archaeological programmes and exhibitions in Greece for Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, (cited in Chapter 4, section 4.5) specifies that the activities are concentrated on the student population and makes the distinction between the general population and the student population. Besides, it is argued that there is a priority for activities to be concentrated in Athens, a big urban centre, a similar case to decisions being made for the creation of museums in big urban centres (also presented in Chapter 5, section 5.4).

“The Centre of Educational Programmes is an institution which plans and operates educational archaeological programmes and exhibitions in Athens and the other cities and towns of Greece. The aim of the activities is to sensitise the public, and especially young people, to issues relating to their cultural heritage, its interpretation, understanding and, consequently its protection”<sup>20</sup>.

The first point that is raised is that there is a priority over the implementation of activities in Athens. A characteristic example, which illustrates that the communication activities are confined to specific sites, is the educational programmes for the World Heritage Site of the Acropolis. The educational programmes for the Acropolis started for the first time in 1986 when Melina Mercouri initiated the institution of the European City of Culture and Athens was the City of Culture that year. It was at that time that the Acropolis was nominated to the List.

Many programmes have been organised for different parts of the site of the Acropolis since then and they aimed at different classes of primary and secondary school. The educational programmes for the Acropolis outweigh, in number, the programmes for the other sites. Approximately, half of the Greek population lives in the region of Attica in which Athens is located and it seems that there is a priority for educational programmes to be initiated there rather than in other cities of the country. Besides, it is a policy which illustrates the centralist approach according to which the Greek state allocates

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<sup>20</sup> MoC, Centre for Educational Programmes, (1996), Principles and Objectives. It existed as a Centre of Educational Programmes till 1997 when its name changed to the Department of Educational Programmes.



money and initiates activities (Psycharis & Garevou,2000). The Acropolis is situated in the region of Attica where the majority of schools exist. Thus, the programmes cater for a larger number of people. Nonetheless, this should not provide the argument by the MoC for the justification of the confinement of activities to specific sites.

The second point is that emphasis placed on aiming education and information for the heritage sites at young people. Children are the future citizens of the Greek state which aims to keep them informed about the country's history. Nevertheless, the MoC selectively organises the promotion of heritage sites to the student population and a priority exists over sites that are important archaeological sites. Programmes take place in the area of the sites, where students visit sites in groups and work on specific issues such as the creation of paintings, mosaics, the practice of the students' skills on a specific task. After the visit to the site, teachers and students fill in questionnaires with regard to their visit based upon what they have seen. Questionnaires which are completed by the teachers refer to the pedagogic character of the field trips and the significance of the participation of the students<sup>21</sup>. Nevertheless, suggestions are made by the MoC to the teachers in the educational leaflets and references are provided for the information of the teacher and the student:

“Connect the past with the present. Help the students to connect the issues under study to their interests, to their knowledge and their experiences from contemporary life”<sup>22</sup>.

“During the visit divide the students into four teams. Assign to the first team the drawing-up of a list of the remains from the ancient use of the temple, to the second the summarising of the Byzantine buildings, the third team the writing down of the obvious and possible interventions in the Frankish period and to the last one all the interventions it has through the contemporary use as an archaeological site”<sup>23</sup>.

These educational activities seek to connect the different periods together so that elements from different periods found in the sites may be explained and can co-exist in a harmonious way. The interpretation covers changes to the sites that have occurred in

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<sup>21</sup> MoC, DBMM, (1995), Report on the educational activities of the academic year 1994-1995 & MoC, DBMM, (1996), Report on the educational activities of the academic year 1995-1996.

<sup>22</sup> MoC, DBMM, (1999), Educational Programme for Moni of Daphni, The secrets of a monument.

<sup>23</sup> MoC, DBMM, (1999), Educational Programme for Moni of Daphni, The secrets of a monument, *The adventures of a monument-recommended activities*.

the passage of time and the presentation of the history of the site. Reference is made to the presence of other interventions from other cultures and a bibliography exists for further information which aims at justifying the validity of the texts. The aim of the educational files with which teachers are provided, is to introduce the meaning of the past and ways of approaching it. The teacher is the connecting bond between the scientific work of the archaeologist and the student population and contributes so that the student population may comprehend history and archaeology. It is also interesting to note that the teachers are given suggestions by the archaeologists about the way information about the sites is presented to the students. Teachers do not act independently and the expertise on archaeological issues is assumed by the creators of the Educational Programmes which may also indicate who decides the presentation of heritage (this was also discussed by the officials of the MoC in Chapter 5, section 5.3b).

“The scientific knowledge, organised around particular themes, combined with the emotional approach produced by active learning, concludes in familiarising the school or other young groups with the material traces of the past”<sup>24</sup>.

“Through the diachronic presence of the monument [Nea Moni on Chios], the students learn to recognise the continuity of the Byzantine tradition to the contemporary world. During the educational programme, the students have the opportunity to understand the meaning of the balanced relation between the natural environment and the historic monument. All the senses participate when they approach areas from a new angle, that of the young guest, areas which may have been seen before, but did not draw their attention”<sup>25</sup>.

Students are seen as the continuators of the Greek state and activities are intensified towards their appreciation of the national patrimony. The issue of teaching the population to preserve and protect heritage is not the primary concern. It is the issue of becoming familiar with the heritage of a specific territory. The aim is active participation so that people, and especially students, can feel and realise the connections which exist between the ancient period and the present. The past is brought forward to enhance the present. Nonetheless, there is a selection of decisions made for the educational programmes and for which sites these programmes are implemented. The

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<sup>24</sup> MoC, Centre for Educational Programmes, *Principles and Objectives*, (1996). The Centre for Educational Programmes became Department of Educational Programmes: Law 2557, FEK 271 A', 24-12-1997, Article 6, §23, *Institutions, Measures and Activities of the Cultural Development*.

<sup>25</sup> MoC, DBMM, (1997), Educational Programme, Nea Moni on Chios.

educational programmes related to the World Heritage Sites present the World Heritage Emblem and indicates the fact that these sites have been nominated to the List.

## 6.6 Social values

Monuments which entail ideas and links with the past are illustrated in an effort to reinforce the association of the people with fellow-citizens and with dead generations (McCrone, 1992:28) so that the sense of affinity to a specific community is strengthened. The sites are presented as the depositories of the ancient past but the presentation of sites from all over Greece is far from being balanced. Effort is made to reinforce the national patrimony through the presentation of specific choices which are recognisable and may provide a complete picture for the average visitor so that (s)he can identify with the 'imagined community'. The sites that are presented are in such a good state of preservation that they form works of art and they are used to verify the historical sources. Emphasis is put upon those elements that are recognisable in order to attract the visitor.

“The Hellenistic city was succeeded by the Roman, which in turn evolved into the Byzantine... Originally planned in the Hellenistic period, but later enriched by the Byzantine churches it [Thessaloniki] is the most characteristic example of a Byzantine city to have survived down to this day”<sup>26</sup>.

“[Mount Athos] managed to survive and to continue its spiritual traditions right up to the present, thus constituting one of the brightest beacons and symbols of the Orthodox world”<sup>27</sup>.

“The visitor or the resident in the city of Rhodes is offered the unique chance to walk the streets of a live monument, where the past and the present coexist in the most prolific and productive way”<sup>28</sup>.

The vocabulary used to invite the visitor to meet the heritage is presented in a nostalgic way. Although the literal definition of the term site refers to a static object, nonetheless the site becomes 'live', a metaphor is used to create the desire to visit the area and also to illustrate that sites are not only remains of the past but they have a close relation with

<sup>26</sup> MoC, DBMM, (1997), The Byzantine Heritage-World Heritage, *The Monuments of Thessaloniki*.

<sup>27</sup> MoC, DBMM, (1997), The Byzantine Heritage-World Heritage, *Mount Athos*.

<sup>28</sup> MoC, DBMM, (1996), Educational Programme, ...In the City of Knights, *Rhodes, a crossroad of civilisations*.



the present. Sites are presented as 'living organisms' and thus it is shown that they can be incorporated into the life of the contemporary community, especially in the case of Byzantine sites. Meanwhile, disagreements that emerge in their management are kept in the background.

### 6.7 Political values

The people in the MoC have a significant role to play with regard to decisions made and implemented for the presentation of cultural heritage. With regard to the archaeological leaflet for the site of Mycenae, reference was made to the Greek world and the Mycenaean civilisation as the totality of the nation.

“Mycenae gave its name to a period and a civilisation that evolved throughout the entire Greek world between the 16th and 12th c. BC”<sup>29</sup>.

Cultural unity was given to the Aegean basin for the first time in the region's history by the Mycenaean civilisation (Toynbee, 1981:12). Nevertheless, the leaflet does not refer to the period of decline of the Mycenaean civilisation (ibid:19-23). Only the vigorous periods of the sites are presented.

An example where heritage is mobilised for political use may be presented in the example of the exhibition about Alexander the Great which was held in Thessaloniki in 1993. The presentation of the exhibition coincided with disputes created between Greece and the state of FYROM. The then Minister of Culture provided a definition of Hellenism in the introduction of the Greek exhibition catalogue which shows how political and cultural statements may be simultaneously presented if we consider that a person from the political domain (the then Minister) interferes in the presentation of World Heritage:

“The expression 'hellenism' acquired more than one meaning over the centuries. We choose one of them: Hellenism is not just a historical phenomenon. It is not a close nationalistic-racial position; it is an ecumenical, spiritual presence and a way of life that represents indissoluble principles and values and consists of one of the roots of human civilisation. The Hellenic land

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<sup>29</sup> MoC, ARF, (1995), Mycenae.

of Macedonia has been the vanguard and a start of Hellenism since it was the place where Hellenic language and education acquired universality”<sup>30</sup>.

It is interesting to note how Hellenism is presented as an ideology that is not ‘just a historical phenomenon’. It is used to unite the nation. This quote shows that communication activities are not free from political statements such as those which were raised with regard to Macedonia where Hellenism was presented as incorporating the whole nation. In that way Hellenism is used as an ideology that aims at joining the nation together (Herzfeld,1982:19) in time and place (it is an issue also presented in section 6.2). The way the official national narrative is presented addresses the significance attached to the cultural icons associated with the past aiming to associate the archaeological site of Vergina with the Macedonians at a period of dispute with FYROM (Danforth,1994; Mouliou,1996; Triandafyllidou,1998).

“In view of the pressing need to encourage public awareness of the cultural creation in our homeland, the Archaeological Receipts Fund publishes small leaflets, simple in form yet precious in content, that are distributed free of charge to the visitors of the archaeological sites and museums”<sup>31</sup>.

Awareness is raised for the past which is presented as ‘our’ homeland. In that way, feelings of belonging and sharing are intensified. It is interesting to note that information in the material written for the international population did not refer to the heritage of ‘our homeland’, but to ‘Greek heritage’. The possessive pronoun ‘our’ is used as a powerful force in the maintenance of national identity.

Sites are used as tangible manifestations of Greekness while they are also of international significance. It is also interesting to note the term ‘pressing need’ that is used shows the contemporary character of heritage since the presentation of heritage is perceived as being ‘a pressing need’ of this period. Information presented to the public in the written material by the MoC for the heritage sites entails political statements.

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<sup>30</sup> MoC -I.C.O.M, (1993), Greek Civilisation-Macedonia, Kingdom of Alexander the Great.

<sup>31</sup> MoC, ARF, (undated), *Publications*.

## 6.8 Conclusion

The use of a glorious past in the promotional material not only associates contemporary Greece with classical antiquity but also presents a continuity which includes the history of Byzantine Empire. Although there is reference made in the leaflets that a definite association cannot be made between names from national mythology and specific territories, names and mythical heroes such as Agamemnon, Hercules, Alexander the Great intermingle and allow for connections to be made with a 'golden age'. A glorious past provides a way in which sites are associated with an age of heroes that is part of a process of presenting a continuous and unified national identity in any mythology of a nation (Smith,1986:192).

In addition, emphasis is put on the promotion of a recourse of Byzantine art to ancient Greek values, values which are promoted as being located, also, in present. In that way, the connection of a homogeneous past, with no discontinuities, is reinforced by the state organisation where Byzantine cultural symbols are presented as preserving the ancient spirit and bringing it to the present. Nevertheless, we need to consider that the emphasis on Hellenic identity by Byzantine tradition provided a defence mechanism of a Byzantine Empire threatened by the West and the East (Kokosalakis,1987) and it was not just a recourse to the ancient values that it is claimed.

Our interpretation leads us to another level of discussion since we are not interested in whether these heroes are real or not and whether there is relationship to 'a golden age' or not. Rather, we are interested in critically examining the fact that these associations are made for specific territories and for specific locations which are taken for granted as having always been attached to the Greek nation.

Associations are made in the promotional material that locate identity in a golden age and promote an affinity with past generations in the national community. Since the emergence of the Greek state, the cultivation of Greek identity has been based on the association with a golden age. The educational system was a mechanism for forging collective identity as part of the creation of a sense of community (Kitromilides,1989:163) and heroes of classical antiquity were associated with the



population following the War of Independence (Clogg,1992:31). In addition, what is left unspoken is that the cultivation of identity was cemented with the creation of a national Orthodox Church that would be independent from the Patriarchate of Constantinople and would reinforce social cohesion within the population (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987; Kitromilides,1989; Georgiadou,1995).

Therefore, there is a social role which the sites hold and they are presented as treasured remains of the past for the preservation of the national community. This imagining is reinforced at national level through the promotion of specific heritage sites from a golden age, with symbols of a religious faith and with the use of the possessive pronoun 'our' when reference is made to the territory or heritage. The imagining is associated with 'sacred' territories. What is of interest in critically examining the official discourse in the promotional material is how these sites aim to reinforce a sense of belonging to the community for contemporary Greece where a reciprocal relationship between the use of time and space exists and one period (classical antiquity) is present in another period (Byzantine epoch) and vice versa with incompatible values merging together as if they were united. At one and the same time, we are located in modern Greece but are also transferred to the past which is presented as if it is co-existing harmoniously with the present. It is as if the imagined community moves in a "homogeneous empty time" (Anderson,1992:26), an interchange of time that attempts to show that the nation and the state are inherently congruent.

The use of the symbolic role of specific sites, which has been cultivated in people's consciousness through the territorialisation of memory (Smith,1996a), creates a sense of exclusiveness, a sense of obligation that is required of the Greek population to protect the nation's heritage. Smith argues that national ideals of destiny and mission seek to cultivate, attain and maintain a perceived distinctiveness of a people on a territory which is considered as its historic homeland (1999:333). A sense of personal commitment to a community then emerges which becomes the task of the future generations. This personal commitment can be 'grafted' according to Smith (1999:347) to older religious beliefs and myths. This then, develops responsibilities for the preservation of the cultural heritage, allowing no excuse to do otherwise where these myths are transformed into strong nationalist ideals. What is more significant, which was found in the case of

the promotion of the cultural heritage, is when the sense of mission is required by the bureaucratic state in contrast to the rationale of bureaucracy which should be based on reasoning and not on symbolic forms (Herzfeld,1992). In the case of the World Heritage Sites we found that the MoC associates identity with ancient legends and Orthodox religion and creates a sense of predestination for heritage as if it always existed and was associated with the people of Greece.

The promotion of heritage to the student populations reflects the MoC's attempt to define identity to the future citizens of the state. Students are seen as the continuators of the Greek state and activities are intensified towards their appreciation of the national patrimony. The issue of teaching the population to preserve and protect heritage is not the primary concern as it is the issue of becoming familiar with the heritage which belongs to the specific territories. The role of the MoC is not directly related to the educational system, yet its communication activities are specific and are emphasised for the presentation of specific heritage.

The promotion of the heritage sites is deemed to be of significance, at specific points in time, for economic or political purposes. Communication activities associated with the World Heritage Sites are found not to be free from political statements. When the presentation of World Heritage Sites from antiquity takes place (eg. Mycenae, Olympia, Vergina, Delphi), Hellenism is presented as if it incorporates the whole nation although the unity was influenced more by cultural rather than by political terms (Smith,1991:47-48). In that way, Hellenism is used as an ideology which aims at joining the nation together (Herzfeld,1982:19). In addition, explicit references are made to the idea that 'Byzantium is the source of modern Hellenism' and that there is 'continuity of the Byzantine tradition to the contemporary world' which people recognise and it is presented as a firm fact. Two issues are raised: incompatible values of Byzantine tradition and Hellenism merge and Byzantine tradition that is associated with Orthodoxy, is considered to be an identifying characteristic of Greekness when promoted at national level.

The objective is to place classical and Byzantine heritage internationally and thus reinforce the presence of Greek identity and its association with specific elements which

not only depend on antiquity, but on Byzantine tradition. In fact, the World Heritage Site of Rhodes and the World Heritage Sites of Thessaloniki are presented as Greek rather than international heritage, in a publication created for the Byzantine World Heritage Sites of Greece taking for granted that the Greek population is Orthodox. The paradox that exists is that the MoC is not willing to hand over, to the international community, such heritage which is assumed Greek patrimony rather than international. The MoC is seeking approval of heritage which constitutes Greekness at international level.

The words 'treasures' and 'assets' which are presented in the material, in fact, indicate the commercial aspect given to heritage which is also seen as a source of income. Urry's account of the commercialism which may exist in the presentation of heritage (1990a:110) is correct and could be applied to the way in which World Heritage Sites at times are seen as 'resources'. The emphasis, though, on the promotion of cultural heritage as an obligation and responsibility at national level, or, the way in which international events may place Greek identity in international politics, implies a more fundamental reason of the maintenance of identity rather than simply the promotion of heritage for economic returns.

Therefore, messages emerge from the initiation of activities for the presentation of sites that go beyond the promotion of identity but at the same time are firmly related to it. One point that is raised from our findings is the attempt of the MoC to show that Greece is related to antiquity, perpetuating, in that way, the stereotypical views for Greece as the provider of the roots for the West, a concept that nonetheless has been doubted (Toynbee,1981, Tsoukalas,1999). Another point that we raise is the attempt at a presentation of Greece firmly based on Byzantium, a promotion that takes place both at national and international level. This finding from the case of the presentation of the World Heritage Sites by the Greek organisation of the MoC could be used to adjust Clogg's view about Greece's effort to be defined as a country of classical antiquity, true though it may be but which halfway sheds light on the legitimation that Greece has sought for its identity.



The next part of the thesis presents the way heritage sites are promoted by the Greek National Tourism Organisation. This, then, would allow us to critically examine the values associated with such presentation as is identified from different sources. In so doing, we are offered ground to relate our findings to the way in which heritage's promotion is officially organised and make inferences for Greek identity as is manifested through heritage sites.

## **PART IV**

# **PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS GREEK NATIONAL TOURISM ORGANISATION**

**ANALYSIS OF DOCUMENTS FROM THE  
GREEK NATIONAL TOURISM  
ORGANISATION**



## CHAPTER 7: ANALYSIS OF DOCUMENTS FROM THE GREEK NATIONAL TOURISM ORGANISATION

### 7.1 Introduction

This Chapter explores the aims of the Greek National Tourism Organisation (GNTO) related to the presentation of Greek national heritage. GNTO is a state organisation which is in charge of planning the promotion of tourist development of Greece.

Among the responsibilities of GNTO are, the gathering of information and the creation of communication programmes for the implementation of the Greek national tourism policy. The presentation of the country's natural and cultural resources is part of the activities of GNTO and Greek tourist policy aims at upgrading the quality, enrichment and diversification of the tourist product among which cultural tourism is specified as a part.

The search of documents explored the role of cultural heritage in the implementation of activities by GNTO. Emphasis put on cultural heritage was related to cultural, economic, social and political values that GNTO seeks to bring out while issues of nationality emerge. The role of people in the decisions taken determines the specific selections made when heritage is presented.

### 7.2 Cultural values

There are specific Directorates in charge of the communication activities of GNTO. The Department of Research and Investigation, which is under the Directorate of Research and Development<sup>1</sup>, is in charge of the gathering of information related to tourist issues. This Department is in charge of implementing research and study to ensure the efficiency of the activities of GNTO, the quality and competitiveness of the tourist services provided<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Presidential Decree No 884/76, FEK 325 A', (2/8-12-1976), Article 3, Basic Structure.

<sup>2</sup> Presidential Decree No 884/76, FEK 325 A', (2/8-12-1976), Article 4§2a, Structure-Responsibilities of the Directorate of Research and Development.

A market study with regard to the attitudes of people towards Greek tourism and the tendency of their tourist interests was carried out by GNTTO in 1998 at national and international level. There was specific reference to cultural heritage as a tourist resource of Greece and the way its promotion is perceived by people<sup>3</sup>. Part of the results of this study illustrated the way Greek tourists perceive the presentation of Greece. Nonetheless, not many market studies have taken place, especially among the Greek population so that evaluation programmes can occur on the presentation of Greece. This has the result that tourists' points of view are not usually identified for the communication activities that take place.

The World Tourism Organisation (WTO:1985) has suggested that countries should move towards a more cultural approach that would promote cultural tourism on their tourist campaigns. Nonetheless, GNTTO has been slow to implement such initiatives. Natural elements were a first priority for presentation in comparison to cultural heritage (Thorburn,1986). In the mid-nineties the emphasis shifted towards the intensification of the promotion of cultural tourism by GNTTO. It is not that cultural heritage is not presented, but it consists of a parallel aim of GNTTO which also seeks to present natural resources.

“The mission statement of the communication policy of GNTTO is, to raise the distinction of the natural and cultural resources of Greece capable of promoting and maintaining its appeal at the national and international level”<sup>4</sup>.

Both natural and cultural resources are found to be important for representing Greece. These resources aim at presenting Greece nationally and internationally. Communication for tourism was presented in the documents as aiming at presenting the Greek way of living, the natural resources of country, its historic and cultural distinctiveness, the dynamic of a country that is a member of the European Union and is safe and homogeneous. These are parameters which are considered of significance for presentation as constitutive elements of Greece<sup>5</sup>. The presentation of heritage sites as

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<sup>3</sup> Annual market studies take place in Greece by IPK European Travel Monitor every January, European Committee, Ministry of Development, GNTTO, (1998), Second European Regional Development Fund, Tourism-Culture, Market Study for the Greek Tourism, page 2, Athens: Market Analysis EPE.

<sup>4</sup> GNTTO, Directorate of Advertising, (18-10-1996), Detailed Proclamation of International Invitation, Law 2160/93, page 5.

<sup>5</sup> GNTTO, Directorate of Advertising, (18-10-1996), Detailed Proclamation of International Invitation, Law 2160/93, page 6.

part of the cultural resources of Greece is important although it is not the sole objective of the communication activities of GNTO. The basic aims of the tourist policy as defined in the documents of GNTO are the upgrading of quality and the enrichment-diversification of the whole Greek tourist product offered through the improvement of the level of services and the elongation of the tourist period. A parallel aim of the tourist policy of GNTO is the presentation and protection of cultural heritage as a tourist resource<sup>6</sup>. It needs to be pointed out that priority is given to the economic returns that may come from tourism while the presentation of archaeological sites is considered to be only one part of the responsibilities of GNTO. Sites are seen by GNTO as 'tourist resources' that can be used when Greece is presented. In 1995, the then Secretary General of GNTO stated for the International Day of Tourism that,

“the reference point of our policy is the protection of the environment and the preservation and spread of our cultural heritage”<sup>7</sup>.

Both the environment and cultural heritage are considered important for presentation. Although the prioritisation of natural over cultural heritage is demonstrated as part of the policy of GNTO, information is provided in such a way that cultural heritage puts emphasis on the sense of belonging to a common place. Cultural heritage may not be the only one that is presented from the resources of Greece, but references to it as 'our' cultural heritage (cited in the above mentioned quote) may illustrate the perceived value that has been given to it.

The presentation of cultural sites at national and international level are among the aims of GNTO. Nonetheless, they are not the primary ones. It is worth noting that the intensification of cultural tourism took place with the increased financing by the European Development Fund after 1989 of projects related to tourism and culture. It is not coincidence that financial support by the European Union contributed so that specific forms of tourism, such as cultural tourism, were developed and aimed at elevating heritage at that period.

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<sup>6</sup> GNTO, Department of Advertising, (undated), Tourist Policy in the mid-nineties, page 5.

<sup>7</sup> GNTO, Press Office, Athens, (26-9-1995), Message of the General Secretary of GNTO for the International Day of Tourism.



“Public investments from the Second European Regional Development Fund are fully directed towards the development of specific forms of tourism specifically, ecological, cultural tourism, through the development of our architectural heritage with restoration interventions on traditional buildings and settlements, with the creation of trails and walks through noteworthy landscapes and culturally interesting areas... and the protection and promotion of archaeological sites”<sup>8</sup>.

The creation of trails and walks through areas which may supply cultural resources are among GNTTO’s objectives<sup>9</sup>. References to heritage as ‘our’ heritage are repeated in the documents and it may be argued that the use of possessive pronouns illustrates a sense of belonging. Nevertheless, this sense of possession seems to be limited to specific heritage. GNTTO’s policy is directed towards specific heritage. There is, clearly, a distinction made between ‘noteworthy’ heritage and the effort made to elevate it while there is heritage for which activities are not initiated. It is implied that this heritage is not considered to be ‘noteworthy’. Emphasis is put on material evidence and specific properties designed and created by man which are chosen for presentation by the officials in GNTTO. An issue that should be raised refers to the contribution of the allocation of money by the European Union for the initiation of activities related to specific aspects of tourism, such as, cultural tourism. Decisions by the European Union and funding by the European Regional Development Fund may determine the implementation of activities related to tourism (O’Connor & Cronin,1993:9; Tsartas,2000).

When activities of GNTTO take place related to cultural heritage, they are directed towards specific heritage. The cultural activities of GNTTO held in specific World Heritage Sites, such as the ancient theatre of Epidaurus, provide a characteristic example. Performances have been held there since 1954 and values associated with the past are mobilised in order to transmit ideals to the public who attend the performing arts. It was mentioned in relation to the performances held in Epidaurus that “the ordeals and myths of the tragedy of ancient Greek play-writing are diachronic and universal”<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> GNTTO, Department of Advertising, (undated), Tourist Policy in the mid-nineties, pages 9-10.

<sup>9</sup> Ministry of Development-MoC, Directorate of Research and Development, Second European Regional Development Fund, (July 1996), Operational Programme: Tourism-Culture, *Tourism, Mountain, Ecological, Cultural and Therapeutic Tourism*, page 28.

<sup>10</sup> GNTTO, Press Office, Athens (25-6-1997), Phinisses of Euripides in Epidaurus on 4th and 5th July, 1997.

In that way, a process takes place which aims at reinforcing the emotional ties of the people to the sites.

Performances in specific, preserved, ancient theatres provide a connecting bond with a glorious past and may reinforce emotional and spiritual ties with the Greek population. Features of legend are related to tangible sites in the same location in which they were created thousands of years ago. There is enhancement of the present with the power of the past. GNTTO aims at promoting a connection between the past and the present through cultural activities which take place at the sites reinforcing the concept of the nation. Symbolic meanings are used to promote awareness in the Greek population about the perceived Greekness and the presentation of eternal values contribute to imagining it. There was specific reference made by the Greek state with regard to the cultural heritage in the Conference of the International Association of Travel Agents (IATA) in Athens in 1995. It shows the official point of view of the way GNTTO perceives heritage and the cultural values that it embraces.

“The heritage of Greece is a weapon. The marbles and our stones are also a weapon. They have soul. They are, for we Greeks, forever connected with our conscience and our national identity”<sup>11</sup>.

“Mythology, our history, our archaeological sites, our churches, our folklore traditions, consist of symbolic codes which carry the gravity of centuries. These cultural elements of Greeks consist of the tools for the preservation of our national existence and they consist of our unique playing card in the international arena of competition”<sup>12</sup>.

Heritage is described with emotionally charged words which may also imply the continuing role that heritage may have in the passage of time for attaining the unique (or perceived to be unique) identity of the state (Smith,1991). It is interesting to note that national identity is explicitly presented as being connected to the sites. Heritage sites are cherished resources that are used for reinforcing the sense of belonging to a common place. Sites are presented as providing an awareness of history and an anchorage for national identity. The use of the possessive pronoun ‘our’ aims at connecting heritage with the concept of the Greek state and thus reinforces the sense, to the people, of being

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<sup>11</sup>GNTTO, Ypourgos/Athens (12-10-1995), The marriage of Culture, Tourism and Policy and the Adventure of Air transfers in Greece of 2000, Conference of IATA, page 2.

<sup>12</sup> (ibid:1-2).

part of a place. The officials of GNTTO do not exclude themselves from the collective associations made which aim at reinforcing the imagined community (that has also been discussed earlier in the thesis). “The interests of the various groups to which we belong can excite similar levels of affective response, whether it is wildlife conservation, historic building preservation or the dumping of nuclear waste” (Uzzell,1989:33). Heritage is presented as live and dynamic and it relates to the emotional ties of the people. The people in charge of promoting Greece aim at reinforcing the connection of Greek cultural heritage to national identity by providing a sense of continuity between the past and the present. The interplay of myth and history is necessary so that collective associations can be made with the past.

The value of heritage in economic terms is presented as another objective. Cultural and economic values co-exist. The political actors are in charge of promoting Greece by initiating activities and implementing the legislation. They decide the directions for the communication activities, yet their power is not unlimited.

### 7.3 The role of officials in GNTTO in the presentation of heritage

GNTTO organises, forms and carries out advertising programmes for the promotion of Greece. The Directorate of Presentation and Advertising of GNTTO is in charge of the implementation of communication activities for the presentation of Greece at national and international level<sup>13</sup>. It is in charge of the construction and organisation of detailed advertising programmes, the gathering and evaluation of information with regard to the efficiency of advertising programmes and the co-ordination of the advertising activities and advertising in conjunction with other sectors<sup>14</sup>.

The presentation of Greece is more organised for international tourism than it is at the national level (see Table II below). Activities are implemented based on decisions taken by the people in charge of the presentation of Greece and what they consider to be of significance for promotion as part of the Greek tourist product. People in charge of the implementation of communication activities decide the way heritage is presented and

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<sup>13</sup> Law 2160, FEK 118 A', (19-7-1993), Article 1§3e, *Supervision, Policy for Tourism, Administration of GNTTO*.

<sup>14</sup> Presidential Decree No 884/76, FEK 325 A', (2/8-12-1976), Article 8§2a.



where activities are concentrated. The officials of GNTTO may exert influence on the way Greece is promoted even if Law 2160 of 1993 provided responsibilities for the implementation of advertising campaigns at regional level. Law 2160 reinforced the power of responsibilities of the regions of Greece to present their local area.

“A Committee of Tourism Promotion is created, in each region, the aim of which is the organisation of programmes of tourist presentation of the area for the domestic and international market and their realisation with GNTTO’s approval. The above mentioned programmes of tourist promotion are subsidised up to 50% by GNTTO”<sup>15</sup>.

This measure allows each region to promote those elements that it considers important, independent of the fact that they are natural or cultural. Nonetheless, the financial contribution of GNTTO is important for the realisation of the programmes. The regions in Greece may produce the promotional material on their own. They have the power to decide how to present the area and the cultural resources. Nevertheless, GNTTO may exert influence on the decisions taken and it may change the region’s decisions for the implementation of an advertising plan. Selections take place over what is deemed to be of significance for presentation and the allocation of funding to the Committees of Tourism Promotion by GNTTO is far from balanced<sup>16</sup>. This has as a result the presentation of cultural heritage of some regions at a more intense level than others.

GNTTO does not have a full commitment to the management of cultural heritage. The promotional activities of GNTTO are confined to cultural heritage because the Ministry of Culture (MoC) has a principal role to play in the management of heritage sites. The highlights of the activities of GNTTO related to the presentation of cultural heritage are the activities that include the organisation and operation of performing arts held in the World Heritage Sites of Epidaurus, Herod Atticus Odeon of the Acropolis, the Castle of Knights in the Medieval City of Rhodes among others which are incorporated in the Festival of Cultural Activities of GNTTO. The concessions of the sites to GNTTO must be approved by the Central Archaeological Council of the MoC<sup>17</sup>. Every year GNTTO

<sup>15</sup> Law 2160/1993, FEK 118 A’, (19-7-1993), Article 1,13§a, *Regulations for Tourism and Other Arrangements*. Greece consists of 51 regions or prefectures that are part of Greek Government.

<sup>16</sup> GNTTO, Department of Publications, (1997), Allocation of funding to the Committees of Tourism Promotion for 1997.

<sup>17</sup> Law 1211, FEK A’, (20-12-1997), Article 7§9a.

renews the contract with the MoC which grants permission to GNTO to hold theatrical performances and performing arts by means of the spectacle of Sound and Light<sup>18</sup>.

The MoC must grant special permission to GNTO especially for concessions of archaeological sites in order for cultural activities to take place. The MoC sets a number of guidelines which must be followed with regard to the protection of the sites<sup>19</sup> which creates problems between the two organisations. Among the conditions set is the observation of the behavior of the people who attend the cultural activities aiming at the protection of the sites.

The emergence of conflicts of policy may exist between site managers who want to preserve sites by restricting the access of visitors, and tourist boards which aim at using the sites to attract visitors to the region where they are located (Feilden & Jokilehto, 1993:98). The power of GNTO is not unlimited. Cultural activities initiated by GNTO in sites as a strategy of communication with the public require the approval of the MoC in order to proceed. Conflicts emerged when GNTO delayed paying the MoC for the performances held in ancient theatres. GNTO accounted for that incident to bureaucratic rigidity of the civil service for issuing the money needed to be given by GNTO to the MoC<sup>20</sup>.

Nevertheless, if we lead our discussion at another level, we could argue that there is a struggle for power and political advantage which is gained by those who are in charge of heritage (Prott, 1991), in this case the MoC. The MoC has the power to determine the way in which heritage is managed but also benefits from such management. It can claim economic returns for the use of the sites by other organisations. Yet, this action highlights that a power derives from the sites and is used as a tool by organisations for exercising power. When numerous, governmental ministries and departments are involved in the management of heritage, disagreements and rivalries emerge which influence its further presentation (Sumardja, 1985; O'Driscoll, 1990:9; Silberman, 1995).

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<sup>18</sup> Presidential Decree No 4109, FEK 153 A', (19/29-9-1960), Article 9§3.

<sup>19</sup> MoC/ARX/A1/F42/14354/1289, (7-5-1998), Obligations for granting permission to Herod Atticus Odeon.

<sup>20</sup> GNTO, Festival of Cultural Activities/Athens, (3-7-1997), Press Release.

Emphasis is put upon the presentation of Greece for domestic tourism on an infrequent and fragmentary basis. More effort is put into communication programmes related to the international market. Activities for the domestic market are infrequent and they do not take place on an organised basis. Money is spent on communication activities, yet the allocation of funding is mainly confined to the international market. Statistical data for the amount of money spent by GNTTO for special advertising inserts for Greek tourism and other activities (advertising activities in radio, television, magazines and co-operation with tourist agents) in relation to the total amount of money spent for special inserts and other activities for all other countries in which GNTTO advertises Greece from 1991 till 1998 are presented in Table II. Table II provides data for the subsidisation made for the presentation of Greece to domestic tourism by GNTTO.



**Table II: Amount Spent for Special Advertising Inserts and Other Advertising Activities in total for Greece in comparison to Other Countries in Greek Drachmas by GNTTO (1991-1998).**

		Greece	Other Countries	Total amount spent*
Special Inserts**	1991	Nil	Nil	
Other Activities***	1991	Nil	3,000,168,400	3,000,168,400
Special Inserts	1992	24,054,000	57,019,000	
Other Activities	1992	62,002,000	2,475,978,000	2,619,053,000
Special Inserts	1993	Nil	292,930,200	
Other Activities	1993	Nil	2,647,620,000	2,940,550,200
Special Inserts	1994	Nil	29,691,098	
Other Activities	1994	Nil	1,411,000,893	1,440,691,991
Special Inserts	1995	63,732,582	115,238,488	
Other Activities	1995	22,656,000	1,718,443,914	1,920,070,984
Special Inserts	1996	126,079,995	103,169,696	
Other Activities	1996	46,297,937	5,255,218,060	5,530,765,688
Special Inserts	1997	187,880,359	192,850,569	
Other Activities	1997	192,062,666	4,150,730,580	4,723,524,174
Special Inserts	1998	162,900,393	1,173,954,788	
Other Activities	1998	76,600,000	509,249,929	1,922,705,110

\* These figures represent the total amount spent by GNTTO for advertising activities every year for Greece and Other Countries. This includes the money spent for special advertising inserts and other advertising activities.

\*\* Special advertising inserts or special inserts are related to advertising that is not organised annually.

\*\*\* The term 'other activities' refers to the provision of money for advertising activities in radio and television, magazines and co-operation with tourist agents.

Source: Calculations based on data from the Directorate of Advertising of GNTTO (1991-1998).

At first sight, the comparison of the amount of money for special inserts for each year between Greece and other countries shows that the amount of money spent on the presentation of Greece to the Greek population by GNTTO is a considerable amount in comparison to the money spent for special inserts for other countries. Nonetheless, the money allocated for special advertising inserts for other countries is additional to the annual budget for advertising activities for every country in which GNTTO advertises Greece. In the case of Greece, money spent for special inserts is the main amount allocated for the presentation of Greece. The third column of Table II presents the total amount of money spent for advertising campaigns by GNTTO nationally and internationally both for special advertising inserts and other advertising activities.

The figures in Table II show the infrequent budget and the limited advertising that takes place for the Greek market. Advertising is spent on a temporary basis for Greek domestic tourism. Advertisement for the domestic market is promoted through infrequent activities. There is no specific programme followed for Greek tourism to create an advertising campaign on an annual basis, such as the advertising activities for other countries, where a specific communication campaign is followed every year. This policy influences the advertising campaigns of GNTTO and indirectly confines the presentation of Greek resources, among which cultural sites are a part, to the Greek population.

The year in which the greatest amount of money was spent by GNTTO was 1997 as is illustrated in Table II. It was then that the advertising campaign of GNTTO entitled 'Discover Greece' took place. GNTTO financially supported the campaign and the owners of the daily national newspapers inserted advertising inserts which aimed at reaching all the Greek population in the Greek press for six months. This was one of the infrequent special advertising inserts which GNTTO adopted for the presentation of Greece to Greek citizens. The presentation of archaeological sites had a prominent position in these advertising inserts (as is shown in Chapter 9 which explores the written promotional material of GNTTO). Legislation may put emphasis on the promotion of the resources of Greece, cultural and natural, at national and international level, but the budget for the actual implementation of the communication programmes mainly caters for the international market. The majority of money is spent on advertising for the

foreign market. The activities for advertisement for the domestic market, by GNTTO, are limited and infrequent.

#### 7.4 Economic values

The tourism policy of GNTTO as presented by the Secretary General of GNTTO in the Meeting of the Commission of 5 for the Regions of the European Union stated that,

“[t]he national tourist policy aims at the presentation of the Greek tourist product and the development of its potential to attract the demand of alternative forms of tourism and mainly cultural tourism and the need for protection and promotion of the natural and cultural environment as contributors of the quality of life and as tourist resources”<sup>21</sup>.

Heritage is considered as being a product that can be consumed and it is seen as ‘a tourist resource’. The presentation of Greek resources is part of the tourism policy of GNTTO. Heritage may bring money and tourism provides a vehicle for its promotion. The economic returns that such an orientation may have are mentioned as worthwhile. The protection and presentation of cultural resources are part of the national policy of tourism since they may provide economic returns. Cultural areas are seen as tourist resources which contribute so that tourism is increased and the presentation of cultural heritage is a profitable idea that is welcome by GNTTO. Commercial terms are used in the description of heritage which is part of the tourist product.

“Our Civilisation is an important economic weapon in the international domain... it is a resource that can be sold”<sup>22</sup>.

“Tourism for Greece is the smart and effective ‘exploitation’, in the positive sense, of our culture. The philosophy of our policy for tourism centres on our culture”<sup>23</sup>.

The use of cultural heritage as an economic resource raises the argument of its economic value which is recognised and formally announced by GNTTO. The term ‘exploitation’,

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<sup>21</sup> Ministry of Development, GNTTO, Thessaloniki, (9-7-1998), Intervention of the Secretary General of GNTTO Mr Skoulas in the Meeting of the Commission of 5 of the Commission of the Regions of the European Union, page 2.

<sup>22</sup> GNTTO, Ypourgos/Athens, (12-10-1995), The marriage of Culture, Tourism and Policy and the Adventure of Air transfers in Greece of 2000, Conference of IATA, page 3.

<sup>23</sup> *ibid*: page 4.



which is used to refer to culture, illustrates the economic significance that may be related to the presentation of heritage. The value of heritage for tourism provides justification for preserving it (Hall & McArthur, 1993a; O'Driscoll, 1990). Besides, it is the recognition in 'the international domain' for which heritage is important. Nevertheless, emphasis is put on the protection and presentation of "chosen monuments and sites from the known monuments of Greece"<sup>24</sup>. It is heritage that "has an important, unexploited, cultural dynamic (such as restoration of ancient theatres)" that is a priority to be presented<sup>25</sup>.

The world event of the Olympic Games related to the World Heritage Site of Olympia is an example that illuminates the economic and social values associated with heritage. The Olympic Games are associated with the World Heritage Site of Olympia which is situated in the region of Peloponnese and it is typical to note that the Audio-Visual Department of GNTO created one video-cassette for the region of Peloponnese between 1985 and 1997<sup>26</sup>. The video was produced in 1997. It was in September, 1997 that Greece was a candidate aiming at hosting the Olympic Games of 2004, which was successful, when the advertising of the region of Olympia was intensified. Another video was produced in 1998 with the title "Olympic Games, Athens 2004". The international event of the Olympic Games provided the motive for the intensification of the activities of GNTO related to the World Heritage Site of Olympia. It was at that period that GNTO also sponsored the book 'Ancient Olympic Games' in the framework of an international conference that was held in Olympia from the 4th till the 7th of September, 1997. It was stated for this event that,

"GNTO assists efforts of international significance that reinforce the name of our country, our culture and our tradition to the world"<sup>27</sup>.

The World Heritage Site of Olympia is related to Greek national heritage and the heritage site is used as a cultural signifier of Greekness. The sense of identity, for Greek

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<sup>24</sup> Ministry of Development-MoC, Directorate of Research and Development, Second European Regional Development Fund, (July 1996), Operational Programme: *Tourism-Culture, Measure 2.5 Anastylisis and Promotion of Monuments and Sites*.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> GNTO, Directorate of Advertising, Audio-Visual Department, (1985-1997), Titles of Documentaries: *Peloponnese*, page 2.

<sup>27</sup> GNTO, Press Office, Athens, (26-8-1997).

people, seems that it is taken for granted and the focus becomes 'the world' as is mentioned in the quote. The event of the Olympic Games and its relation to Greek cultural heritage provided a motive for more advertising to take place for the site and the area of its location, an activity that can be related to economic returns. Apart from the fact that, the presentation of activities related to sites of international significance may promote the cultural heritage of Greece and bring economic revenue, another objective is fulfilled. GNTO's financial contribution to these activities strengthens its position and relates the name of the organisation to events of international significance.

Law 2636 of 1998 introduced the creation of an Association for the Organisation of Creative Activities which functions under the rules of private economy. It illustrates the effort made by the state to give a more commercial tone to the cultural activities held by GNTO<sup>28</sup>. This institutional change aimed at administrative modernisation and the functional flexibility, in the organisation, of the cultural activities, their production, presentation, promotion and their timely planning<sup>29</sup> (Law 2557 of 1997 with similar objectives was initiated for the MoC, Chapter 4, section 4.4). The rigidity that exists in the governmental bodies and the conflicts that may be created for the decision-making consist of an inhibiting factor in the fulfillment of the presentation of cultural activities. The creation of an association which functions under the laws of private economy may raise the annual revenue from cultural activities.

The market study which took place in 1998 identified that Greece has adequate cultural, historic and natural elements and the creation of theme parks could take place<sup>30</sup>. The idea of the creation of theme parks, already very popular in other countries, has only recently come to Greece. Cultural heritage may be promoted and may become more accessible to the public through theme parks since people would be able to combine entertainment and cultural trips.

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<sup>28</sup> Law 2636, FEK 198 A', (27-8-1998).

<sup>29</sup> GNTO, EEEOT8A.DOC, (19-6-1997), Introductory Report for the Draft Law for the Creation of Associations for the Organisation of Creative Activities and the Management of the Property of GNTO, creation of National Council of Tourism and amendments of legislation for tourism.

<sup>30</sup> European Committee, Ministry of Development, GNTO, (1998), Second European Regional Development Fund, Tourism-Culture, Market Study for Greek Tourism, National Plan of Marketing, *Creation of 'Theme Parks'*, page 78, Athens: Market Analysis EPE.

Historic theme parks may be used to provide a history lesson for visitors and may reinforce the educational value which heritage resources have. These activities have been initiated recently. The programme for the Connection of the Archaeological Sites in Athens was among the activities that were initiated with the aim of leading to the creation of an archaeological park<sup>31</sup>. Besides, a new project for the World Heritage Site of Tiryns, that was nominated to the List in 1999, was initiated in 2000 aiming at the promotion of the archaeological site with the further aim of transforming it into an archaeological park (Kiosse,2000). These two are yet not complete.

### 7.5 Educational values

The public is the receiver of the promotional activities of GNTO. When heritage resources are presented, there is provision of information that may raise awareness of history in an entertaining way that may lead to cultural tourism. GNTO organises and carries out the programme of tourist promotion of the country at national and international level and sees to the reinforcement of the tourist consciousness<sup>32</sup>. It was also mentioned for heritage properties:

“Greek monuments are a giant capital with an exceptional characteristic. This capital is enhanced, it is not downgraded on its own, on the contrary, it multiplies with every good use. The most important issue is that this capital does not only yield economic benefits but it finally creates another new culture that capitalises interest”<sup>33</sup>.

The tendency to gain economic benefits from the presentation of culture seems to be a welcomed idea. It is argued that there are returns which may be gained from the presentation of cultural heritage. Greek monuments are equivalent to ‘a giant capital’ which yields economic benefits. At the same time, they may act as cultural signifiers. It could be argued that the meaning of Greek heritage is presented as entailing developing ideas (sections 4.6, 5.5). The assumption that can be made is that sites entail developing

<sup>31</sup> Ministry of Development-MoC, Directorate of Research and Development, Second European Regional Development Fund, (July 1996), Operational Programme: Tourism-Culture, *Measure 2.1 Connection of the Archaeological Sites of Athens*.

<sup>32</sup> Law 2160, FEK 118 A’, (19-7-1993), Article 1§3e, *Supervision, Policy for Tourism, Administration of GNTO*.

<sup>33</sup> Ministry of Development, GNTO, (19-6-1997), *Policy of Prices and Quality of Tourist Services and Resources*.



ideas which produce culture. The presentation of sites fulfils economic objectives but at the same time is used to reinforce Greekness in the way officials present the national narrative. Greek monuments are seen as providing a basis for the sense of belonging which can promote culture, an approach that seems to be a continuous process of creation and generation of meanings. The issue that is raised is that Greek monuments provide a basis around which meanings are created.

The activities of GNTO, related to cultural heritage, aim at reaching the public by presenting eternal values which accompany the sites. The promotion of cultural heritage as part of the Greek tourist product is a policy of GNTO which may contribute to the transmission of symbolic messages about the roots of Greekness and how these are related to everyday life inculcating feelings of pride in the people. The people in charge of communication processes decide the way Greece is presented. Thus, the officials of GNTO provide the way for the making of specific interpretations since they choose what is presented, the way in which it is presented and the time such a presentation takes place which must be of relevance to popular agreement.

The Directorate of Tourist and Creative Activities which is in charge of the Festival Activities of GNTO organises tourist and creative activities for the promotion of spiritual, artistic and aesthetic values of the country<sup>34</sup>. It is interesting to note that the term 'aesthetic' is not further defined and allows for differing interpretations to take place. It refers to a more subjective idea of a communication activity. Presentation of cultural sites incorporates subjective elements since the aesthetic value may be determined by specific people (Hewison,1989:16). It allows space for differing interpretations to be made by the people in charge of the creation of the activities, not to mention, the different interpretations by the people who receive the messages.

The market study for the presentation of Greek tourism to the Greek population which took place in 1998 indicated that there is an absence of organised information that is available for most areas of Greece. That is a big obstacle for increasing the customers'

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<sup>34</sup> Presidential Decree No 884/76, FEK 325 A', (2/8-12-1976), Article 10, *Responsibilities of the Directorate of Tourist and Creative Activities*. Law 2636 initiated the Association for the Organisation of Creative Activities which has taken over the Directorate of Tourist and Creative Activities at the end of 1998.

satisfaction<sup>35</sup>. It is shown that GNTO does not put emphasis on the promotion of the Greek tourist product to the Greek population.

People need to take the initiative and find information about the sites although GNTO aims at reinforcing the tourist consciousness. Communication activities directed towards the Greek population are needed in order to raise the interest of people in visiting monuments and seeking their preservation. According to the findings of the market study, the Greek population will visit the historic and religious sites in the area during their holidays, yet more information needs to be provided about these sites<sup>36</sup>. Information in school does not seem to be enough for the presentation of cultural heritage. The communication activities that aim at reaching the public are not sufficient to cater for the people's needs.

The renewal and enrichment of the photographic archive and written texts depends on the availability of staff to supply and provide the archive with updated material of high quality. A paradox seems to take place. On the one hand, decisions are made by the state for the presentation of the heritage sites and in particular the best preserved. On the other hand, not enough money is spent on the production of printed promotional material which would increase the educational value of the sites through the provision of information.

It was stated, in the Invitation to Tender by GNTO for the printing of publications and posters, that the criterion for choosing the company which would print the material is that of the lowest price<sup>37</sup>. The fact that the company which prints the promotional material is chosen on the grounds of the lowest price may account for publications that are not of the highest standards. This may have, as a result, the production of poor quality publications which may not satisfy the reader and, in that way, the potential of illustrating the educational value of heritage properties is diminished.

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<sup>35</sup> European Committee, Ministry of Development, GNTO, Second European Regional Development Fund, (1998), *Tourism-Culture Market Study for the Greek Tourism, National Plan of Marketing, Synthesis of the Marketing Programmes, Services Marketing, Information Networks*, page 69, Market Analysis EPE, Athens.

<sup>36</sup> *ibid*:35.

<sup>37</sup> GNTO, Department of Publications/513467, (21-5-1998), *Publications-Posters, General Conditions of the Competition, Valuation of the offers according to the lowest price as a criterion of entry*; GNTO, Department of Publications/537375, (9-12-1997), *Photographic Publication-Cultural Heritage, Ancient Thestres*.

## 7.6 Social values

Visits to religious sites reinforce pilgrimage tourism. In the Greek case, religion forms a factor of social identity (Georgiadou,1995; Pringle & Carr,2000), and Orthodox churches and monasteries determine associations with Greekness. Social values are related to sites which are presented as an inseparable part of the everyday life of the people.

The aim is to incorporate tangible evidence from the past into everyday Greek life. In that way, previous periods are connected to contemporary life. Communication activities reinforce the participation of people in the protection and presentation of cultural heritage sites and their symbolic connection with issues of nationality is presented. There are “‘sacred centres’, objects of spiritual and historical pilgrimage, which reveal the uniqueness of their nation’s ‘moral geography’” (Smith,1991:16). Nevertheless, some sites and places of archaeological, cultural and religious interest become more accessible to the public than others.

Emphasis is put on the restoration of traditional buildings for their use as tourist resources and the preservation of elements of architectural heritage. Since the mid-nineties there has been a more intensified tendency to cater for attracting more tourists to sites of religious interest. During the period 1995-1999 money was allocated by the European Union in combination with funds from the Greek state aiming at raising the promotion of sites in different areas of the country. It should also be taken into consideration that the reinforcement of pilgrimage tourism was also incorporated in the Programme Tourism-Culture 1995-1999, a complete plan of action which aimed at the connection of Tourism with Culture. The Second European Regional Development Fund financed the Programme with 22%<sup>38</sup> of the monies. This fact may show that while religious sites are considered important in determining the sense of place, there are infrequent, organised activities to present religious sites to the Greek population. On the

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<sup>38</sup> Ministry of Development-MoC, Directorate of Research and Development, Second European Regional Development Fund, (July 1996), Operational Programme: Tourism-Culture, *Measure 5 Anastylisis and Promotion of Monuments and Sites*.



other hand, activities are intensified for the international market in order to reach people with interests in cultural, religious or natural content<sup>39</sup>.

It is actually the officials who decide the sites and buildings, trails and paths which are created and elevated. The Programme Tourism-Culture 1995-1999 aimed at the harmonic development of tourism and culture and the promotion of different regions in Greece.

“There is the aim for the production of infrastructure for the support of activities which elevate the distinct cultural heritage of every city, contributing to the improvement of the tourist product of every city and its periphery”<sup>40</sup>.

There is reference made, in the Programme Tourism-Culture 1995-1999, to the improvement of the tourist product of every city but it is the presentation of specific cities and specific monuments which takes place and the World Heritage Sites have a significant role. Although money is provided for the presentation of areas in Greece and heritage resources related to traditional local activities, sites in Athens, Vergina, Epidaurus, Olympia, the Medieval City of Rhodes, properties nominated to the List, were incorporated in this Programme<sup>41</sup>. Money is spent on the presentation of areas and their heritage when areas are developed and infrastructure is provided, an issue that was initially decided by the Greek state. It should also be considered that the excavations which had been conducted in the ruins of heritage sites by both Greek and European Archaeological Schools<sup>42</sup> initially contributed to the development of these areas.

There is emphasis put on Greek cultural heritage which signifies its distinct elements but decisions are made for specific cultural heritage. Effort is put on the promotion of some, specific areas at a more intense level than others. This results in the unequal geographical distribution of tourist activity and its over-centralisation in certain areas of

<sup>39</sup> GNTTO, Press Office, (27-1-1998), Marketing Objectives and Target Groups-General Approach, pages 1-2.

<sup>40</sup> Ministry of Development-MoC, Directorate of Research and Development, Second European Regional Development Fund, (July 1996), Operational Programme: Tourism-Culture, *Measure 2.2 National Cultural Network of Cities*.

<sup>41</sup> Ministry of Development-MoC, Directorate of Research and Development, Second European Regional Development Fund, (July 1998), Operational Programme: Tourism-Culture, *Measure 2.5 Anastylisis and Promotion of Monuments and Sites*.

<sup>42</sup> <http://www.culture.gr/2/21/211/21110a/e211ja01.html> and <http://www.culture.gr/2/21/211/21104a/e211da03.html>.

the country<sup>43</sup>. Decisions are made with regard to the way sites are promoted and where the emphasis is put.

### 7.7 Political values

This section presents data that shows that specific cultural heritage is intensified by GNT0 at specific points in time, a fact that is related to political decisions. As Feilden & Jokilehto argue “political value is often related to specific events in the history of the heritage resources with respect to its region or country” (Feilden & Jokilehto,1993:20). The conditions that exist in the political environment of Greece may exert influence on the choices and the decisions made for the promotion of specific regions.

The Greek region of Macedonia and the dispute that was created with the neighbouring country of FYROM provided an example which explicitly illuminates the relationship of politics and issues of national identity. Nine video-tapes relating to the region of Macedonia were created in 1992 with the title ‘Macedonia’. Special emphasis was given to the presentation of the World Heritage Sites of Vergina and the Paleochristian and Byzantine monuments of Thessaloniki, Mount Athos<sup>44</sup>. The presentation of sites from the region of Macedonia brought out the political value of the heritage resources and the political priorities of the Greek state. There was an abundance of written promotional material created by GNT0 after 1992 for the region of Macedonia (as is presented in Chapter 9).

The example of the presentation of Macedonia and the sites of outstanding value located in the region is not the only one. The promotion of regions such as Macedonia are characterised as being in the ‘nationally sensitive arc’. Intensification of their presentation takes place and it is not coincidence that regions from the Southern and Northern borders of Greece are a high priority for presentation.

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<sup>43</sup> GNT0, Department of Advertising, (undated), Tourist Policy in the mid-nineties, *Greek Tourism Today*, page 3.

<sup>44</sup> GNT0, Directorate of Advertising, Audio-Visual Department, (1985-1997), Titles of Documentaries: *Macedonia, Macedonia A, B, Γ, Δ, E, ΣΤ, Ζ, Η*, page 1.

“Priority is given to the support of the nationally sensitive arc of the Northern and Southern frontier (Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, North Aegean, Dodecanese)”<sup>45</sup>.

There are specific areas of the Greek state that are perceived as ‘sensitive’ points and they are mainly areas related to Greek borders, for example, the islands in the Aegean Sea which form the natural borders with Turkey and areas in the northern part of Greece such as Macedonia and Thrace. The objective is the reinforcement and strengthening of the nationally sensitive arc, according to page 13 of the same document, with activities which elevate these areas and their cultural heritage. These areas are mentioned as being tourist areas which need to be promoted.

Another example is the Byzantine site of Patmos, an island in the Aegean. The decisions for the creation of promotional audio-visual material for Patmos which took place for the first time in 1995, coincides with the celebration of 1900 years from the date when Saint John the Theologian wrote the Works of Apocalypse in the Cave of Patmos<sup>46</sup>.

Furthermore, the decisions initiated for the creation of audio-visual material for Peloponnese in order to elevate the World Heritage Site of Olympia, as has been illustrated earlier in the Chapter (section 7.4), provide examples of the way events in the history of the sites may be used for contemporary political priorities.

## 7.8 Conclusion

Data presented in this Chapter identifies the aims of the state organisation of GNTTO in relation to the promotion of cultural heritage and the symbolic meanings attached to it. Analysis of documents from the Departments of GNTTO in charge of the presentation of Greece indicated that the promotion of sites and monuments is among the aims of GNTTO although it is not a first priority.

In regard to the presentation of Greece and the natural and cultural heritage by GNTTO, it was found that an important aim is to emphasise Greece’s relationship to the European

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<sup>45</sup> GNTTO, Department of Advertising, (undated), Tourist Policy in the mid-nineties, page 10.

<sup>46</sup> GNTTO, Directorate of Advertising, Audio-Visual Department, (1985-1997), Titles of Documentaries: *Patmos*, page 2.



Union. This is an issue that at first sight might be considered obvious, given the geographical position of Greece in the European continent and its presence with the other countries at the institutional level of the European Union.

At one level of the discussion, it is worth noting that the intensification of cultural tourism took place with the increased financing of projects related to tourism and culture by the European Development Fund after 1989. Specific sites are promoted and there is economic funding. GNTTO aims at financially assisting the presentation of sites and monuments that are the most representative and the most popular in Greece, an issue that is decided by the organisation. The heritage sites for which initiation of activities is forcefully presented are those which also represent Greek heritage to the List<sup>47</sup>. These sites are incorporated in the 'Greek tourist product' and they are acknowledged to be significant 'resources'. These findings show how cultural heritage can be used as 'a product'. Economic ends derive from the promotion of heritage sites. The allocation of funding which takes place through the emphasis on well-known heritage sites as part of the Greek tourist product, highlights the fact that cultural heritage is a source of income and becomes a product that may be consumed (Hewison,1987; Urry,1990a; Hall,1994). It could be argued, then, that the promotion of a relationship between Europe and Greece reinforces the economic benefits for Greece which derive from the presentation of this heritage.

What is also of interest is that this promotion of a relationship between Europe and Greece is considered to be a 'constitutive element of Greece', according to the reference that was made in the documents. The attempt to attach Greece to the European Union indicates the effort made by GNTTO to relate the definition and presence of Greece with another international entity. The more fundamental issue that could be argued deriving from the emphasis upon the relationship of Greece to the European Union is the promotion of a Greekness which belongs to Europe rather than simply arguing for the economic benefits that are related to the promotion of heritage sites. According to Clogg (1992:177), the admission of Greece to the European Union in 1981 "would place the seal of legitimation on the country's somewhat uncertain European identity". Smith also argued that the claim of the connection of a state with the past "must be made not

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<sup>47</sup> Ministry of Development-MoC, Directorate of Research and Development, Second European Regional Development Fund, (July 1996), Operational Programme: *Tourism-Culture*.

simply for international recognition, but for the much more fundamental purpose of collective inner security and regeneration” (Smith,1991:70). Clogg’s and Smith’s arguments are not incompatible if we consider that the international recognition of Greece ‘feeds’, continuously, the ‘national existence’. This ‘seal[ing]’ is still found to be sought in the late 20th century, almost after 20 years from Greece’s membership to the European Union.

At another level of interpretation, our analytical tool for verifying our argument is the significant role that the West has played in the inclusion of Greece not so much on the geographical borders of Europe, rather the inclusion of Greece in the European identity can be argued (Clogg,1992; Herzfeld,1992; Mouliou,1996; Tsoukalas,1999). The promotion of a relationship of Greece to the European Union indicates the objectives of GNTO to show a connection with Europe. We should consider the historical significance of the international context in the definition of Greekness where Greece is defined by the West according to the tradition that Greece has provided the roots on which the West depended while its principles have been shaken (see Chapter 1 and it is an issue that will be further discussed in Chapter 10).

This promotion is not only based on sites from antiquity but also on churches and monasteries as a constituent element of Greekness. On the one hand, the promotion of heritage presents a Greece, related to the West, reaffirming the belief to the population of the relationship of Greece to classical antiquity (a project that was initiated by the Greek state in the 19th century according to Kitromilides,1989). On the other hand, Byzantine heritage is promoted as are symbolic forms associated with religion. Thus, it is not only the relationship with Western roots that are sought but also the promotion of a relationship with Byzantium as was found from the analysis of the findings. What is even more interesting, that is shown by our findings, is that heritage (as described in the official discourse, archaeological sites, churches, folklore traditions) is presented to be ‘symbolic codes’ and is used as ‘tools for the preservation of our national existence’. A bureaucratic organisation uses emotionally charged words to describe heritage and bases its ‘national existence’ on the sites. Sites, from antiquity and the Byzantine period, are presented as providing an anchorage for national identity. That may imply the continuing role that heritage may have in the passage of time for attaining the unique (or

perceived to be unique) identity of the nation (Smith,1991), a promotion that nonetheless is initiated by the state which becomes congruent with the nation.

Herzfeld (1992) from an ethnographic point of view, argued for the role of the symbolic form of kinship that may be applied by the state in its communication with the nation in order to establish or maintain cohesion. Extending Herzfeld's argument, we would argue that the use of material evidence from the past, rather than symbolic forms that Herzfeld argues, are employed by the Greek state not only for the purpose of speaking to the nation but also to base on it its 'national existence' and to ensure political and economic objectives.

Political uses were found to exist in relation to the way in which GNTO, a state organisation in charge of tourism development in Greece, presents heritage. There is an aim to present sites from 'the nationally sensitive arc' which is defined to be the Northern and the Southern borders of the state, namely Epirus, Macedonia and the Aegean. A significant number of the World Heritage Sites is located in these areas (Mount Athos, Paleochristian and Byzantine Sites of Thessaloniki, Nea Moni of Chios, Rhodes, Samos, Vergina, Patmos) from both antiquity and the Byzantine epoch and the definition of Greekness is associated with Christianity and not only with antiquity.

A religious event of the celebration of 1900 years from the date that Saint John the Theologian wrote the Works of Apocalypse in the Cave of Patmos in 1997, fuelled the decisions of GNTO to create promotional material where the state explicitly identifies with a cultural identifier such as religion. Nine audio-tapes demonstrating not only a classical but also a Byzantine heritage were created in 1992 with the title 'Macedonia' that were related to one of the 10 regions of Greece and of which Vergina, Mount Athos, Paleochristian and Byzantine sites of Thessaloniki are part.

These regions are related to political disputes by Greece over the frontiers of neighbouring countries. The island of Samos is a military zone. Clogg referred to the armed tests of Turkey with real fire opposite the island of Chios. The fact that oil has been found beneath the Aegean on the borders between Greece and Turkey (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987:107; Clogg,1992:176) are parameters that are taken into consideration



by the state. They should be seen as the ends of the state to exercise its sovereign power over its frontiers which is a legitimate role for the state (Weber in Schlesinger,1991:9) but it is striking that these are masked under a perceived neutral promotion of heritage. The Dodecanese islands of the Aegean, a group of 12 islands, were incorporated into Greece in 1947 (Clogg,1992:6) while the issue over the historicity of Macedonia has been documented (Kofos,1989; Danforth,1994; Triandafyllidou,1998). Our argument is made in order to highlight the instability that exists in the Balkans over territorial claims. GNTTO not only associates these areas with a golden epoch but it also demonstrates their association with Byzantine heritage. The most fundamental issue of demarcating the limits of Greek identity can be argued, an issue that aims to reinforce the preservation of the belief in the imagined community by the population, a belief that is associated with incompatible traditions that are merged together.

We may also conclude that GNTTO is a bureaucratic state organisation, which should base its ideas on rational decisions and not on symbolic concepts such as kinship or family bonds. This is argued by Herzfeld (1992). According to our findings, the actual fact is that GNTTO actively encourages the celebration of religious events which are associated with symbolic codes. In addition to this, GNTTO's stance on sustaining the demarcation of the borders of the country, indicates the idea that, beyond one nation other nations lie (Anderson,1991:7). This generates, in the population, the idea of belonging to the imagined community (Anderson,1991), an idea that is unusually generated by the state as opposed to the populace.

Apart from the political advantage given to those who are in charge of heritage, presentation of the sites is influenced by the present day where sites are promoted as if they entail developing ideas, an approach which brings the sites into a continuous process of generation of meanings. In addition, the transcendence of sites in time and the connection of the past with the present takes place, based on elements that have defined Greekness in the preceding centuries.

This power of the sites was found to be related to conflicts between the MoC. The procedure of the nomination to the List is under the responsibilities of the MoC and GNTTO does not have any direct relation with the World Heritage Convention. It is

interesting to note that there was no reference to the fact that specific sites are nominated to the List and they are World Heritage Sites. Conflicts between the two organisations should not be merely related to management issues but to the more fundamental issue of who has access to this power which derives from the sites.

It should be considered that a political advantage exists for the views of those who are related to the management of the World Heritage Sites (Prott,1991) but it also exists, in general, with the promotion of heritage (Hall,1994). It was found in the documents that Greek monuments are presented as being 'a capital' which creates culture. The struggle, then, over who has the management of the World Heritage Sites, can be translated as the struggle for power over who is responsible for the production and consumption of culture which Urry (1990a) and Thrift & Forbes argue (1983 in Hall,1992:158) (see Chapter 2). GNTTO can be seen as a producer of culture, through cultural activities, which organises in the World Heritage Sites where the existence of production of culture is argued (Urry,1990a).

The next Chapter presents the way heritage is defined by the officials of GNTTO who are in charge of advertising Greece and the practices related to the presentation of cultural heritage.

**INTERVIEWS WITH THE GREEK  
NATIONAL TOURISM ORGANISATION**



## CHAPTER 8: INTERVIEWS WITH THE GREEK NATIONAL TOURISM ORGANISATION

### 8.1 Introduction

This Chapter presents data from interviews with officials of GNTO in charge of the presentation of Greece and its heritage resources. The issues that were explored in this Chapter provided information about the way officials of GNTO describe values connected to heritage. The role of people in the decisions made for the creation and promotion of advertising campaigns for Greece is also presented. Connections that were made between the intensification of specific cultural heritage and values associated with heritage sites are incorporated into the discussion of the analysis.

### 8.2 Cultural values

The official state organisation of GNTO is in charge of presenting Greece in a way that combines elements of natural beauty as the core content of the presentation while cultural heritage, such as sites and monuments from Classical antiquity or Byzantine heritage, accompany the main product. This was the policy till the early nineties.

The policy of GNTO in the mid-nineties is the differentiation and enrichment of the Greek tourist product through emphasis on alternative forms of tourism such as cultural and pilgrimage tourism, and not only emphasising on the concept of sea and sun. The natural beauty of Greece is the core product which is presented at national and international level with emphasis on advertising for the international market. Cultural heritage is presented since it is considered to be an important part of the country, yet it is not the main priority of GNTO.

“What needs to be highlighted and presented mainly depends on the market segment we aim at. The core products are the coasts for spending the summer, the sea and the sun. This product is enhanced with the presentation of cultural heritage. When I refer to cultural heritage, I refer to it in the wider sense, culture and civilisation, the material culture and the intangible way of living, the traditions, dancing and singing. I refer to these because the first thing that one may think when Greece and culture are mentioned, is the monuments. Ancient monuments, archaeological sites, Byzantine monuments, churches, monasteries and more contemporary ones. Traditional buildings are considered

as a basic part of culture, yet, the way of living is of equivalent importance as an element of attraction that the Greek tourist product may offer (Chatzidakis).

“The advertising campaign of GNTO is laid out and there is interest in advertising Greece as a tourist destination. Our communication campaign concerns the tourist destination that is called Greece as a whole. The concept that a country has to present is a vital point for its communication, the destination. This is the identity of the product” (Chatzidakis).

“We aim at advertising cultural heritage, we also advertise beaches” (Fragiadaki).

The core product for promotion is defined as being the natural environment. Other themes such as ‘Greece of monuments’, are part of the basic one. The presentation of tangible cultural heritage is not the sole and primary objective of GNTO. Even if archaeological sites are advertised, the core product is acknowledged by the interviewees to be the natural resources of Greece. It is as if it is taken for granted that archaeological sites are related to Greece and they form a basic part of culture and they do not need further promotion. Besides, it could be argued that the aim is the differentiation of the approach of Greece as a country of monuments. There is a tendency to put the emphasis on the contemporary picture of Greece which is related to the Greek way of living.

Continuity in the passage of time is illustrated and the past is interrelated with the present. The role that sites had in antiquity is enhanced in contemporary life of the entity. Presentation of the sense of belonging to a historic homeland is used as a process of reinforcing the imagination of the Greek people.

“Promotional material is produced for the presentation of all the areas of Greece. Information is provided for the areas and they are connected with the contemporary epoch. Take, for example, wall paintings in ancient ruins or vessels which represent everyday activities of people that still take place nowadays” (Briola).

Finds from heritage sites from the past act as cultural signifiers and they are used to convey eternal values that are valid in the passage of time. These eternal values have been mobilised to have a function in the contemporary epoch as a pole of attraction. The past enhances the present, aiming at inculcating feelings, in the people, about their roots. Although the officials argued that the presentation of monuments is not the main

objective of GNTTO, the presentation of contemporary Greece depends on the past and specific areas are more heavily advertised than others. Cultural activities held in the sites highlight the reinforcement of the present with the glory of the past.

Connections with a distant past “can offer a glorious future similar to its heroic past” (Smith,1991:161) and cultural sites are tangible evidence which relate different epochs to each other. Officials in GNTTO intensify the presentation of specific cultural sites while the promotional material provides a way to advertise the activities of GNTTO (as is shown in Chapter 8).

### **8.3 The role of officials in GNTTO in the presentation of heritage**

Law 2160 was implemented to reinforce the initiation of activities for the presentation of Greece by the regions (cited in Chapter 7, section 7.3). The regions may produce promotional material with funding which they receive from GNTTO. Communication activities are initiated to empower the regions, yet, it is still GNTTO which may change a region’s communication programme. GNTTO may exert an influence on the decisions taken. The interviewees referred to Law 2160.

“A law has been established that allows the setting up of Committees of Tourist Promotion in charge of the presentation of the regions. They submit a plan of communication for approval to GNTTO and it may be subsidised by GNTTO with up to a 50% of the total budget required. Not all of the communication activities are worthy to be financed” (Fragiadaki).

“Specific guidelines are required when the promotional material is created in the regions. They need to provide a marketing plan, a strategy of communication that we can approve in order to finance them with money. The law enables them to get the money before knowing how to spend it” (Chatzidakis).

Responsibilities have been given to the regions to advertise their own area. GNTTO contributes to the implementation of the advertising programmes of the regions. The fact that GNTTO may decide the financial subsidisation of these programmes influences their implementation that takes place by regions. Allocation of funding is far from balanced because regions receive different subsidisation which does not take place on an



equal basis. In that way, a more intense presentation of sites from certain regions may take place in relation to the presentation of cultural heritage from other regions.

The officials in GNTTO, who are in charge of the presentation of Greece, select the material that is presented justifying their legitimacy as the actors who decide how Greece is presented in the official promotional material.

“Every year we search for unique and original ideas. We decide the synthesis, the design, the inspiration, the execution of the promotional material” (Mandreka).

The officials in the Creative Office of GNTTO are involved with the actual process of the creation of the promotional material. At first sight, it seems that the officials in charge of the creation of the promotional material of GNTTO have the power to decide the way advertising takes place. Nevertheless, differences of opinion exist even within different Departments of the same organisation with regard the presentation of the promotional material of GNTTO. There lies the issue about the quantity of the pictures that are inserted in the publications in relation to the actual text and the provision of historical information. The Creative Office does not want to load the promotional material with written information, especially if this information is related to archaeological sites but prefers to insert pictures of the areas advertised.

“Historical information may be provided by the MoC. We aim at providing information that is not only confined within the framework of history but it combines culture and tourism and presents the contemporary side of the district presented” (Mandreka).

“We present the themes in the leaflets which aim at creating a stir, an effect. We aim at fulfilling the taste of the people who will see and read the promotional material and do not only present information of archaeological interest” (Kourembana).

The director of the Directorate of Advertising also referred to the way information is presented.

“The texts in the material are written by archaeologists and historians, yet the text needs to be approved from the tourist point of view apart from the historic angle. Our productions are not mainly concerned with history. Nonetheless, the aesthetic result does not always correspond to the result that GNTTO aims at

achieving with advertising. The artist will seek the best presentation for the photograph and (s)he underplays the other elements of the advertisement, for example how the letters of the area or the site are presented, the font weight and layout. Because of that, the picture might well display the advertisement but is overall insufficient” (Fragiadaki).

There was no agreement over the issue of the presentation of information of historical content in the publications. Archaeological material is not considered to be the sole objective when publications are created. Nonetheless, there was divergence of opinion with regard to the way information is presented in relation to the photographic material of the publications. Different opinions exist related to the amount of historic, text information inserted in the leaflets in contrast to the space taken up by photographs.

The officials in charge of the publications and the advertising campaigns for Greek heritage sites see the sites in an artistic way and they do not want to provide only archaeological information that would cater for the needs of historians and archaeologists. It is considered that the promotional material is more attractive if more pictures are inserted. The power of the actors in GNTTO is legitimated with regard to what is of interest to them being promoted. The quality of the ‘aesthetic result’ of a publication seems to be of importance to the readers; yet, it entails subjective elements since the interpretations made over what is significant to the readers is actually determined by the officials.

Archaeologists who work for GNTTO supervise the texts related to information about archaeological sites and the Directorate of Advertising and its Departments decide the pictures and the format of the content of the promotional material. The provision of historical information is not considered to be the sole objective of GNTTO. The rationale of the production of the cultural output aims at attracting the readers with the presentation of material in an entertaining way.

The officials in GNTTO do not act independently and they do not have unlimited power over the way Greece is presented and, in particular, archaeological sites. Cultural activities implemented by GNTTO are controlled by the MoC. Archaeological sites are managed by the Central Archaeological Council of the MoC. Every year, the MoC

renews the contract of GNTO to organise performing arts in specific sites and permission is sought for the performances held.

“The MoC imposes restrictions with regard to the use of theatres. There are a number of guidelines that need to be followed such as the number of performances held. The use of heavy sets on stage and the consumption of food or smoking in the sites is prohibited” (Ragos).

“In the consolidated performance ‘Oedipus Tyrannus’ and ‘Oedipus in Kolonos’, part of the performance was the lighting of fire on stage. The archaeologists nonetheless, disagreed and problems were created although precautions were taken for the safety of the site” (Gegos)<sup>1</sup>.

GNTO aims at the opening of sites to the public while the MoC is more strict on the conditions for this. The officials of GNTO orient their efforts towards the incorporation of the sites into the present day life of Greece.

Religious sites related to Christian Orthodox religion have a prominent position in the presentation of Greece. Religion, a cultural factor that is related to the emotional ties of a population to a site, is connected to festive events or special anniversaries of the Orthodox Church which provide motivation for the communication activities held and the promotional material created by GNTO. Nonetheless, the presentation of religious sites takes into consideration the Church’s decisions.

“When the brochures are created, we are careful of the photographs we insert next to the presentation of monasteries and churches” (Kourembana).

The Greek Orthodox Church has a say in the way religious sites are presented. Thus, the power of GNTO is not unlimited. There is interaction of actors and events that may exert an influence on the way Greece is presented. The relevance of the past with the present has a significant part to play for the reinforcing of identity. Relations and coalitions take place.

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<sup>1</sup> The performances were held on the 30/31-8-1996 in the World Heritage Site of Epidaurus. The Royal National Theatre of Great Britain was in charge of the performances and Sir Peter Hall was the director. GNTO, Festival of Cultural Activities, (21-8-1996).



## 8.4 Economic values

The performing arts and performances of ancient drama that are held in the sites aim to present cultural heritage and incorporate it into the life of the community. Theatrical performances take place in ancient Greek theatres during the summer period. Ancient theatres may have lost their original functional value but the realisation of performing arts takes place.

The Festival of Epidaurus held in the ancient theatre of Epidaurus owes its fame and glory to the well-preserved theatre where the same performances of ancient drama, which were performed in the 4th century BC, continue to take place nowadays. Tangible evidence from the past adds value to the present with its continuing relevance rather than the present imitating the past in search of nostalgia as Hewison (1987) argued. With regard to performances of ancient drama held in the archaeological site of Epidaurus it was mentioned:

“The glory of the site exerts influence over groups and audiences. Famous artists want to stage performances at the site, audiences want to attend. Epidaurus is popular for performances, it has an evocative and emotive presence” (Ragos).

“Epidaurus is a pole of attraction on its own since it is the theatre where ancient Greek Drama by Aeschylus, Euripides, Sophocles and Aristophanes was performed” (Gegos).

The glory of the site of Epidaurus is shown as being important for the advertisement of the performances. Funds are also collected from the tickets sold from performing arts. GNTTO aims at gathering funds from the cultural activities held in the sites. A world-renowned site is a significant pole of attraction and GNTTO welcomes the economic value related to the heritage resource. GNTTO is business oriented and the rules of the market with regard to the success of the performances held in the sites are taken into consideration. There are expenses such as, the employment of temporary staff during performances which need to be covered and economic returns are important.

“The main aim is not to present the site [Epidaurus]. This would be more suitable for archaeologists. Our aim is to safeguard the success of the performances while the presentation of the site takes place” (Ragos).

“Performances in the archaeological sites of Epidaurus or Herod Atticus Odeon take place during the summer months. Nonetheless, August is not preferred since it is not considered to be a commercial month, but it is then that the MoC grants permission for the performances. GNTTO is a state organisation and maintains low prices. This is a tariff policy in order to provide the citizen with motives to come and see the performances. The theatre should be made more functional and accessible to the public” (Gegos).

Although GNTTO is a state organisation, it is business oriented. The success of festivals held in the sites which GNTTO organises is important. Tourism has played a significant role in the economy of Greece (Truett & Truett,1987) and effort is made for the commercial success of the festival activities. Staging festivals in sites such as Epidaurus increases their appeal. There is co-existence of economic and cultural values related to the sites. Heritage contributes to the reinforcement of the emotional ties of the Greek population to the site and the fulfilment of economic objectives may also increase the economic value of heritage.

The presentation of activities in the sites raises their significance and reinforces values as manifestations of a glorious past which provide the bond with the present. Sites carry the gravity of the glory of centuries and they are presented to gain an active role in contemporary life. In that way, a double function may be fulfilled since the sites are incorporated into the life of the community while they are used as tourist resources which bring economic returns.

GNTTO's objective in relation to heritage sites is also to keep sites open to the public and incorporate them into the life of the community. Protection of a site does not mean that the officials of GNTTO lock up the entrances. If sites are only visited and they do not gain a function with present day use, they do not differ from a museum, they are 'museumised'. The phrase 'museumised' was used by the interviewees of GNTTO as an expression that illustrates the obsolete role an object may have if it is not used in everyday life. It is assumed that through the performances of ancient tragedy held in sites, life is brought to them. Sites become live with the performances that take place. Nevertheless, it could be argued that the term 'site' in the literal meaning is related to historic and static ruins while at the same time sites such as ancient theatres are seen as living entities through their use in the present. Thus, they may be ruins of the past but they are presented as live and not merely creations of an ancient epoch.

Meaning is given to the sites which reinforce perceived values related to Greekness through ancient tragedy. It can be argued that the meaning of 'site' is related to developing and changing ideas that may convey messages which reflect the values of a particular epoch and may account for the interpretation that is sought for them at present. The interpretation of each epoch and judgements of the value of cultural heritage sites may change over time (Feilden & Jokilehto, 1993:17-18). The meaning of the site is decided by the people who present heritage. In that way, the developing role is implied for specific sites.

The aim is to open monuments and sites to the public. Many cultural sites may be used in contemporary life for the same purposes that they were used thousands of years ago. Communication strategies take place combining the glorious past with their present use. Theatres are part of the people's heritage which GNTO aims at promoting to the citizens. Performances of ancient drama in the world-renowned sites are advertised nationally while, at the same time, values that are associated with the sites are presented. People who live near the site of Epidaurus, in the community of Ligourio, are offered free admission to the performances. It is a strategy employed by GNTO as a motivation for people to visit the events and attend the performances.

Heritage resources have a functional value and they are used as venues for performances or the interpretation of the sites (Feilden & Jokilehto, 1993:19). The welfare of the citizens is shown to be of interest to GNTO while the free admission to the theatrical performances consists of part of a policy that may strengthen the ties of the people with heritage. Nonetheless, people from all over Greece are not able to attend the cultural activities when performances are confined to specific sites, namely the world-renowned ones.

“People from isolated areas of Greece, such as Limnos, [an island in the north east of the Aegean Sea] would not attend performances in Epidaurus. Advertising with posters for the performances takes place for the regions of Attica and Argolida while advertising on television aims at reaching the whole population” (Gegos).

It is taken for granted that citizens from specific areas would not attend the performances held in the World Heritage Site of Epidaurus. It is as if Greek citizens



living in isolated provinces are excluded from participating in the performing arts of the specific site since there is the objective difficulty of distance. Thus it is considered pointless to advertise the performances in those areas with posters, which may provide an excuse for the little promotional campaigning that GNTTO organises in the areas that are a distance from the location of the Festival of Epidaurus. Brochures which present the programme of the Festival are distributed to the Regional Offices of GNTTO and they are the printed promotional material for informing people about the Cultural Activities of GNTTO.

To counterbalance the issue that Greek citizens may not be able to attend performing arts in the specific venue that activities take place, GNTTO financially aids performances held in the theatre of Epidaurus by Greek theatrical groups in order for them to be performed in the regions. Every year the programme of activities is written in GNTTO's brochure 'Programme of Cultural Activities' (eg: Programme of Cultural Activities, 1998).

GNTTO organises a decentralised cultural policy where performances of ancient drama held in the theatre of Epidaurus take place in other areas of Greece. This aims at strengthening the ties with the periphery while values associated with the heritage site of Epidaurus are presented to the Greek population. Heritage tourism is not only related to commercial activities, it serves to define cultural identity (Palmer, 1999:316).

“We contribute, so that our fellow citizens feel that they are not isolated, by sharing the same experiences with other Greek citizens” (Gegos).

People in the periphery should not feel the sense of remoteness with regard to cultural events that take place. Emphasis is put upon the sense of belonging to the same community. Activities which may enhance the imagining of the feeling of belonging are promoted especially when they articulate notions of identity. Greek citizens may participate in the imagined community and cultural symbols of the past may accommodate this end. Besides, it is interesting to note that the official of GNTTO is presented as part of this community when reference is made to 'our fellow citizens'. As Anderson argues “regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each [community], the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship”

(Anderson,1991:7). It should be considered that the respondent represents the official state and expresses himself in such a way that shows attachment to the values of the state as the previous quote may imply. Tourism and culture are interdependent elements and they are both considered when cultural activities take place. The presentation of cultural heritage may also bring economic benefits. Economic returns are welcome and cultural activities provide a source of income.

Another example that was presented as part of the communication activities of GNTTO initiated for cultural sites, was the project for the preservation of traditional built-up areas.

“The project for the preservation of traditional built-up areas initiated by GNTTO aimed at the enrichment of the tourist product and we hope that it can provide an example to the private initiative and the local areas to realise that the cultural heritage in their regions can be elevated for the benefit of the areas” (Chatzidakis).

“A region that has not been developed should not be promoted because it will be difficult to host visitors. Specific conditions need to exist before visiting an area, hotels should be built, cultural activities should take place that would counter balance there being no sea nearby. The island of Rhodes, for example, [World Heritage Site] is promoted because it is developed at multiple levels” (Fragiadaki).

These quotes again show an interest in economic values by GNTTO. It is not only that heritage sites are related to perceived ideals that are conveyed to the public through the cultural activities in the sites. The economic benefits are also of considerable importance. The presentation of Greek areas of traditional architecture as tourist resources contributes to additional projects of infrastructure that take place. The presence of sites in an area may result in the development of the area at a higher pace than the case would be for other areas which do not have cultural heritage. It seems as if the policy of GNTTO for the presentation of areas and their heritage sites focuses on areas that are already developed. The ‘importance’ of the sites located in an area provides a way to raise and promote the district.

In order for the heritage to reach the public, the aesthetic presentation of information is considered to be important as the interviewees mentioned (see also Chapter 7, section 7.5). The aesthetic way in which information is provided may be combined with

economic values that such presentation may bring forth. Therefore, it is not only the provision of information that is of importance but the fact that information should also be presented in an attractive way in order to attract visitors. Tourism in Greece contributes to 9.6% of the Gross Domestic Product<sup>2</sup>. The growth of the percentage in the tourism sector is significant.

“The photographic archive of the Archaeological Receipts Fund is very rich in photographs from archaeological sites, nonetheless, that archive is not always the first choice that GNTTO searches. These photographs provide details of archaeological information while GNTTO is interested in inserting artistic photographs in the promotional material” (Mandreka).

“According to the good photographic transparencies that we have in GNTTO’s archive we use attractive slides representative of each area which may attract the visitor (Fragiadaki).

Emphasis is put on the attraction of the population and pictures seem to be of importance while text is of secondary importance. The question that may be raised is related to who actually determines that the presentation of material is attractive. Although officials seem to be conscious of the presentation of the promotional material as the above mentioned quotes presented, decisions that are made have elements of subjectivity. The values and beliefs of the agencies and their employees are conveyed when they portray heritage (Heron,1992:183).

The officials decide the way information is laid out and research does not usually take place. It is typical that the market study held on behalf of GNTTO in 1998 was the first organised study on the Greek population. The market study concluded that attention needs to be given to the visual presentation of the sites, because a big part of the promotional material has bad quality photographs which are old<sup>3</sup> (Chapter 7, section 7.5 presents ‘the criterion of lower price’ for the printing of publications).

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<sup>2</sup> GNTTO, Directorate of Advertising, Department of Advertising, (1996), Evaluations for the Development in Tourism in the 90s.

<sup>3</sup> European Committee, Ministry of Development, GNTTO, Second European Regional Development Fund, (1998), Tourism-Culture, Market Study for Greek Tourism, National Plan of Marketing, *Synthesis of the Marketing Programmes, Services Marketing, Image Bank*, page 68, Market Analysis EPE, Athens.



## 8.5 Educational values

Social messages may emerge as part of the process of the presentation of cultural heritage and thus awareness of history may be promoted. It is not only historical information that is presented in the promotional material but contemporary elements also tie in which combine the past and the present. There is an underlying logic in the presentation of tangible cultural heritage that aims at reinforcing the sense of belonging to a community related to a glorious past. In that way, perceived values of the nation are consolidated.

“Schools in Greece and abroad ask for the posters that GNTO publishes for using in geography lessons” (Briola).

The above mentioned quote illustrates a policy that aims at presenting heritage to the student population. Greek students either in schools located in Greece or in Greek schools abroad may have visual representations of Greece, mainland or islands, pictures that present the Greek land. Anderson (1991:183) referred to the use of paintings by Indonesia’s Ministry of Education in 1950s. They were produced and given to schools and in that way young Indonesians had visual representations of the heritage in their classrooms. In addition, in sites where performing arts are held, by means of the spectacle of Sound and Light, promotional material is sold in the form of photographic transparencies and cassettes to visiting schools.

People in charge of the presentation of Greece and its resources consider that the state has the legitimate power and expertise to provide the citizen with ‘a few incentives’.

“We believe that the Greek citizen may become more aware of the treasures of Greece with a few incentives” (Briola).

“Artistic activities are a small stone in the edifice of civilisation that takes place through the cultural event, through the information provided in the media or the tone that is created about them” (Gegos).

“The Festival of Epidaurus is instrumental in the production of culture that has nurtured so many Greeks” (Ragos).

Heritage may determine the sense of place for a population and reinforce the awareness of history. The role of the sites can be educational and their presentation may lead to an informed population. The officials of GNTTO assume that its activities may contribute to the reinforcement of the people's feelings about Greek heritage. It is the 'sensitisation of the public' (cited in Chapter 4, section 4.2), the 'sensitivity of the younger generation' (cited in Chapter 5, section 5.6) that the officials aim at reinforcing.

Nevertheless, the people in charge of the promotion of Greece take for granted that Greek citizens do not need a lot of information for the cultural heritage sites. The officials decide the way Greece is presented to the people. Decisions about domestic tourism are limited and organised on an infrequent basis. The interviewees mentioned that:

"Greeks do not need the brochures in order to be informed. There are other ways, such as word of mouth, by which people can be informed about a place" (Arvanitaki).

"The Greek has multiple sources of information and thus it is not necessary to provide more information" (Chatzidakis).

The above mentioned quotes show that it is taken for granted that Greek people know and they are informed about Greece and the heritage related to the country. There is the belief that Greek citizens do not need advertising in order to motivate them to visit places. Thus, there is not much effort put on the presentation of Greece and the heritage resources to Greek citizens. In that way GNTTO may justify the limited activities that present information for Greek citizens (the market study in section 7.5 showed that Greeks would welcome more information). Communication strategies for domestic tourism seem to be the cinderella of the communication campaigns by GNTTO (Table II, section 7.3). The officials have the power to decide where priorities are given for the presentation of Greece.

It is up to the people to decide whether they want to be informed by more material than that presented by GNTTO about cultural heritage, a statement that may be used to provide justification for the few activities that take place by the state. The study of the Greek population held in 1998 about Greek tourism illustrated that "there is a deficient

connection with the cultural heritage (shortcomings in the manner of exhibition and presentation in museums, lack of provision for organised participation and transmission of experience, poor information material)”<sup>4</sup>.

Cultural heritage sites are seen as tourist resources which may contribute to the development of the regions where they are situated. Their symbolic role contributes so that they provide a way of imagining for the Greek population especially through performing arts held in the sites related to antiquity. Nevertheless, the activities of GNTO are shown as limited for the presentation of cultural heritage sites although there was reference to the contribution of cultural activities, held in sites, to the production of culture, a process that is related to social values of heritage properties that are presented in the next section.

## 8.6 Social values

Contemporary present day use of properties shows that heritage sites are living entities which contribute to the enhancement of the present. There is a past which offers ground for the present to expand rather than maintain the prevalence of the feeling that “the present does not have to contribute to the achieved culture of the past” (Hewison,1987:141).

The island of Patmos and the Cave of the Apocalypse where Saint John the Theologian wrote both the works of Gospel and the Apocalypse between 95 and 97 AD provided an example. Patmos provided the motive for the creation of material with religious content on September 1995 for the celebration of the 1900 years anniversary. Religion is an important aspect of the Greek community and religious events provide the motive for the development of further promotion and the reinforcement of ties with Orthodoxy.

“With regard to specific celebrations of Orthodoxy, they may provide a reason for the creation of brochures and posters. In the case of Patmos and the Cave of

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<sup>4</sup> Ministry of Development, GNTO, II General Directorate, E' Directorate of Advertising, (1998), Analytical Notice of International Open Tender, 1998, *Summary of the Market Study for Greek Tourism*, page 1.



the Apocalypse of Saint John the Theologian, a poster was created. A 20 minute video was also created” (Fragiadaki).

“Specific events that take place, and are related to religious or archaeological sites, provide a motive in order to create specific advertising themes” (Mandreka).

Religion is an important element in Greek life that defines ‘Greekness’ and is presented to the people in the promotional material. Thus, events related to religion provide an interesting theme shown as a reinforcing cultural identifier. It was interesting to find out that the posters were not published in the English language since Patmos’s celebration was an Orthodox Christian event.

Part of the policy of the state is to heighten the sense of belonging to the same community that is distinct for the specific population and shares the same culture. Although Patmos was constituted as a Greek Orthodox centre before the 1900 years celebration in 1995, there has been intensification of its presentation as a pilgrimage centre since that period.

Another example which was mentioned by the interviewees and which was related to religious activities, was shown for the year 1997 when Thessaloniki became the European City of Culture. Ecclesiastical utensils from Mount Athos were part of an exhibition held in Thessaloniki. The World Heritage Sites of Mount Athos, the White Tower of Thessaloniki and the archaeological site of Vergina were featured on posters that were reprinted in 1997.

The aim of the promotion is to include the sites in the life of the community, the sites are seen as living organisms which may be continuously used as a way to reinforce connecting bonds in Greece. It could be argued that the publication of material by the state organisation does not simply repeat the national narrative. When intensification of the presentation of a site takes place, there is shift in emphasis of the national narrative towards the specific heritage resource.

## 8.7 Political values

The way Greece is promoted may be influenced by the change of value judgements over time and what is considered to be important for presentation. Themes are chosen depending on the need for a publication on a specific subject. Although the officials of GNTTO aim at promoting Greece as a whole, specific themes are distinguished. The aim is the provision of information for certain sites of national heritage, heritage that is nonetheless intensified by the state at specific periods. Promotional material is published and reprinted according to the needs of a demand for a publication.

“GNTTO does not only project the beauties of each region separately but aims at promoting wider areas. Specific themes are considered as standard and, thus they continue to be published even if the specific regions where the sites are located create promotional material for them. The Acropolis, Delphi, Meteora are presented as standard themes. The poster of the crown of King Philip, against the dark background, from the site of Vergina is a poster that we reprint. It has been established as a standard theme” (Arvanitaki).

World known sites are themes that are published providing the iconography of nationhood. The archaeological site of Vergina is a main issue in the promotional material for the region of Macedonia after the dispute with FYROM. The period of the dispute with FYROM provided intensification of the promotion of the site. Even if it was mentioned by the officials that the provision of historical information is not the only aim of GNTTO (section 8.4), historical accounts in the promotional material of Macedonia and the site of Vergina were intensified.

“Due to the dispute that was created with Skopje, the brochure for Macedonia changed four times and history was introduced at the very first page of the brochure so that the Secretary General of GNTTO and the Minister of Foreign Affairs would approve it” (Kourembana).

Political elements are brought out and intensify the presentation of specific cultural sites. The intensification of the presentation of the sites may be determined according to political priorities of the specific period and thus the decisions of GNTTO are directed towards a specific policy. It is interesting to note that reference to the state of FYROM was made with the name of the capital of Skopje. Officials function as part of the contemporary milieu.

Information about the archaeological site of Vergina was presented by earlier versions of the brochures which were later updated. Historical accounts of Greekness were presented and intensified at that period (shown in the next Chapter). The archaeological site of Vergina was chosen as the opening theme of the brochures for the whole region of Macedonia where many sites exist and they could be equally presented. Political decisions were made with regard to the communication activities held by GNTTO for the region of Macedonia.

Another characteristic event which illustrates the role and emphasis put upon the presentation of a site over time, is Olympia and its relation to the Olympic Games which Athens will host in 2004. An event, such as the Olympic Games, illustrates how contemporary situations may determine the choices made upon elements that are presented and the choices that are made over the presentation of heritage sites (this has also been presented in other chapters).

“Our basic national aim is the presentation of Greece but secondary connections will be made with regard to the Olympic Games without changing our communication strategy” (Chatzidakis).

It was argued that the advertising of Greece would not be influenced by promotion which would be concentrated on the Olympic Games and the archaeological site of Olympia. However, more promotional material was created for the Olympic Games even before the Olympic Committee decided that Greece would host the Olympic Games of 2004. The World Heritage Site of Olympia is a world-renowned site which is related to eternal values and the presentation of notions of Greek national identity contributes to the reinforcement of the imagined community while economic and political ends may be also fulfilled. Political values are often related to specific events in the history of a site since they coincide with contemporary political priorities (Feilden & Jokilehto, 1993:20).

Another activity of GNTTO that relates political decisions with sites, and how they may influence communication campaigns of tourism, is the political decision made by GNTTO to give money to the Greek press in order to advertise the communication campaign of GNTTO entitled ‘Discover Greece’. This campaign took place for a period



of six months in 1997 and aimed at reaching the Greek population. The promotion of Greece and in particular the best-known Greek sites, among which the World Heritage Sites had a prominent position, were presented (shown in more detail in the next Chapter).

“In 1997 we organised a campaign for the domestic market. Co-operation and agreement was made with the Union of Owners of the Daily National Newspapers for advertisement to take place” (Fragiadaki).

“The Minister of Development asked for a contribution of the owners of the daily national newspapers for the campaign that started in March, 1997 for the presentation of domestic tourism. Advertisements were inserted in the press on a rotation basis till September 1997. The campaign was worth 300.000.000 drachmas [£600,000]” (Antonopoulos).

Nonetheless, advertising of Greece to the Greek population is part of sporadic activities.

## 8.8 Conclusion

The material that emerged from the interviews with the officials of GNTTO provided another angle to critically examine heritage sites' incorporation into the communication activities of GNTTO. It is worth noting that the interviewees were not informed about the specific number of sites that were nominated to the List and there is an absence of information about the nomination of sites to the List in the publications which was also data found in the analysis of documents from GNTTO.

Natural elements are considered the core product for promotion. There is no sole objective by GNTTO to advertise archaeological sites. It was found that the promotion of cultural heritage is not considered, by the officials, to be among the main priorities of GNTTO. The officials argued that there is no need to further promote them in Greece and it was considered a fact that these sites are explicitly related to Greek culture. Nevertheless, Greek sites of archaeological heritage, Byzantine churches and monasteries and also contemporary sites are in fact being advertised. When they are presented, the aim is to indicate a diachronic relation between past and present as if there was an unbroken continuity. A relationship between the present and the past, that

does not seem to be changeable but existing in place and time, is the message that the officials aim to promote, as if this relationship is predetermined.

Promotion which takes place at specific times was found to be important by the officials and it is 'religious or archaeological content that provides a motive' for the creation of promotional material. It should not be quickly concluded that the influence of the contemporary period on the creation of a communication programme is the main critical examination of our analysis, although it helps us to highlight the developing role of the interpretation around the sites. True though political and economic parameters may be for the promotion of heritage, the important issue that emerges is the definition of Greek identity by historic and religious tangible symbols.

Byzantine heritage is related to Orthodox religion and it is taken for granted by the officials that Orthodoxy is an important element in Greek life, it defines 'Greekness' (a theme continuously emerging throughout the chapters). In that way, it is decided that heritage sites that are related to Byzantine heritage are presented in the Greek versions of the promotional material. Mount Athos and its ecclesiastical utensils, Patmos and the cave of the Apocalypse, in other words, tangible but also symbolic forms of Orthodoxy, and therefore of a specific religious identity, were found to initiate the communication activities of GNTTO. Thus, events related to a cultural identifier such as religion are used for the presentation of Greece and, what is more interesting, they determine the material produced by GNTTO. The repetition of specific images marks them as identifiers of the nation (Palmer,1999:318). To these identifiers, the Greek state incorporates antiquity and Byzantium. Although religious identity has long been separated from national identity, Herzfeld (1992) and Pollis (1992) argued that they are not, in fact, separated. We need to consider the fact that the state in Greece has managed to have congruence with the nation (Smith,1986). In an article in 1999, Smith places the role of religious sentiments as capable of mobilising national sentiments. Religion contributed to 'cement' the Greek society in the 19th century according to Kitromilides (1989). Thus, national identity incorporated religion in its definition and religion was equated with Greek identity (Herzfeld,1992). The social construction of identity, as is initiated by GNTTO, incorporates the presentation of Byzantine heritage as an inseparable part of Greek identity.

A finding that emerged and which needs further research in order to substantiate it, is that special editions of posters related to Orthodox religious events which were published in Greek should also be produced in English. However, the officials mentioned that they are not published in English due to the fact that points of Orthodoxy would be lost on members of other religions. The target market then that GNTTO aims to cater for has a role to play in the promotion of heritage sites and thus of how identity is defined.

The World Heritage Sites on the List have attracted the attention of the state since the 18th century and also of the archaeological schools that have contributed to the excavations in specific areas (Chapter 1). It was in these areas that infrastructure developed. According to Hall (1994), tourism is concentrated in specific areas which have developed adequate infrastructure and have attractions. Hall further argued that locational conflicts emerge over the distribution of land use and the location of tourism development. Thus, the iconography of images which define Greece are limited to specific sites capable of attracting tourist attention since they have suitable infrastructure.

Economic benefits also exist when sites are promoted. As regards the economic values related to the sites, disagreements over the allocation of money to areas where sites are located exist as was found in the analysis. There is unbalanced distribution of financial assistance by GNTTO to the Committees of Tourist Promotion of the regions which promote their local areas (see Law 2160). It would be worthwhile to indicate its presence in the process of policy making of GNTTO which relates to the promotion of regions and their resources, heritage sites are among them. Nevertheless, there was no prior aim of this thesis to critically examine power relations within Departments of the state organisation and Committees of Tourist Promotion of the regions. Interpreting our results which emerged in the data, we conclude that it is not only tourism's input to the economy of Greece as Truett & Truett (1987) have argued but issues are also raised over the political nature of tourism in relation to heritage and in particular to the promotion of heritage sites which are located in a specific region. The element of conflict of groups is inherent in politics related to ideas about the allocation of resources (Richardson, 1990; Hall & McArthur, 1992:158).



At another level of conflict, power relations exist between officials working in the two bureaucratic organisations of the MoC and GNTO. The MoC grants admission to GNTO to hold cultural activities in specific sites. Dates for the presentation of the performances are negotiated between the organisations. Fopp (1997:137) argued that the “rigid rule following” is the disadvantage of bureaucracy. The disagreements, however, cannot be explained on the grounds of rigidity and lack of communication between the MoC and GNTO. Considering the fact that not many sites have been developed in order to attract tourist attention and bring economic returns, interest groups, such as the MoC and GNTO, aim at getting hold of the possibility of being part of the power that these sites hold not to mention the importance attributed by GNTO to the power-sharing of the Church.

Thus, economic and political issues are related to the promotion of heritage. Although GNTO is a state organisation, it is business oriented. The commercial success of festival activities held in the sites, which GNTO organises, is important. The success of the performances held in the theatres under GNTO’s responsibility indicate the commercial role that is given to heritage promotion. Cultural heritage becomes a ‘product’ to be consumed (Hall,1994:176). Apart from the possibility of a promotion which brings economic returns, activities in the sites raise their significance and reinforce values as manifestations of a glorious past. Sites, according to the officials, unify people.

The initiation of cultural activities at specific sites, where the World Heritage Sites have a prominent role, are subsidised by GNTO in order for them to be held in other areas of Greece. Such a strategy is part of the social policy of GNTO which contributes so that people all over Greece may feel that they participate in the same events as other people of the community. When information is initiated for the presentation of heritage, the sense of belonging to the same community appears to be promoted and enhanced, if we consider that the aim of the state is to provide people with equal treatment and equal access for the different activities within its boundaries (Smith,1991; Herzfeld,1992). The fact that there is provision of free tickets for ‘our compatriots’, as was mentioned for the attendance of performances, could be interpreted considering Urry’s account that social differences exist within the society and not all people attend the performances, so the consumption of heritage differs. Further research is needed on this finding because

we cannot substantiate it in this research but only refer to it since we have not examined the social status of the people who attend the performances. Urry's argument about the relation of consumption of heritage to the social status of a group (1990a) needs further exploration since it is beyond the scope of this thesis. This thesis is not audience research as was stated in the Introduction.

What is more interesting is that the state supposes that a familiarity exists between the symbols of the past and the people and it is expected that all the people join under such familiarity. These performances then, at the heritage sites, are used as devices that can "fix the sociological solidity of a particular type of community" in order to join the community together as Anderson (1991:7) would argue for the imagined community (in Smith,1986:170). Thus, the sites are given a uniting role. Nevertheless, the aim of GNTTO to provide a sense of belonging to the imagined community and the creation of 'aesthetic' material, as was argued by the officials of GNTTO, may indicate that people may have a different understanding of what is on offer by the officials of GNTTO since a promotion of 'aesthetic' material is under interrogation. Urry's account (1990a) of the different readings that may exist for an object is correct but we also need to consider McCrone et al.'s point that, although audiences may not be passive recipients of the information they receive, Urry's argument for a completely aware tourist who is faced with different interpretations that may exist, should not be taken at face value (McCrone et al,1995:23, 36).

The next Chapter focuses on the presentation of the World Heritage Sites in the promotional material of GNTTO where it is shown how the practices are implemented in relation to the heritage presentation.

**PRINTED PROMOTIONAL MATERIAL  
FROM THE GREEK NATIONAL TOURISM  
ORGANISATION**



## CHAPTER 9: PRINTED PROMOTIONAL MATERIAL FROM THE GREEK NATIONAL TOURISM ORGANISATION

### 9.1 Introduction

This Chapter explores the implementation of decisions of GNTTO for the presentation of heritage of outstanding value to the Greek population through printed promotional material. Data highlighted the extrinsic values of heritage which were related to cultural values and the intention to present a sense of imagining which locates the state in the depths of prehistory. The way heritage is presented promotes an official expression of what constitutes Greekness.

### 9.2 Cultural values

The cultural heritage of Greece is part of the Greek tourist product presented by GNTTO. A glorious past is unveiled when reference is made to Greek heritage. It is a strategy implemented aiming at connecting specific sites to specific territories. The emotional ties of people to specific heritage (Feilden & Jokilehto,1993:18) may be reinforced through myths related to heritage. The World Heritage Site of Delphi held a prominent position in the presentation of the region of Sterea Ellada in the advertising campaign 'Discover Greece'. The region of Peloponnese, for the same campaign, was represented by the World Heritage Sites of Epidaurus, Olympia and Mystras which are considered the most characteristic heritage of the region:

“Discover the green slopes, the steep mountain tops and the exquisite coasts of Sterea Ellada and Euboea...Live the holiness of Delphi”<sup>1</sup>.

“From Epidaurus, Nafplio, and Mani to Olympia and Kalabryta, every corner of Peloponnese pulsates with liveliness waiting to be discovered. Discover the palette of nature and the historic treasure that is called Peloponnese. Admire the castle of Methoni, make an appointment with history in the Byzantine castle-states of Mystras”<sup>2</sup>.

Natural elements are shown to co-exist with cultural resources. Nature and the environment are part of Greek heritage and they are described as such. In fact, the

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<sup>1</sup> GNTTO, Discover Greece, *Sterea Ellada- Euboea*.

<sup>2</sup> GNTTO, Discover Greece, *Peloponnese*.

description of nature precedes the description of cultural sites. Historical elements are not the only priority when GNTTO presents Greece.

Features of continuity are discussed through such promotion. The process by which shared memories are attached to particular territories to become historic homelands (Smith,1996a:453-454) is one which was identified in the written promotional material of GNTTO. Smith referred to Mount Olympus and the archaeological site of Delphi as properties “that have attracted awe and veneration from large numbers of people” (ibid:454). Reference is made to their connection with the ‘holiness’ of a glorious past. The use of positive commands such as ‘discover’, ‘live’, and ‘make an appointment’, aim at reinforcing the readers’ active participation towards the strengthening of their emotional ties with this heritage.

Phrases, like the above-mentioned, are used to inculcate feelings in people’s minds. This is part of a process in which ‘clichés’ are used to embellish the presentation of an area (Cossons,1985) and they are used for the presentation of the World Heritage Sites. They are sites which are considered by GNTTO as being the most appropriate to represent Greece. The information presented in the GNTTO’s brochures makes use of mythological features and connects the archaeological sites with time immemorial. There is interplay between mythological and historical presentation of events. Thessaly is the region in which the World Heritage Site of Meteora is situated. Mount Olympus is also situated there. Mythological features exist in the leaflets related to Meteora:

“Olympus, home of the immortal gods and land of the Centaurs, is only one of the many areas which evidence the continuity of history from Paleolithic times to the present day”<sup>3</sup>.

Legends and myths mix with historical information and they are used to present a sense of connection with the past. The emphasis put on the glorious past is presented through the myths while there are also historical accounts. In that way, GNTTO aims at illustrating the existence of a glorious past for the contemporary Greek state. The element of religion is the connecting bond between different periods and information is given about the conversion of ancient temples to Christian churches:

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<sup>3</sup> GNTTO, Thessalia, Meteora, No 15, June, 1987; GNTTO, Thessalia, Meteora, No 26, October, 1998.

“[Other buildings outside the precinct of the Altis were] Pheidias’ Workshop, which was converted into an Early Christian basilica in the fifth century”<sup>4</sup>.

“Within its precincts [the World Heritage Site of the Heraion], where tradition maintains, that the goddess [Hera] was born and raised, are the ruins of a temple dedicated in her honour, Hellenistic and Roman buildings and even part of an Early Christian basilica”<sup>5</sup>.

“Built on the site of a shrine dedicated to Daphnio Apollo, the monastery [Moni of Daphni] lies inside a fortified enclosure”<sup>6</sup>.

Sanctuaries are recognised to be paramount in Greece’s past and their existence provides a way for references being made to a glorious past. It could be argued that the way information is presented promotes the sense of an ‘imagined religious community’ in classical antiquity. Religion is capable of creating national sentiments (Hutchinson in Smith, 1996a:448). The officials demonstrate correlations with antiquity that are based on the importance of religion in ancient Greece. There is an emphasis on the relation between different periods which are brought together through the conversion of ancient sanctuaries to Christian temples. This information is provided by archaeologists for the material of GNTO which may account for the similarity of the information to that presented in the material of the MoC (Chapters 4 and 6).

A characteristic example, which illustrates GNTO’s tendency to provide a connection with the past and the presentation of the emotional ties of the Greek people to Greek heritage, is illustrated in the following quote which was mentioned in the brochure on Thessaloniki and Chalkidiki:

“Dion, Pella, Vergina, Thessaloniki, Amphipolis, names that date since Alexander the Great’s era, even further back...Names that have remained unaltered for thousands of years, that have been passed on from generation to generation, while this land saw one invasion following another. Romans, Saracens, Normans, Turks...Yet in spite of so many conquests everything remained, as before, Greek. For what a Macedonian treasures most is his Greek memory: Language, tradition and civilisation of millennia”<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> GNTO, Olympia, *History of Olympia and the Olympic Games*, No 2, February, 1996/ No 20, September, 1998.

<sup>5</sup> GNTO, Greece, North-Eastern Aegean Islands, *Samos*, No 10, October, 1993.

<sup>6</sup> GNTO, Greece, Athens, Attica, *Athens, a thousand and one cities*, No 3, February, 1992/ No 15, June 1998.

<sup>7</sup> GNTO, Thessaloniki, Chalkidiki, No 10, June, 1994/ No 22, October, 1998.



The term 'memory' is used as a significant element which preserves national identity. Nevertheless, it is taken for granted that the Macedonian has Greek memory and that is presented beyond reasoning despite the fact that memory may be part of a politicised process (Dietler,1998) or may be evoked by emotions (Toynbee,1981). Nevertheless, we need to bear in mind that Macedonia was incorporated into Greece just before the first World War. "[A]ny subsequent demarcations of the historic homeland would have to include the sites and territories associated in popular consciousness with these events" (Smith,1996a:454). This is what makes Macedonia so important to many Greeks, as Smith argues (ibid:454). When the brochure about Macedonia was created, the issue over the historicity of Macedonia, which is mentioned in previous chapters of the thesis, had already been brought out. Symbolic value was given to the region of Macedonia and the heightened promotion of the sites took place.

Mount Athos is located in the region of Macedonia. A separate section on Mount Athos was included in a brochure created in 1993 and which emphasised history and elements of Greek national identity from the first page. The brochure intensified the sense of continuity which has existed in the Monastic State of Mount Athos which was seen as the bastion of Orthodoxy since Byzantine times<sup>8</sup>. Nevertheless, this information was only part of a footnote in earlier publications which described a picture of Mount Athos and it was not part of the main text<sup>9</sup>. Intensification of historical information took place aiming at attaching symbolic meaning to specific sites. Although the officials of GNTO claimed that their aim is the provision of information in the publications (Chapter 8), intensification of historical details takes place and heritage sites are used to assert notions of Greekness.

A linear chronological order is presented which leads to the present day. The sites, as tangible cultural heritage, are associated with interpretations. Yet, the officials in charge of the creation of the printed promotional material make their own interpretations about the meanings surrounding the sites that they are promoting. Although it was mentioned by the officials of GNTO that cultural heritage is only one part of Greece, the presentation of cultural sites is considered to be important in the material.

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<sup>8</sup> GNTO, Macedonia, No 6, 1993.

<sup>9</sup> GNTO, Thessaloniki, Chalkidiki, No 10, April, 1992.

### 9.3 The role of officials in GNTTO in the promotion of heritage

Decisions for the presentation of sites are taken by the people in the tourist industry. In 1996, GNTTO published a Book of photographs which were related to cultural heritage and the ancient theatres of Greece. The book was entitled 'Greece-Cultural Heritage-Ancient Theatres' and it was originally published to present the ancient theatres of Greece. It was very popular and its success can be seen through the fact that after its publication in 1996, it was reprinted in 1997 and again in 1998. Although the title referred to the presentation of 'Ancient Theatres' in Greece, this publication was enriched with photographic material from areas and sites all over Greece. This publication provided a motive for presenting Greece as a whole.

The World Heritage Sites have a prominent position in this publication although there is no reference to the fact that they have been nominated to the List. On the contrary, the ancient theatre of Pella was not included in the GNTTO book<sup>10</sup>. Information was provided for world-renowned sites, even if they were not related to the content of the book which refers to ancient theatres. Ancient theatres, even if they were not widely known, should have been initially incorporated into it. This incident may also provide another example of the GNTTO's policy of prioritising the presentation of widely known heritage sites.

The book 'Ancient Theatres' acted as an advertisement for the officials of GNTTO who indirectly present the activities which develop the promotion of Greece. For example, reference was provided to one of the GNTTO's guest houses in the area of Monemvasia<sup>11</sup>. This is also the case in the brochure for the island of Chios where the World Heritage Site of Nea Moni is located. It was mentioned that GNTTO has converted traditional houses, in charming places, in which visitors can stay<sup>12</sup>. The brochures provide a way for the activities of GNTTO to be advertised. The officials of GNTTO aim at illustrating the effort they make to present Greece and thus justify their expertise and the position they hold.

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<sup>10</sup> Omission of Pella in the Album of GNTTO, *Apogevmatini*, 4-4-1997, page 14.

<sup>11</sup> GNTTO, 1996, Greece-Cultural Heritage-Ancient Theatres, page 159.

<sup>12</sup> GNTTO, Greece, North-Eastern Aegean Islands, *Chios*, No 10, October, 1993.

“The development of tourism in the country has been the result of years of hard work, people specially trained, buildings and facilities have made Greece the meeting place for all the people of the world”<sup>13</sup>.

Greece is presented as a cosmopolitan place where ‘specially trained people’ are presented as having contributed so that developments could take place. It is the effort of hard work as the brochures specify and in that way, the activities and responsibilities of the people in charge of the development of tourism are praised. It is as if the officials of GNTTO are called upon to decide the cultural heritage that they consider of importance for presentation and thus they are able to represent the point of view of the Greek population. In that way, their role as experts may be confirmed while they inculcate feelings to the people.

“There is no Greek or foreign visitor who does not want to make the pilgrimage to the sacred rock [of the Acropolis] and absorb its magnificence and beauty”<sup>14</sup>.

“[Delo’s] superb monuments draw thousands of visitors in pilgrimage to what was, for a thousand years or so after the ninth century BC, the political and religious centre of the Aegean”<sup>15</sup>.

“As you approach Mystras, you feel as though you’re making a pilgrimage to Byzantine Greece”<sup>16</sup>.

Visits to specific sites are considered to be a ‘pilgrimage’ made to Greek terrain and GNTTO acts as if it is called upon to present not only Greece but also the perceived feelings of the people. In that way, the sites gain a sacred character which may justify the visit to them. It is implied by GNTTO that every person, Greek and foreigner, should visit them. The officials of GNTTO present notions of Greekness that are related to the sites as being nationally and internationally significant. Nonetheless, the term ‘pilgrimage’ is only presented for specific sites. GNTTO aims at presenting in the narration that the visitors feel specially privileged if they have visited these sites. The presentation of the feeling that people are specially privileged if they have been to specific sites are included in the activities of national tourist boards (Thorburn, 1986:42-

<sup>13</sup> GNTTO, Greece, *Philoxenia 85, International Tourism Exhibition*, April 24-28, 1985.

<sup>14</sup> GNTTO, Athens, General Information, *The Acropolis*, October 1995-February 1996.

<sup>15</sup> GNTTO, Cyclades, *Delos*, No 7, June, 1995/No 12, June, 1998.

<sup>16</sup> GNTTO, Peloponnese, *The Byzantine state of Mystras*, No 41, December, 1991/ No 19, September, 1998.



43). In that way, the sites are presented as being capable of transmitting their eternal values to people.

When sites are described, the officials of GNTTO indicate a close relationship existing between people and heritage. They do not only present elements as characteristic of Greece and interwoven with Greek nationality, they provide feelings and emotions in order to attract the visitor. GNTTO aims at reinforcing the positive picture of the sites, and, adjectives with positive and emotional meanings are inserted into the promotional material to create positive feelings in the people who read it. The text is the mediating factor which directs meanings and feelings towards the reader. The text targets the senses and the capturing of people's desire.

Greek citizens have an important role to play in respecting and agreeing to participate actively in the imagined community promoted by the state organisation. That is why the people in charge of the GNTTO's advertising material want to ensure that heritage is presented. Heritage is part of the concept of nation building and it can be used as a vehicle for reinforcing the sense of place to a population (Herbert,1995b:13). Nonetheless, the officials of GNTTO too readily assume that, what people want and how they feel about cultural heritage, is what is of interest to the experts themselves. As Griffin argues (1990:8) there lies the problem of bridging the gap between what experts know and what the people know, "except we don't know what they know, we only think we do".

Another important element that was identified in the analysis of the printed promotional material is the fact that special brochures are created for the presentation of specific sites such as Mystras, Rhodes, Delphi, Olympia or Meteora. There are brochures specifically referring to these sites while information about them is also presented in general brochures created for the whole region in which they are situated. This is an activity that, nonetheless, does not occur for all the sites while it is an element that shows the practices over the presentation of these specific sites. The sites that are identified as constituent elements of Greek national identity are among the most well-known in Greece and those for which intensification of presentation takes place.

#### 9.4 Economic values

Feilden & Jokilehto (1993:19) argued that heritage resources are related to a functional value which may lead to the compatible present day use of the sites. Even if the original functional value of heritage is lost, it may be used as a venue for the implementation of performances. The ancient theatres provide the most characteristic example of resources that are used at present for performances. It was mentioned about the ancient theatre of Epidaurus:

“Every summer it [the theatre of Epidaurus] comes alive. Attending a performance of ancient drama in this theatre is almost a mystical experience. Never to be forgotten. A catharsis of the soul”<sup>17</sup>.

The theatre comes ‘alive’, a term that implies movement and comes in contrast to the static position of the site itself in its literal meaning. The theatre of Epidaurus holds a prominent place among other theatres. It is ‘in this theatre’ that performances are ‘a mystical experience’. Mythological and historical information is provided in the same brochure. After the presentation of the connection with antiquity is made, information is provided on the development of the area. Information is given about the contemporary amenities and facilities of the area. In this way, the site is presented as providing a magical experience while it may bring revenue for the area in which it is located.

The following quotes are from the presentation of the archaeological site of Epidaurus and the archaeological site of Delphi, two world-renowned sites of archaeological interest where the provision of information for the contemporary side of the area surrounding the sites is also presented.

“The town of ancient Epidaurus occupied the same location as the present village Epidaurus, a seaside settlement with a small harbour, and several taverns nestled on a plain thick with olive and orange trees, surrounded by scenic beaches”<sup>18</sup>.

“Still an awe-inspiring location for both Greeks and Europeans, Delphi is the headquarters for international meetings, architectural, archaeological and cultural symposia, held under the auspices of the European Cultural Centre of

<sup>17</sup> GNTO, Peloponnese, *Epidaurus*, No 41, December, 1991/ No 19, September, 1998.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*

Delphi. Today's residents, having superb facilities for tourists, welcome visitors for as long as they wish to stay"<sup>19</sup>.

The above mentioned quotes show how the presentation of a site may be related to the presentation of the surrounding area and the economic returns that it may bring to the area closely situated to the heritage resource. The village of Epidaurus is located at the same place as ancient Epidaurus and so reinforcement of the sense of a historic homeland takes place. Besides, the contemporary side of Epidaurus is also presented. Natural elements co-exist with the presentation of cultural sites.

In a similar way, a visit to Delphi is not worthwhile only on the grounds of a visit for historical and archaeological reasons. There are activities for the visitors to participate in and see. It is not only the past that is presented. The contemporary infrastructure of the areas, which may contribute to sustainable economic development that aims at presenting the sites as part of the life of the area, is also presented. It is a place 'for both Greeks and Europeans' and 'international meetings', showing the interplay of the national and international significance of the site. The economic value of heritage sites is welcome by GNTTO whose aim is growth in the tourism sector. Nonetheless, infrastructure and amenities do not exist for all the sites and in order to be advertised they must be able to cater for the needs of visitors.

It is frequently the case that a combined presentation of areas takes place if they belong in the same geographical area. Joint publications are produced. The brochures for the archaeological site of Olympia included a separate section with information on the temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae<sup>20</sup>. Both sites are World Heritage Sites and they are very close to each other. One site may reinforce the visitation of another if there is presentation of the existence of the same ancient Greek architecture in different places which may inculcate the sense of community and history to the people.

Information about the monastery of Hossios Loukas and the archaeological site of Delphi provides another example of two World Heritage Sites which are presented in

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<sup>19</sup> GNTTO, Greece, *Delphi*, No 39, November, 1991; GNTTO, *Delphi*, No 39, November, 1991/ No 27, October, 1998.

<sup>20</sup> GNTTO, Olympia, No 2, January, 1992; GNTTO, Olympia, No 2, February, 1996/ No 20, September, 1998.



the same brochure. The brochure for Delphi incorporates information about the monastery of Hossios Loukas which is 14 miles away from Delphi<sup>21</sup>. The economic value of the sites can co-exist with the provision of information to the Greek population which raises awareness of history and which promotes the educational value of the sites. Nevertheless, this strategy of presenting various sites in the local area was followed by GNTTO not only for the World Heritage Sites but for other sites as well, although in the case of the World Heritage Sites it contributes so that the number of visitors is distributed. In that way, the cost of the publication is reduced and visitors are encouraged to visit other places in the vicinity (Griffin,1990:7).

### 9.5 Educational values

Visits to sites and travels to pilgrimages are activities included in cultural tourism (WTO,1985:6) and awareness of history may be promoted in that way. The following quote provides information on the way the Byzantine art of Mount Athos is presented to the Greek population.

“When viewing all these specimens of Byzantine art, the visitor acquires the feeling that he has been examining rich Byzantine museums and leaves with a sense of satisfaction in that there was an opportunity to live, even although for a brief spell only, in a sacred world and hermetically sealed off in legend and religious tradition”<sup>22</sup>.

The visitor is invited to feel the ‘satisfaction’ offered when he visits the site. The descriptions made are used to motivate readers’ imaginations. Reference to the Christian Orthodox religion is explicitly made. The significance of the Byzantine art is presented. It is worth mentioning that the English version of the same brochure, typically, did not mention this phrase. Communicating an idea to a group is made easier when this idea consists of a notion familiar to that group (Fine,1981:95). The role of a common language shared by a group of people contributes so that meanings and messages about religion are transmitted to the people sharing the same language and the same traditions. Religion and its symbolic meaning is perceived to be an important part of Greekness and is presented as such, allowing little space for the reader to feel otherwise. The onus

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<sup>21</sup> GNTTO, Greece, Delphi, No 39, November, 1991; GNTTO, Delphi, No 39, November, 1991/ No 27, October, 1998.

<sup>22</sup> GNTTO, Thessaloniki, Chalkidiki, No 10, June, 1994/ No 22, October, 1998.

is on the officials in charge of the creation and presentation of the promotional material to present the sense of belonging to the imagined community.

Another case with regard to the way in which the presentation of heritage is written was explored in the brochure about Meteora. The earliest information provided for Meteora mentioned:

“Grey stalagmites rising towards the sky, they seem to be nature’s gift to the pious who have opted for monasticism and for a life totally dedicated to the worship of God”<sup>23</sup>.

This is a quote that is very much oriented towards religion. The way that the World Heritage Site of Meteora is presented might attract a specific number of people because of the presentation. The Greek population are Christian Orthodox, yet the way the text is written, ‘a life totally dedicated to the worship of God’, might only appeal to a small number of people and thus limit the possibility of more people visiting the site. The latest version of the brochure for Meteora mentioned:

“[G]rey stalagmites rising towards the sky, they appear as nature’s gift to the pious who, driven by faith, have opted for solitude and a life of worship”<sup>24</sup>.

The text, which uses less religious idiom, was later published and is less oriented towards monasticism. The religious element is still presented but not to such a degree that it might discourage some from visiting the site. In that way, the description made for Meteora in the 1998 brochure aimed at attracting more visitors and presented the site in a more accessible way for the visitor. The later edition of the brochure is more tourist oriented and it does not present Meteora from an ascetic and monastic point of view. In that way, there is an effort to include a wider variety of people. It is an element that shows the way tourism industry functions.

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<sup>23</sup> GNT0, Meteora, No 9, March, 1983. Although the researcher investigated the period after 1985, it was very useful to compare and present the earlier editions of Meteora since there is a change in the leaflets for Meteora made in 1983 and 1987.

<sup>24</sup> GNT0, Thessalia, Meteora, No 26, October, 1998.

## 9.6 Social values

Religion is an important cultural identifier of Greek national identity and it is used as part of the activities related to the Greek community. Religious events associated with contemporary celebrations of Orthodoxy are an integral part of everyday Greek life and they provide the motive for the creation of material of religious content. Referring to the Greek case, Smith (1988:16) mentioned that there is continuing power in self-definitions through religious beliefs.

Activities of GNT0 may be used to reinforce the emotional ties of the Greek population. Specific events and special publications take place on such occasions. This was the case for the material created about the island of Patmos. Patmos belongs to the Dodecanese, a group of 12 islands located in the Eastern Aegean. Patmos constitutes a Greek Orthodox pilgrimage centre with the Cave of Apocalypse where Saint John the Theologian wrote both the works of the Gospel and the Apocalypse between 95 and 97 AD. On September 1995, the 1900 anniversary was celebrated. In 1995, a new brochure for the Dodecanese was published and Patmos was the first of the 12 islands to be presented. Such a publication might not be considered a coincidence. The very first words that were mentioned in the brochure were:

“ ‘Jerusalem of Aegean Sea’ is one way of describing Patmos or Patnos, as it was referred to in one inscription of the 5th century”<sup>25</sup>.

Patmos is metaphorically presented as Jerusalem, the Holy Place of Christianity. By bringing the past into the present, the perceived roots with antiquity and the continuity in time are provided. Posters were also produced for the event, specifically directed at the domestic market, a specific market where religious messages could make an impact. The emotional power of archaeology in Greece is that it links the present to a particular golden age (Silberman,1995:257). There is a chronological sequence provided for the sites that dates back to the remotest antiquity. The aim is not only to present a glorious past. It is to illustrate the development which has taken place in contemporary life reinforcing issues of Greekness. In that way, the effort that is made is to relate the past

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<sup>25</sup> GNT0, Dodecanese, *Patmos*, No 8, July, 1995.



to the present where it is shown how sites in the areas are incorporated in the contemporary life of the community.

“History and memory are the witnesses of yesteryear, as alive and real as the smiling faces that bid you good morning today”<sup>26</sup>.

“A city filled with contrasts and surprises. Beautiful and varied. Every second Athens becomes a different city. Ancient. And Byzantine. And Neo-classical. And modern”<sup>27</sup>.

The ancient part of Greece is presented as being in close relation to the modern. History and memory are used to verify this connection while it could be argued that memory can be forged. In general, the latest publications of GNTO do not present many differences from the material in earlier versions. Information about the sites is usually presented as it was initially written with minor changes in the content although it should be kept updated. It should be also considered that the material about the world-renowned sites of Greece is a priority for presentation. Heritage sites are related to social values that involve contemporary interaction in the community and play a role in the establishment of identity (Feilden & Jokilehto,1993:20). Information provided for sites may be supportive of the provision of the sense of place for people and therefore activities are oriented towards their presentation.

### 9.7 Political values

Heritage resources' presentation may be influenced by specific events in the history of the site or the region in which it belongs if these “coincide with the intentions of contemporary political priorities” (Feilden & Jokilehto,1993:20). The advertising insert for the region of Macedonia in the Greek press in 1997 provided information for both natural and cultural elements of the region. Reference was made to the cities of Florina and Thessaloniki and the natural waterfalls of the city of Edessa. Besides, the presentation of the archaeological site of Vergina gave the site a prominent position when the region was presented as being the ‘heart’ of Greece.

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<sup>26</sup> GNTO, Greece, Macedonia, Drama, Kavala, Thasos, February, 1992.

<sup>27</sup> GNTO, Greece, Athens, Attica, *Athens, a thousand and one cities*, No 3, February, 1992/ No 15, June 1998.

“Every corner of Macedonia from Florina to Thessaloniki is waiting to be discovered. Discover the heart of Greek greatness with immeasurable historic and natural wealth. Admire the royal tombs of Vergina and be impressed by the falls of Edessa”<sup>28</sup>.

The archaeological site of Vergina from the region of Macedonia was the element being emphasised in the advertising campaign ‘Discover Greece’ with regard to the archaeological sites of the area but also photographs of the Orthodox monasteries of Mount Athos had a prominent position. Orthodox monasteries of Mount Athos. Macedonia is presented as being the ‘heart’ of Greece while the actual geographical location of Macedonia does not in actual fact correspond to the heart of the country. Macedonia is located on the northern borders of Greece. It is situated in the ‘politically sensitive arc’ as was described in the archives of GNTTO and it becomes the Greek ‘heart’. It must be mentioned that the other advertising inserts for central regions of Greece related to the advertising campaign ‘Discover Greece’ typically did not refer to the regions as being the ‘heart’ of Greece. Sites abandon their neutral role and they are presented as entailing meanings which aim at inculcating sentiments in the population. In that way, activities are intensified towards the presentation of national identity.

Another characteristic example, which illustrates the way heritage resources are presented, is related to the World Heritage Site of Olympia and the museums which exist there among which is the museum for the contemporary Olympic Games. It was mentioned about the museum of Olympic Games in the brochures which were written in 1982 and in 1986:

“Today, an International Olympic Academy and a Museum of the Olympic Games function at Olympia. The Museum exhibits material and literature covering the 1870-1906 games as well as a related stamp collection”<sup>29</sup>.

Information was provided about the museum and the stamp collection related to the Olympic Games. Information in the later version of the brochure (1989) mentioned:

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<sup>28</sup> GNTTO, *Discover Greece, Macedonia*.

<sup>29</sup> GNTTO, Peloponnese, *Olympia, Museum of the Olympic Games*, No 14, 1982; GNTTO, Peloponnese, *Olympia, Museum of the Olympic Games*, No 5, April, 1986.

“Very near the ancient site lies the modern village of Olympia. Here one of its prettiest buildings houses the Museum of the Olympic Games, the only one of its kind in the world”<sup>30</sup>.

The museum is presented as being unique in order to attract the visitor. Unique characteristics are attributed to the site and the museum of the contemporary Olympic Games which are directly related to the ancient Olympic Games. The attribution of exceptional values, not only for the World Heritage Site of Olympia but also for the contemporary amenities that exist there, reinforced the eminence of the site and its relation to the contemporary epoch. This quote may be contrasted with the way information was provided in the earlier versions of the brochure where the museum was not presented as being the ‘only one of its kind’. The writing of the 1989 version of the brochure for Olympia may be related to Greece’s aim to host the summer Olympic Games of 1996 which was not successful. In 1996, a new brochure was published by GNTO for Olympia. Information did not change with regard to the way the myths and the history of the site were presented but there were four pages related to the museums of the site of Olympia<sup>31</sup>.

The socio-political environment is also present in the presentation of the World Heritage Site of Delos. It is typical that special emphasis was put on the museum with the finds from Delos in a brochure published for the first time in 1989. The text was entitled ‘The Museum of Delos’<sup>32</sup> and it was the first time that the brochure had been published with information about the museum. It should be taken into consideration that Greece nominated Delos to the List in 1990, a fact that coincides with the intensification of its presentation and also shows that the allocation of money is carefully made. It appears that there are choices made over the way information is provided. Vigorous periods are presented. The following quote is an example from the presentation of the site of Mycenae:

“Mycenae was the most powerful, brilliant and sovereign influence in Greece up to 1100 BC”<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> GNTO, Peloponnese, Olympia, *Museum of the Olympic Games*, No 2, January, 1989.

<sup>31</sup> GNTO, Olympia, No 2, February, 1996/ No 20 September, 1998.

<sup>32</sup> GNTO, The Museum of Delos, No 20, June, 1989.

<sup>33</sup> GNTO, Peloponnese, *Mycenae*, No 41, December, 1991/ No 19, September, 1998.



One civilisation, that of Mycenae, is presented as being the core of Greece. A specific presentation of nationality is perpetuated which gives a high profile to images of the past. The monuments that sustain these images are cherished and they are presented as such.

## 9.8 Conclusion

The promotion of heritage sites by GNTTO in the Greek versions of the promotional material emphasised a glorious past where the use of ancient Greek mythology provides a way to relate contemporary Greece with time immemorial. It is interesting to point out 'the holy character' that sites gain, whether of archaeological or Byzantine significance, and their relation to present day. Heritage sites' presentation in the promotional material of GNTTO may articulate issues of national identity. It was found that values extrinsic to the resources contribute to the intensification of their promotion. The emphasis put on the glorious past is presented through the use of myths and historical accounts. The sites gain a sacred character that may justify visiting them. Heritage can be used to reinforce the sense of place and the officials in GNTTO aim at presenting them as symbols of identity. Nonetheless, specific sites are advertised more, in relation to other heritage, acting as the definers of the Greek state.

Heritage sites are promoted as being 'sacred' and, through cultural concepts of religion, are shown to be connected where the conversion of sanctuaries to Christian temples is indicated. It is there that features of continuity are discussed and different periods are connected irrespective of the discontinuities that might have existed. The thesis' aim was not to investigate such connections from any architectural and archaeological point of view that may exist. The issue of our concern is not whether relevance exists but the way in which the presentation of these sites, by an official state organisation, is presented at national level and the notions of identity as they are manifested through heritage.

Mystras, Delos, the Acropolis or Mount Athos, classical and Byzantine sites, are World Heritage Sites which are presented as places for pilgrimage. They are sites which reveal the perceived distinctiveness of the country and they are related to Greek identity. In

that way, we can argue that the material presents a process by which sacred sites transform their sacredness to identity. Smith argues that there are specific places present, as properties, “that have attracted awe and veneration from large numbers of people” (Smith,1996a:454). Identity is then related to a sense of mission, of destiny (Smith,1999) where each member is offered a sense of responsibility to preserve the perceived roots of the nation. Since the creation of the modern Greek state, ancient myths and archaeology have played an important role in attaching people to a specific region. The maintenance of unity within the society is cultivated through a perceived distinctiveness in people’s roots. These sites are related to mythological and ancient legends, (eg. Pericleus, Agamemnon, Alexander the Great), that are cultivated in people’s memory as an indispensable part of Greek identity (see Chapter 1) and these names are attached to specific territories and sites.

Nevertheless, it is not only classical heritage that the state organisation promotes at national level. Christianity is presented side by side with the glorious epochs of a golden age and they are merged together although they were traditions from different points of departure. The sense of mission, that is cultivated by the state in the people, is enhanced by the equation of Greek identity with a religious identity (Herzfeld,1992:93), where religion has been incorporated into the ideology of the Greek state from the 19th century to the present day.

Emotionally charged words describe sites, a finding that should be expected from those involved in the presentation of attractions in an attempt to ‘beautify’ the areas. Nevertheless, we should bear in mind that officials assume the way in which people extract meaning from the presentation of the sites and promote heritage according to their decisions. In fact, it is taken for granted that emotional ties exist between the people and specific territories and sites. What is of importance is that a presentation of a community firmly based on specific territories, which are associated with antiquity and Byzantium, is initiated and cultural elements such as language, tradition and religion are promoted as being forever attached to specific sites so that the nation identifies with past generations. All this is initiated by a bureaucratic organisation, GNTTO, which depends on symbolism.

The presentation of the World Heritage Sites, by GNTO, reinforces these attachments to specific territories. Tangible heritage acquires symbolic meaning and gains significance by their relationship to groups of people or communities. These groups of people or communities, Romans, Saracens, Turks, foreign visitors, or Europeans as they are presented in the promotional material, play the role of the significant others, namely enemies or benefactors that historical processes have perpetuated. We are allowed to use this classification considering the historical processes for the definition of Greek identity that have been examined in Chapter 1. The sites that are promoted to preserve a perceived distinctiveness at national level are not necessarily associated with antiquity. It is also Christianity that is forcefully promoted. It was also found that Greeks are differentiated from Europeans as if Greeks do not belong to Europe. These findings are related to the way in which identity is constructed. A dialectic way of showing the interplay of the national and the international exists where views from other countries about what constitutes Greekness and also those from inside Greece have contributed to the development of Greek identity.

Thus, the process by which shared memories are attached to particular territories which become historic homelands (Smith,1996a:453-454) is a process that was identified in the written promotional material of GNTO. From there, we can make inferences that GNTO's objective is to show that the perceived distinctiveness for the population will continue to exist as if it 'has survived' down to the present. Therefore, the territorialisation of memory that Smith (1996a) argued automatically transcends in time and place rather than staying firm at a specific place related to a specific site. In fact, we can argue that the presentation of heritage sites does not always follow the linear chronological order that one might initially think as being the frame within which the promotional material operates.

Cultural sites are also seen as resource attractions which illustrate the uniqueness of Greece. The promotional material created by GNTO provides information that may combine the visit to the site with other recreational activities. At this point, we speak of values that 'become a cultural product' (Hall,1994:176) which meet the needs of a consumer market and bring income. Thus, the archaeological site of Delphi, the monasteries of Meteora or the archaeological site of Epidaurus combine in their



presentation the significance that these sites hold as symbols of perceived distinctiveness. The way in which the promotional material is written by GNTO is more intense than that of the MoC and it can be argued that it is interested in the economic returns that can come from the tourist development of the areas where sites are located. At the same time, the presentation is tourist-oriented which promotes a resource ready for consumption. Yet, a paradox appears: the tendency is to illustrate the contemporary life of Greece which relates to the sites' symbolic value with the presence of the past.

It is also of interest to note that there was not a single reference in the GNTO material about the nominations of the World Heritage Sites to the List. The fact that the promotional material was written before the nominations took place and has not changed much since then may account for the absence of the information about the nominations. Material that promotes an area is very similar to the material that was presented 10 or even 15 years ago. Not many changes have taken place as regards the information that is provided. It is at specific periods that changes take place, a fact that is related to the political value associated with the sites.

The next Chapter discusses the interconnected set of concepts found and examined analytically in Chapters 4 to 9. These are related to the attempt of the nationalist ideology to present an unbroken continuity to the past. This continuity is associated with another concept that emerged from the analysis, the concept of Orthodox religion and its role in the definition of Greekness at national and international level. The state's economic and political ends have been found to be related to the promotion of heritage. They are also related to the more fundamental issue of identity while the power struggles between groups that are related to Greece's presentation are discussed.

**PART V**

**CONCLUSION**

## CHAPTER 10: DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

### 10.1 Persistent sets of concepts associated with the presentation of Greek World Heritage Sites

This concluding Chapter discusses the interconnected sets of concepts that were found to be associated with the presentation of the World Heritage Sites by the two state organisations. Inferences are made to the way in which the social construction of national identity is manifested through the promotion of heritage of outstanding value. From the outset, we need to clearly present the concepts which were demonstrated from our analysis.

The promotion of a past that is also present through the World Heritage Sites, and a definition of a unified Greekness based on the interconnection of both classical and Byzantine traditions, although incompatible with each other, is the objective which exhibits identity as immemorial, perpetuated down to present generations, natural, fixed, unchanging and related to specific 'constitutive elements', irrespective of the fact that the association of disparate realities was a political project of the state in the 18th and 19th century. This, then, leads to the association of the World Heritage Sites with selected versions of history and the attempt of the state to redefine Greekness with Byzantine Orthodoxy at national and international level. The promotion of a classical golden age and Orthodoxy by the two institutional mechanisms indicated the two states organisations' role in maintaining the social construction of identity. The political and economic values associated with heritage of outstanding value sought by the organisations are also explored and critically examined. The directions of the MoC and GNTA for the World Heritage Sites' presentation but also the importance attributed to the Church in the decisions made, initially lead us to conclude that conflicts exist over the management of the World Heritage Sites. The fundamental issue of the 'claimants' vying to define Greekness are identified behind such differences.

These concepts are not independent of each other. They are, in fact, interrelated under the social definition of identity as has been manifested through the World Heritage Sites



and the varieties of interpretation that take place depending on the context in which their presentation takes place. In light of the historical overview in the development of Greek identity since the emergence of the Greek state, that we have presented in Chapter 1, we make inferences about the attempt at enforcing and perpetuating the stereotypical Western definition of Greekness as a country of classical heritage through the presentation of the World Heritage Sites. Yet, the thesis also demonstrated the attempt of the two state organisations to redefine Greekness in relation to a Byzantine heritage which is associated with nominations to the List of Byzantine Heritage for which explicit references are made by both organisations for the religion of Eastern Orthodoxy. What is more interesting, is that this promotion allows us to draw conclusions on the way in which the state is, in fact, promoted as congruent to the nation at a period in which boundaries dissolve and there are flows of people from one place to the other, societies are not homogeneous. The congruence that the Greek state had with the nation (Smith,1986; Kitromilides,1989), was an ideological construct of the 18th and 19th century (see Chapter 1), needs to be separated and Liakos (2000) speaks for the dissociation of the cultural community from the institutional. Our findings are discussed in relation to this framework and the discussion is also of relevance beyond the presentation of the World Heritage Sites where Greek identity is presented as ‘an essence’, when it is the outcome of transformations and processes. Our focus, then, is based on the social organisation of Greek identity as was found from the promotion of the World Heritage Sites.

## **10.2 ‘Exploiting our resources, promoting our identity’: similarities and differences in the directions between the MoC and GNTTO when presenting the World Heritage Sites**

Two state organisations’ initiation of activities for the presentation of the World Heritage Sites brings out conflicts. GNTTO is market oriented, acknowledging the economic value of the World Heritage Sites such as Delphi, Meteora, Epidaurus and Thessaloniki which are promoted in such a way as to demonstrate the existing amenities of the respective areas. The promotion of the sites is not the first priority or a forceful aim of GNTTO, although ‘the tourist nature of the sites’ is not rejected as a concept and is associated with economic objectives. The World Heritage Sites can be used as a

source of income for the tourism industry, leading them to become products to be consumed.

Communication activities for the promotion of World Heritage Sites by the MoC take into consideration preservation issues and tourist development is considered incompatible with the protection of the sites. Nevertheless, the MoC also does not reject the idea of 'exploiting treasures' if this is combined with 'the investment' that can take place for the future by promoting information about this past and perpetuating Greece's perceived connection to it. Performances at the ancient theatre of Epidaurus and other World Heritage Sites, the creation of promotional material for World Heritage Sites such as the monasteries of Patmos, the Paleochristian and Byzantine Monuments of Thessaloniki or for Mount Athos, that are associated with religion, go beyond the commercial value of these 'resources' since they contribute to 'the revival of tradition' and perpetuate the myths of religious beliefs and of mythical heroes that have shaped the nation since the 18th century. Thus, rather than merely arguing about the economic returns that account for the promotion of the World Heritage Sites, there is the objective of promoting sites and Greek identity, as is manifested through heritage.

At this point, both organisations, aim at promoting the Greek World Heritage Sites for which dichotomous elements exist. The presentation of World Heritage Sites entails feelings of nationality that go beyond the tourist dimension and heritage tourism has a role to play in the construction of Greekness as was found in the case of the World Heritage Sites where both organisations use features of myth as collective symbols. McCrone et al (1995) argued for the role of the Scottish Tourist Board in the way in which Scotland is defined. The tourism industry reinforces the preservation of national identity to the imagination of the visitor (Lowenthal,1994:49; Peleggi,1996:439; Palmer,1999:316).

A finding that emerged, and further research may be usefully done to substantiate it, is the creation of special editions related to Orthodox religious events by GNTTO in Greek-language promotional material and not in English. The market, then, has a role to play in the promotion of heritage sites and thus the way in which Greek identity is presented by GNTTO. Since the mid-nineties there has been an intensified tendency to cater for

attracting more tourists to sites of religious interest by GNTO and its communication activities at international level could be further researched in relation to the presentation of the World Heritage Sites. Cultural forms, such as heritage, may be used as 'a product' for consumption (Urry,1990a; Hall,1994). Economic interests are sought by the state.

Since this thesis was not audience research, further empirical work could take place in relation to the way in which people who visit the World Heritage Sites perceive their presentation. The relationship of different classes to the consumption of 'cultural products' (Urry,1990a; Hall,1994; Burns,1999), can usefully be part of research in Greece. It should, though, be considered that Greece's class structure has a limited number of statuses and there is an absence of an indigenous bourgeoisie, not to mention that since the creation of the modern Greek state, Greece has had few occupational posts owing to the limited industrial activity and technological development (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987:2; Gourgouris,1992:60) (see Chapter 1) where Greek citizens' allocation to the civil service, since the 1840s, was not associated with a specific class (Gourgouris,1992:60-61). Urry's study for the production and consumption of heritage is a hypothesis that needs to be tested and not taken for granted (McCrone et al,1995:21). As Burns argues (1999:86), having enough money is not a sufficient explanation for the social status of people, neither are education and knowledge of literature, yet they play a role in the consumption of culture as McCrone et al's study found on the members of National Trust for Scotland who visit heritage sites and are predominantly middle class (1995).

Argumentation is found to exist between the two Greek organisations over heritage. At first sight, this argumentation seems to be over the management of heritage and issues associated with the promotion or the preservation of the World Heritage Sites. Nominations of sites to the List that take place in the MoC may strengthen decisions made for heritage's preservation and officials in the MoC aim at getting international support for their views which indirectly validates their power as those deemed to be the experts on issues associated with heritage. In regard to the preservation issues about Australia's World Heritage nominations, it was found that their management needs to be compatible with economic and political objectives (Richardson,1990). The Commonwealth government is responsible for applying the requirements of the



Convention to the World Heritage Sites of Australia, yet disputes with the state governments over reconciliation of competing economic and heritage conservation objectives have made it difficult for the Commonwealth to implement the Convention's obligations which has given emphasis to the compensating state governments deprived of access to exploit the natural resources within the rain forests, forests and national parks that have become world heritage properties (Richardson,1990) (Chapter 2).

In the case of the World Heritage Sites of Greece, the objective of the two organisations is to get hold of the heritage resources. It would be, though, premature to consider that conflicts between the MoC and GNT0 are associated with the rigidity in decision-making related to management issues (Fopp,1996; Sumardja,1985:81) as one might be quick to conclude. Considering the issue that GNT0 aims to present natural and cultural resources and a contemporary side of Greece, not only firmly based on archaeological heritage, it could be argued that the definition of nationhood, as is manifested through the World Heritage Sites, differs for the two organisations although both adopt the promotion of these heritage sites.

At another level of discussion, reflections can be made that may be further substantiated about the political nature of tourism in Greece. In relation to the World Heritage Sites, the way in which people from the political domain (Ministers, General Secretaries) interfere in the presentation of the World Heritage Sites, which at times coincides with pre-election periods, shows the political use of the World Heritage. If we consider that heritage joins Greek citizens together, irrespective of electoral groups (Silberman,1989; Herzfeld,1992; Georgiadou,1995; Loukaki,1997; Triandafyllidou,1998), we can speculate that the World Heritage Sites, as symbols of national identity, provide a motive for the state to promote its political objectives.

The existing disagreements may indicate who has access to this power which derives from the world-renowned sites and the values associated with them. Thrift & Forbes suggested that the element of human conflict of groups exists over resources and ideas about the distribution of resources (in Hall & McArthur,1992:158) and have associated this conflict with the politics that may exist in tourism. Ward (1989:240) commented that "[t]ourism brings benefits to the voters, and happy voters put their cross in the right

box". Reicher and Hopkins (2001:38) indicated that those perceived as representatives of a category that defines identity, are assumed to have the possibility of defining such a category. They further argue that this may not lead to counterposition of one definition over another on the meaning of nationhood but it leads to argumentation (ibid:54).

Activities were also found to have been recently initiated for the presentation of heritage at a level that would be differentiated from the public sector for both organisations. Law 2557 and Law 2636 were initiated by the two organisations about such presentation. These laws were initiated within a period of eight months by both organisations about the same subject. It was decided that Associations would function under the rules of private economy designed in order to consider the economic value of the sites, the cultural activities and their promotion. In that way, evaluation may take place of the administrative units and the people.

The initiation of the two laws allows space for private organisations, not dependent on the state, to function. Challenges exist for the public administrative sector in being able to adjust to the needs of the multicultural societies in which we live (Makridimitris,2000). Private centres of historic applications have been created with a multinational, rather than a national, focus (Liakos,2000). We reach the conclusion that these Associations, that have been enforced with Laws 2557 and 2636, provide an alternative way sought by the state to initiate a pluralising outcome in the presentation of heritage and thus the presentation of identity associated with it. The attempt of the Greek state to leave cultural elements, such as religion, from the identity cards (in 2000) could be understood in this context. Further research could be directed towards the long term examination of the activities of these Associations and study how these sites are promoted in the future. Another organisation whose activities could be of interest for examining the way in which it presents the World Heritage Sites, is the Greek media as the provider of information to the Greek population.

The way in which the two organisations present the World Heritage Sites places emphasis upon the two different traditions associating them with 'territories' in an attempt to create an 'essence' for Greekness and show it as immemorial and not part of social relations. The nation is a process which is in the making, an idea that reflects a

relationship, not seen as a fact (McCrone,1992:198; Brown, McCrone & Paterson,1998:38, 206). This is a process that is not imaginary (Anderson,1991:6) but its characteristics are located in people's minds and "they must be preserved, indeed cultivated, if the nation is not to become invisible" (Smith,1991:70). Even that comment by Smith, demonstrates that relationships are important in the definition of identity. The fact that boundaries are drawn between Greece and other countries, due to historical processes, indicates the interconnectedness of nations in the world and confirms the existence of relationships.

### 10.3 Associating Byzantine World Heritage Sites with Religion and Greekness

The process of showing how the present has a relevance to the past aims at reinforcing perceived roots with antiquity. Phrases that present Byzantine World Heritage Sites as being the 'depository of the ancient spirit' were found to be common in the data. Byzantine values, related to the community of faith, which are incompatible with the idea of Hellenism, which is associated with the classical ideals of individualism and the rational operation of a bureaucratic state (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987; Kitromilides,1989), merge together in the promotional literature. As Herzfeld would argue, "the unpredictable succession of events [are turned] into retroactive proof of a glorious predestination" (1992:48). The important issue from the presentation by the two state organisations is not that a perceived connection with the past is promoted. This is part of the national mythology of every national' story that every nation would promote (Smith,1986:192; McCrone,1998:52). Rather, in the case of the presentation of the Greek World Heritage Sites, a relationship is sought, not only of contemporary with ancient Greece, but a putative continuity which includes the Byzantine heritage that is related to religious and sacred sites. Tangible symbols related to classical heritage and Orthodox religion are appropriated by the state to demonstrate a unitary identity. The two state organisations attempt to promote cultural symbols of antiquity and Byzantine sites of religious content as if they were unitary and unified contrary to the social processes that brought them into being. In the case of the promotion of the Greek World Heritage Sites, the element of religion is emphasised and it is taken for granted that Orthodox religion is attached to the people's feelings.



It can be argued that the social organisation of identity, as is manifested from the World Heritage Sites, takes on value through religious sites. A sense of 'mission' to the people is inculcated for the protection of the World Heritage Sites and the officials present national identity as an indispensable substance that the individual cannot do without and its preservation is needed. Choice is not offered, 'it is a responsibility of all' to protect this heritage, as was stated in the promotional material. We consider Smith's argument (1999) on the relationship of the 'destiny' and 'mission' with the belief in 'chosenness' that in the specific case of Greece has been cultivated as a nexus with Orthodoxy. While although Smith (1999) argued for the individual's choice to join membership in this 'destiny' of the nation, the way in which the World Heritage Sites are presented leads from a 'sense of destiny' to a 'predestination' that does not allow the individual to escape. Smith has not incorporated in his proposition the role of the official ideology, which in relation to the World Heritage Sites, aims to present a continuity between antiquity and Byzantium, based on the belief that the 'destiny' of the nation is related, to an important degree, to Byzantine heritage and the associations made with religion. In Greece, Gellner (1995:369) and Smith (1999:344), refer to the connection of Byzantine tradition to Greece and at a more abstract level, Anderson's association with immortality (through the tomb of the unknown soldier), manages to relate the national and the religious (Balakrishnan,1996:205, see Chapter 2 & Reicher & Hopkins,2001:17). "If identity can be tied to the concrete reality of churches and universities and law courts, it becomes far harder to be blown away at will" (Reicher & Hopkins,2001:123). Being part of the nation confers collective faith upon the population, which feels the sense of association with an ancient community that transcends in time and will continue to exist. The promotion of the element of religion for classical and Byzantine World Heritage and the explicit associations made between contemporary Greece and the Orthodox faith through the presentation of this heritage, provides a way to the state to keep alive the feeling of the nation that will continue to exist.

The sense of 'mission' that is cultivated, by the state, in the people is enhanced by the historical processes that have equated Greek identity with religious identity leading to this predestination (Herzfeld,1992:93) where elements of identity are presented as

immemorial. This was found to exist in the promotion of the World Heritage Sites by the two state organisations.

The creation of the nation in Greece and also in the South-Eastern Balkans was pro-religious (Georgiadou,1995:300; Liakos,1999:23) where Orthodoxy came to define Greek-speaking populations, a fact that was accommodated because the scripts of the Church were written in Greek and the Church came under the Greek state. The state's nationalisation of the Church in the 18th century, but also the adoption of religious beliefs into the ideology of the state since the emergence of the Greek state (see Chapter 1), led to the association of Byzantine Orthodoxy with Greek identity, ideas which are not easily separated (Herzfeld,1992; Pollis,1992). Our findings raised the point of the perceived distinctiveness promoted in relation to Orthodoxy and associated with the World Heritage Sites. This, then, shows the influence that Byzantine heritage has on the state. Smith's concept of 'ethnic chosenness' that was forged by a religious sentiment and gave rise to political nationalisms (1999) is compatible with Kitromilides' argument that religion was important to cement social cohesion in the populations and was incorporated into the ideology of the Greek state from the 18th century to the present day (Kitromilides,1989:186).

What should be mentioned, is that this sense of 'destiny' and a 'sense of mission' is then appropriated by the Greek state to unite people at national level (a) irrespective of the differences that may exist among them, (b) irrespective of the fact that in the multicultural world in which we live, cultural elements should not determine the definition of citizenship and (c) which leads to a 'naturalised' identity (Gourgouris,1992:49; Reicher & Hopkins,2001:215).

Byzantine World Heritage Sites give power both to the Church and the state. Importance is attributed to the Church in relation to the World Heritage Sites which, at first sight, seems to be associated with management conflicts. Behind, such claims however, the most fundamental issue of who and how Greekness is defined, emerges. Although there are different identities (religious, national), the two state organisations present them as unitary and one. This allows us to understand that the officials' perception of the Church brings out the alternatives that exist, which in fact,

demonstrate the bipolar identity of Greece in contrast to the perceived unitary definition of identity. This is an issue that indicates the social organisation of identity. We need to bear in mind that Greek identity lies in more than one heritage (Toynbee,1981). The definition of Greekness from an idealised image of Greece in the West and the influence of the East are not distinctions between a real and an imaginary ideology (Herzfeld,1982:ix) but two realities necessary for the Greek definition. This thesis' aim was not to look at questions of prevalence of the Church over the presentation of the World Heritage Sites and research could be usefully directed to the way in which the Church perceives their presentation and, thus the presentation of Greek identity.

The way in which the state organisations present the World Heritage Sites in the promotional material attempts to indicate that there is a singular national identity. This does not address the disparate realities that came to define Greek identity and the political project of the state in the 18th and 19th century whose function was to incorporate Orthodoxy with Hellenism. Identities are continuously interconnected and social actors who are considered to be the representatives of various categories of identity contribute to reinforce them. This is an issue that may bring disputes and argumentation between the different agents. It would not be oversimplification, then, if we consider the role of the historical processes at work in the identification of identity (Mato,1996:64; Reicher & Hopkins,2001:38, 51). While, though, this thesis demonstrated that identity is not fixed and depends on the social context within which it emerges, it was also shown that some categories of identity are pervasive in the way in which the World Heritage Sites are presented, although, argumentation exists.

The idealised past given to Greece by the West, not only defines their perceived ancestors but is also used by the state organisations to define identity at the present time, in relation to the heritage from the East where Greek identity is in the process of 'becoming' (Tsoukalas,1999:10) considering the fact that what constitutes Greek identity has not yet been solved (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987:4; Tsoukalas,1999:11). Specific versions of history have been fashioned in Greek history serving the construction of identity. The past should not be considered as a nostalgic escape (Hewison,1987) but a past that is quite consciously brought to the present.



#### 10.4 Constructing a sense of identity through the symbols of World Heritage by the two state organisations

When decisions are initiated for the presentation of the World Heritage Sites, it is the student population where communication activities are organised. The promotion of heritage to the student populations reflects the attempt of the MoC and, to a lesser extent, of GNTO to define what is national past to the future citizens of the state. The educational activities associated with the World Heritage Sites allow us to conclude for the role of the social context in the decisions made where educational programmes are initiated for sites that are well-renowned whereas contemporary sites (which date after 1830 according to legislation) are considered an extension of sites from previous epochs, and thus of secondary importance to be presented.

The areas of sites attract student populations not only in Greece but in other countries (Prentice & Prentice, 1989; Herbert, 1995b). Uzzell (1994), in fact, argued that there is no presentation free of interpretation which is informed by the way present society values the presented heritage, world and/or national heritage. Although visits at sites are considered as neutral, they may be used for the presentation of specific messages and project the self, social or national (Merriman, 2000). Our findings lead us to discuss further two points: the primary concern is not the issue of preservation and protection of World heritage but the familiarity of the people with heritage that belongs to specific territories, and, the issue of stressing the religious content of sites, that is promoted by the two bureaucratic organisations.

World Heritage Sites' presentation is associated with a golden age and myths of religious beliefs that have been cultivated through the educational system and are sustained through soldiers' visits to these World Heritage Sites. Emphasis upon the territorialisation of memory (Smith, 1996a) exists. The importance, though, is not placed only in the territories where the World Heritage Sites are located, but to the 'shelter' that provides for memory, memory that was nonetheless cultivated in the 18th century. As was found in the analysis of the World Heritage Sites, the organisation of identity has political and social extensions. A construction of identity takes place if we consider the way in which the World Heritage Sites, from the northern and eastern borders of

Greece, are promoted or the social policy followed for the promotion of performances at World Heritage Sites all over Greece and the provision of free tickets to the agrarian population in the vicinity of the World Heritage Sites.

The state employs the nationalist ideology when promoting the World Heritage Sites to join the population under cultural unity. The social construction of the community's distinctiveness is transformed to a cultural distinctiveness that is reinforced by the state's organisations attempt to promote World Heritage Sites from the borders of the state where differences with other countries exist and inculcate feelings that will rally the population. In this way, World Heritage's presentation accommodates the state's objective of joining citizens which would promote a cultural unity where differences may exist. This indicates that identity is a quest that is open (Schlesinger,1991:137). Memory is not inherent in a people and it can be part of a politicised process, associated with emotions (Dietler,1998; Lavvas,1993; Toynbee,1981). The characteristics that prevail in the national culture and identity of a people are dependent upon different phases in history and the selection of different elements for the social and political construction of the memory of the people (Gillis,1994:5; Schlesinger,1991:169). We need, though, to consider that society's unifying characteristic is associated with relationships determined by actors in specific contexts (Brown, McCrone & Paterson,1998:206; Herzfeld,1992:107). These are not given relations from time immemorial but are part of a process.

The eastern and northern areas of the country, are called 'the sensitive arc' and sites of border islands become 'border sites' (eg. the World Heritage Sites of Samos or Rhodes). The two state mechanisms, the MoC and GNTO, might at times use a significant other when presenting the World Heritage Sites, against which the nation may differentiate itself (Schlesinger,1991; McCrone,1998; Triandafyllidou,1998). According to the play of history, though, it is not only the presentation of a golden age that is promoted for the people to identify with the national community and for the state to gain loyalty from the citizens due to the presence of a significant other as 'a threat' (Turkey has always been the main significant other for Greece, eg. Persian and Ottoman Empire). In line with Triandafyllidou (1998), Sutton (1997) and Pettifer (1992), FYROM is perceived as a significant threat to Greece due to the disputes over history. Our findings also

demonstrated that the presentation of the World Heritage Sites promotes Byzantine Orthodoxy for the areas of the borders. It is not merely heritage sites of antiquity that are promoted by the Greek state but also Byzantine heritage. Differences with Islam and the Orthodox religion have existed, and thus, Christianity is also promoted in relation to a significant other considering that Turkey's role in the Balkans is that of the 'kin-state', as Poulton (1999:28-29) argues, in relation to the Muslim populations in the Balkan domain that led Greece to support Serbia after the dissolution of Yugoslavia (Smith,1999:345). Considering the historical processes for Greece (see also Chapter 1), the dependence on antiquity and Byzantium for the construction of identity should not be ignored. Thus, the significant other, in the case of the World Heritage Sites, is not only related to historical processes from antiquity but also associated with Orthodoxy.

It was also found that the significant other, rather than merely being 'a threat', was identified as being a beneficiary as to which World Heritage Sites are presented. Our findings demonstrate that the definition of Greekness as is manifested through the World Heritage Sites takes place in a dialectic way with a significant other at international level and in particular with Europe. The World Heritage Site of the Acropolis is a pilgrimage for both 'Greeks and foreign visitors', Rhodes is presented as a 'cosmopolitan, yet Greek whole', Delphi's promotion as a location to be visited by both 'Greeks and Europeans', Mount Athos' association with Orthodoxy is emphasised, 'Greece's borders are borders of the whole of Europe' which is a process used by the organisations to provide the population with a source of identification. The presence of the role of Europe, as is presented in the printed promotional material that reaches the Greek population, is part of a process of relationships which clearly shows that social relations exist for the definition of identity.

We should consider the historical processes, according to which, a dialectic definition of Greekness has existed, by definitions given to Greece by Europe (see Chapter 1). It is interesting to make a parallel with the way Herzfeld (1982:21) & Clogg (1992:177) describe how Greeks talk about Europe as if including themselves in the geographical or cultural sense while also excluding themselves as if they do not consider themselves part of the same entity. Herzfeld further argued that the Greek society and culture are interwoven with the concept of the 'Eurocentric' (1992:44). Scotland may provide a



similar example to that of Greece where according to Brown, McCrone & Paterson (1998:222) Europe can act as a significant other and they referred to the role that Europe may play, not only for Scotland, but also for Wales in order to bypass the British state, an argument with which Reicher & Hopkins (2001:36) agree.

The World Heritage Sites were found to be associated with cultural elements, such as language, tradition and religion, that are promoted as forever attached to specific sites so that the nation identifies with past generations (Anderson,1991:26). They have been associated with Greek identity, and in that way, they simultaneously provide specificity to identity. We can, then, argue that it is not only the populace involved in nationality; this thesis addressed the process whereby ideas of the imagining of belonging to a community are being worked and fed back to the people. Institutions, thus, have a role in that imagining. It would be a misunderstanding, though, for us to assume that the way in which World Heritage Sites are presented, indicates the absolute power of the state and that the public are passive recipients of such policies.

From a critical perspective, the striking issue is that the state takes the role of the nation and takes for granted the 'constituent elements of Greekness' as they are promoted with the World Heritage Sites. We could, then, move on to discuss from our findings the way in which a distinctiveness has been cultivated, attempting to feel pride at national level through associations with a glorified past. The presentation of the World Heritage Sites was found to be important in taking place at specific times where 'religious or archaeological content provides a motive' for the creation of communication programmes. This indicates that the state actually depends on tangible sites for the initiation of the communication activities. There is dependence in the official discourse on the tangible World Heritage Sites or at a more general level, on concepts that are taken for granted as being popular as Herzfeld (1992:148) would argue. A paradox emerges: the attempt of the state organisations to promote tangible heritage based on a specific territory, but also to associate these tangible sites with abstract concepts that transcend in time and place. In fact, it was found that the two Greek state organisations base their 'national existence' on tangible symbols and material evidence (the state becomes the nation) which demonstrates the power of the World Heritage Sites,

extending Herzfeld's argument on the role of symbolic forms, such as kinship and family relations, that Herzfeld argues are employed by bureaucracy.

Explicit references to the Orthodox Christian religion are made by the state and Byzantine heritage is considered part of everyday life, where 'Byzantium is the source of modern Hellenism' and the promotion of the 'continuity of the Byzantine tradition to the contemporary world', is an assumption that is presented as fixed in relation to the Byzantine Sites. The use of the possessive pronoun 'our' to describe heritage is used by the Greek state to describe tangible symbols, as are the World Heritage Sites. A sense of possessiveness of this heritage was demonstrated and above all, the state is presented as being 'the host', leaving its legal responsibilities aside or keeping in line with these responsibilities becomes one with the nation. The way in which the bureaucratic organisations promote the World Heritage Sites, both those of antiquity and Byzantine Orthodoxy, indicates the cultivation of a sense of possessiveness through a distinct heritage that has been forged in the passage of time out of incompatible traditions as being unique for Greece. Requests and appeals to personal responsibility that take place by the two organisations for the preservation of heritage, and thus for identity, aim at maintaining a perceived distinctiveness (Smith,1991:173). Taking the argument further, the transmission of a sense of 'destiny' and 'mission' (Smith,1999) is provided, not by the nation, but by the state.

Herzfeld argues that both Hobsbawm and Gellner fail to take into consideration that the images promoted by the official point of view can be redirected and reformed by the people who receive them, "influencing their public evolution in turn" (Herzfeld,1992:49). In fact, Herzfeld does not consider that such a point is made in Gellner's and Hobsbawm's arguments that we briefly present. We presented in Chapter 2 that traditions may not be wholly imaginary. Selectivity may exist over the images of the nation that are presented but Hobsbawm (1983:8) mentioned that "[w]here the old ways are alive, traditions need be neither revived nor invented". Hobsbawm (1983:13) addresses, but nonetheless does not explain, why certain accounts have dominated others in the interpretations of nationhood (Schlesinger,1987:257). In addition, Gellner uses Greece as an example to refer to its continuity with Byzantium (Gellner,1996:369). Byzantium and the Eastern Church is part of an existing 'navel' for Greece as Gellner

argues. Therefore, both Gellner and Hobsbawm indirectly provide reference to the popularity that may exist for specific projected images that the state promotes. The relationship of Greece and Byzantium up to the present day has not been denied nowadays although it is understated that during the Ottoman Empire, the Orthodox Church was associated with the Christian populations in the Balkans in terms of religion and not in terms of nationality. Identity and heritage cannot be pure fiction since this statement would be an essentialism (Herzfeld,1992:49; Prentice,1993:36). Identities are “subject to the play of history, political representation and difference and are very unlikely to be pure or unitary” (Brown, McCrone & Paterson (1998:207). Reicher & Hopkins (2001:36, 38) also argued for the importance that should be given to the cultural and historical context on which a specific category of identity depends.

While this thesis demonstrates the role of the World Heritage Sites in sustaining “the belief in a people’s distinctiveness” (McCrone,1998:6) by the two bureaucratic organisations, it was also found that the World Heritage Sites provide a basis for the state organisations to fulfil economic and political objectives. The conclusions drawn from the promotion of the World Heritage Sites of Greece would argue that a nation is a process “constructed by participants in the course of social and political action, [yet] they are not entirely of their own making” (Brown, McCrone & Paterson,1998:206), a process whose interpretation can also depend on the outcomes of the identity structures. “National identity is always a project, the success of which depends upon being seen as an essence” (Reicher & Hopkins,2001:222) as if it was self-evident.

Notions of nationhood are articulated through the nomination of the heritage sites to the List. World Heritage Sites have been defined as “national flag carriers, symbols of national culture... evocative symbols of national identity” (Shackley,1998:1) that may enhance cultural pride and may be functional to nationalist agendas (Peleggi,1996; Carlisle,1998; Shackley,1998) (Chapter 2). Individual cases associated with visitor management over one World Heritage Site in a country (Canada, Chile, Ethiopia, Chapter 2) make difficult generalisations for critically examining the nominations of heritage to the List in the respective countries and for their presentation. Further research could be usefully directed on decisions made in other countries, or even more



interestingly, the neighbouring countries to Greece for World Heritage Sites and critically examine how these symbols of material evidence are promoted by the state.

### **10.5 Redefining the bipolar identity of Greece to the World Heritage List: World Heritage Sites between the East and West**

The role of the World Heritage Committee as perceived by the Greek state for the promotion of specific images of Greece, was demonstrated. Greece has been connected to classical civilisation at international level as the country where classical civilisation sprang. It should not be concluded that the Greek state merely promotes a classical past in these areas. It was found that it is not only classical but also Byzantine heritage that is promoted as World Heritage. Sites from the eastern and northern borders of Greece which is found to be called the 'sensitive arc' are nominated to the List. It could be argued that the state exercises its political power for issues of foreign policy in relation to the promotion of specific World Heritage Sites from the borders of Greece, if we consider the economic returns from finding oil beneath the Aegean waters (Pantelouris,1980; Clogg,1992). However, presentation is not only related to classical heritage where it could be justified due to the bilateral relations of Greece with Turkey (Kourvetaris & Dobratz,1987; Clogg,1992; Mouliou,1996). In fact, it is only Samos, as classical heritage, that has been nominated to the List from the eastern borders in contrast to the three Byzantine Sites (Chios, Rhodes, Patmos). As for the northern borders, the presence of Byzantine Orthodoxy is also promoted (Paleochristian and Byzantine Monuments of Thessaloniki, Mount Athos, Meteora) rather than only presenting heritage of antiquity (Vergina).

The presentation of the World Byzantine Heritage Sites allows us to argue that it is not only classical heritage but also Byzantine heritage that is presented with explicit associations made with Orthodox religion in the official discourse. It is not only, then, the relation with Western ideals that the Greek state seeks to be associated, but also the promotion of an Eastern tradition. It was found from this project that the Greek state promotes Byzantine roots that were 'underestimated' in the West and there is an attempt by the Greek state at a redefinition of Greekness in the West through the nominations of the World Heritage Sites to the List. The presentation by both organisations of both

classical and Byzantine heritage sites is an issue not negligible as was demonstrated in this thesis. The argument made in the literature is that there is the aim for a promotion of Greekness in the Western World through classical heritage where Greece is related to a westernised and imported tradition as being heir to classical Hellas (Tsoukalis,1979:xvii; Toynbee,1981; Herzfeld,1992; Mouliou,1996; Tsoukalas,1999). True though it may be, and our findings can verify that this is a continuous project for Greece, from our findings, we conclude that the presence of World Byzantine Heritage is of equivalent importance to classical heritage for promotion.

While Greece is shown to be related to antiquity, perpetuating, in that way, the stereotypical views for Greece as the provider of the roots for the West, Byzantium is also promoted. Studies that relate Greece to classical heritage should take into account that Byzantine heritage has come to define Greekness, heritage that needs to be addressed because, otherwise, conclusions are reached that indicate the relation of Greece to antiquity but only halfway indicate the complex issue of Greek identity and its definition that remains unresolved even today. According to the sociologist Tsoukalas, “the major price the discourse of the ‘Helleno-Christian’ identity has had to pay resides in the continuing incapacity of Greek intellectuals to construct a new and internally coherent stereotype” (1999:13).

The literature has suggested arguments that have questioned the traditional status of Greece as the political and philosophical ancestor of modern European civilisation, an issue that interrogates the position of Greece in the West and the principles of rationality that do not seem to function for Greece as they do for the other European countries (Gourgouris,1992; Pollis,1992). Greece stands as “an indelible reminder of the impossibility of Europe’s Enlightenment fantasy” (Gourgouris,1992:44). There is an ongoing reorganisation of the Western framework. Europeans’ tendency to identify with their own idealised cultural ancestors in ancient Greece which served as a powerful ideological weapon for expanding European power, has determined the order in the world where civilisations of Africa and Asia were to be integrated into that Western framework but who in the end, represent Europe’s actual otherness (Gourgouris,1992:44; Tsoukalas,1999:8). Nowadays, there is, increasingly, the power of minority voices and the fragmentation of the world in multiple identities

(Cormack,2000). These are issues that question the validity of the Western identity and this, in turn, influences the definition of Greekness since it was related to the origins of European civilisation, as has been mentioned. In fact, Sutton (1997:417) mentioned Greece's relationship to a "non-Western, Balkan identity that is only loosely cloaked by a veneer of Westernisation". We could, then, speculate and associate this redefinition of Greekness with Byzantine tradition, as is presented though the World Heritage Sites, that comes at a period when the Western roots of Greece have been shaken.

Herzfeld (1992:2, 149) argued that it was not that Greece failed to initiate democracy, rational government and scientific advancement, which are models which Greece has 'borrowed' from the West after it 'lent' them. The presumed rationality that a bureaucratic system embraces, is not fully implemented in Greece as it also is in France (another example that Herzfeld uses), indicating that distinctions between East and West are not straightforward. The symbolic forms which are popular with the people and become available through family ties and relationships with the community (1992:75), that Herzfeld discusses from an anthropological perspective, lead to the dependence of the state on the symbolic. These are issues that implicate modern Greece and the definition of Greekness as the perceived legitimate ancestor of Western civilisation but also indicate the dependence of the state on Eastern tradition, as could be argued from the presentation of the World Heritage Sites.

Our thesis was not about the way decisions are determined by international organisations, such as the World Heritage Committee. That could be a further project for research relating such decisions to the definition given to Greek identity by these organisations and the way in which transnational agents and organisations contribute to the perpetuation of specific national identities internationally with relation to the nomination of specific World Heritage Sites. The representation of identities by international organisations is an issue that has been indicated by Smith (1991) and Mato (1996) but who have not, however, specified these practices of transnational organisations. The approval of heritage internationally is indirectly related to the approval of national identity in light of the historical processes that have been presented in Chapter 1. The nominations to the List by a country are associated with the nominations made from other countries. The pattern of World Heritage is a reflection of



the competence and activity of the states' nominating committees in which the issue of nomination may not be related to the criteria for nomination but with 'the balance of power' within the states that nominate properties to the List (Cossons,1991:1; Pocock,1997:267). It has been argued that in regard to the World Heritage Sites, cultural values are, to a large extent, subjective, shaped by judgements that are not absolute and the lists of nominating committees are limited by their preoccupations with the national situation (Zowen,1997; Stovel,1992).

Our findings from the case of the promotion of the World Heritage Sites could be usefully used to adjust views about Greece's effort to be defined as a country of classical antiquity which is nonetheless a framework that excludes Eastern tradition and halfway sheds light on the legitimation that Greece has sought for its identity at international level. In the period of fifteen years that the nominations have taken place, nominations of sites are made both from classical antiquity and Byzantium. It is not only classical Greece that is promoted; in the light of the findings of this thesis, Byzantine heritage is also of importance to the Greek state.

By critically examining the promotion of Byzantine heritage and its relationship to Orthodoxy, we are led to conclude that, in fact, this association of Byzantine heritage with Orthodox religion and their relationship to Greece is an assumption that is taken for granted by the Greek state and, yet, is promoted. An assumption exists that those who speak Greek are related to Orthodox religion and is perpetuated by the two state organisations of the MoC and GNTO, which creates indifference as Herzfeld (1992) & Koulouri (1999) argue, over who is included or excluded from the definition of Greekness.

It was not the thesis' aim to investigate such a process but we can conclude on the social relationship for the definition of Greekness which is not natural, as the two organisations opt to promote through the World Heritage Sites. The state cannot speak of a unitary identity that ignores the fact that societies may not be homogeneous (Herzfeld,1992; Brown, McCrone & Paterson,1998) especially if we consider the people who have immigrated to Greece from the Northern Balkans in the mid-nineties (Triandafyllidou,2000). Those who are granted Greekness from the immigrants in

Greece are citizens of the Greek state who are also Christian Orthodox, following Rossopontii, ethnic Greeks who emigrated to the ex-Soviet Union from the Ottoman Empire and they are Christian Orthodox, or Vorioiportes, Albanian citizens of Greek ethnic origin and Christian Orthodox religion and Albanians, who “cannot claim Greek origin” and are not granted Greekness because they do not speak the Greek language nor are they Orthodox (Triandafyllidou,2000:379-380). The case of the Albanian citizens of Greek ethnic origin could be theoretically related to Brubaker’s concept of an ‘external national homeland’: a condition between a state and its minority groups that live outside the territory, or associated with people who share nationhood between different states (1996:66-67) but which begs more questions than answers about the rights of these people and which state’s responsibility it is to grant such rights. Thus, the presentation of heritage sites should consider the existence of a multicultural world which should not promote heritage as if the population is homogeneous.

The preservation of the belief in people’s distinctiveness (McCrone,1998) by the two organisations, as was manifested through the presentation of the World Heritage Sites, uses the concept of the ‘other’ to join people in a common cause, presenting, though, a predestination for a specific identity and in that way (a) predetermines who is a Greek citizen based on the element of religion and thus might exclude citizens of different faiths (Herzfeld,1992; Pollis,1992) and (b) provides an essentialist identity that joins disparate elements together (classical antiquity and the ideals of individualism with the Byzantine sense of community and bonds on kinship and family). Greekness is not a single unified concept but a mixture of different elements while the state attempts to promote them as one and interrelated. This, then, creates tensions for the social construction of identity as was demonstrated from the World Heritage Sites.

## 10.6 Epilogue

The thesis critically examined the values attributed to the World Heritage Sites of Greece and presentation was found to be influenced by present day interpretations. Heritage is used to denote a sense of belonging, a sense of identity which is applied at national level and at international level by demonstrating an identity or rather different

identities which are promoted as unitary (although it has been a project that was initiated in the 18th century and merged different traditions).

The case study design followed for the World Heritage Sites' presentation by the two state organisations could be directed for further research, for other countries, towards the exploration and critical examination of the ways in which the World Heritage Sites are nominated and promoted by the agencies in charge of their presentation to the respective populations.

The World Heritage Sites that have been nominated to the List demonstrated the redefinition of Greekness at international level through Byzantine tradition which allows us to argue for an effort to be made by the Greek state not only to be associated with classical antiquity but also with Byzantine Orthodoxy. The nominations to the List by Greece, over a 15 year period, come to supplement the Western definition of Greekness with an Eastern relationship where the presence of the one or the other only halfway indicates how Greekness was and continues to be constructed. The thesis demonstrated, through the presentation of the World Heritage Sites, that Greek identity continues to be defined by bipolar traditions that have defined Greekness since the 18th century and that the state opts to join them together although they do not consist of a unitary identity.

The state refers to the political aspects of the geographically bounded and institutionally recognised community. The corner stone of the state as it functions in Western countries is the law that provides it with the 'rational legal legitimacy' (Brown, McCrone & Paterson, 1998:28). It is the law that binds people together for the realisation of the 'common interest' of all citizens. It is according to law that antiquity and Byzantium are the periods protected by the state in relation to heritage. Meanwhile, the signification of the common law sets the boundaries between those included in, and those excluded from, a nationality and differences existing within the members of the society are not suppressed but subordinated in favour of the 'common interest' (Gourgouris, 1992:46; Herzfeld, 1992:33). These differences, then, are transformed to differences between the members of a social community and 'outsiders' where the presentation of World



Heritage Sites promotes a cultural unity irrespective of the issue that identity is constructed by social relations within a society.

Conflicts were found to exist between the two organisations, in relation to the presentation of the World Heritage Sites, which can be associated with the way in which Greekness is defined and over who holds the power emerging from such heritage. The commercial aspect of their promotion is not rejected but also establishing and perpetuating identity is the objective. There is little integration between the two Greek state organisations for the management of the World Heritage Sites and a multidisciplinary approach that could co-ordinate activities around the presentation of the sites should be organised. Greekness is promoted as national 'essence', as unitary and natural. This is the attempt of the two organisations as was demonstrated from the presentation of the World Heritage Sites.

Thus, a state that is supposed to be based on rationality and reason according to the law and not to be dependent on symbols (Smith,1991:10-11; Herzfeld,1992:17) may, in fact, depend on symbols. We would, however, argue that the use of material evidence from a bipolar past rather than symbolic forms, are employed by the two Greek state organisations for the way in which Greekness is defined.

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# **APPENDICES**

# APPENDIX I: DEFINITIONS OF THE CULTURAL AND THE NATURAL HERITAGE AS STATED IN THE WORLD HERITAGE CONVENTION<sup>1</sup>.

## Article 1

For the purposes of this Convention the following shall be considered as 'cultural heritage':

monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and paintings, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings, which because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view history, art or science;

sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and of man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view.

## Article 2

For the purposes of this Convention the following shall be considered as 'natural heritage':

natural features consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view;

geological and physiographical formations and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation;

natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty.

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<sup>1</sup> UNESCO (1983:80), Articles 1 & 2. The term site is used in the thesis as an abbreviation for the above named categories of cultural heritage of outstanding value.

## APPENDIX II: THE WORLD HERITAGE SITES THAT GREECE HAS NOMINATED TO THE LIST<sup>1</sup>.

Temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae, 1986,  
Archaeological Site of Delphi, 1987,  
The Acropolis, Athens, 1987,  
Mount Athos, 1988,  
 Meteora, 1988,  
Paleochristian and Byzantine Monuments of Thessaloniki, 1988,  
Archaeological Site of Epidaurus, 1988,  
Medieval City of Rhodes, 1988,  
Archaeological Site of Olympia, 1989,  
Mystras, 1989,  
Delos, 1990,  
Monasteries of Daphni, Hossios Loukas and Nea Moni of Chios, 1990,  
Pythagoreion and Heraion of Samos, 1992,  
The Archaeological Site of Vergina, 1996,  
The Archaeological Sites of Mycenae and Tiryns, 1999,  
The Historic Centre (Chorá) with the Monastery of Saint John “the Theologian” and the Cave of the Apocalypse on the Island of Pátmos, 1999.

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<sup>1</sup> The List is current as of 1999.



# APPENDIX III: GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF WORLD HERITAGE SITES WITHIN GREECE (as of 1999)<sup>1</sup>



- 1) Temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae, 1986,
- 2) Archaeological Site of Delphi, 1987,
- 3) The Acropolis, Athens, 1987,
- 4) Mount Athos, 1988,
- 5) Meteora, 1988,
- 6) Paleochristian and Byzantine Monuments of Thessaloniki, 1988,
- 7) Archaeological Site of Epidaurus, 1988,
- 8) Medieval City of Rhodes, 1988,
- 9) Archaeological Site of Olympia, 1989,
- 10) Mystras, 1989,
- 11) Delos, 1990,
- 12a) Monasteries of Daphni, (12b) Hossios Loukas and (12c) Nea Moni of Chios, 1990,
- 13) Pythagoreion and Heraion of Samos, 1992,
- 14) The Archaeological Site of Vergina, 1996,
- 15) The Archaeological Sites of Mycenae and Tiryns, 1999,
- 16) The Historic Centre (Chorá) with the Monastery of Saint John "the Theologian" and the Cave of the Apocalypse on the Island of Pátmos, 1999.

<sup>1</sup> Source: Map of Greece: Kourvetaris and Dobratz (1987:10).

## APPENDIX IV: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES FROM THE MOC AND GNT0.

The interviewees from the MoC are listed in alphabetical order (surname, forename and the position they held):

- Chatzinikolaou, Tetie, President of the Greek National Committee of the International Council of Museums, Director of the Directorate of Contemporary Culture
- Chrysoulaki, Stella, Director of the Department of Educational Programmes for Prehistoric and Classical Monuments
- Eugenidou, Despoina, Director of the Department of Museums, Exhibitions and Educational Programmes for Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments
- Kavvadia, Aristeia, Director of the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments
- Kakouris, Isidoros, Representative of Greece to the meetings of the World Heritage Committee, General Director of the Directorate of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments
- Konstantios, Dimitrios, Secretary of the Central Archaeological Council and Director of the Byzantine Museum
- Kottaridou, Aggeliki, Archaeologist in the IZ' Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (Vergina)
- Kilakou, Chariklia, Archaeologist in the 1st Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities (Hossios Loukas)
- Mennenga, Ioanna, Director of the Archaeological Receipts Fund
- Pennas, Christos, Member of the Council of Europe for heritage issues, Archaeologist in the 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities
- Trianti, Ismene, Archaeologist in the A' Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (the Acropolis)
- Tselenti, Niki, Representative of Greece to the meetings of the World Heritage Committee, archaeologist in the 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities
- Tsofopoulou, Helen, Archaeologist in the 1st Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities (Moni of Daphni)
- Tzedakis, Yannis, Representative of Greece to the meetings of the World Heritage Committee, general director of the Directorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities

The interviewees of GNT0 are listed in alphabetical order (surname, forename and the position they held):

- Antonopoulos, Leonidas, Head of the Advertising Department
- Arvanitaki, Efthimia, Head of the Publications Department
- Briola, Louisa, Head of the Audio-Visual Department
- Chatzidakis, Alexis, Director in the Directorate of Research and Development
- Frafiadaki, Irene, Director in the Directorate of Advertising
- Gegos, Nikiforos, Director in the Directorate of Tourist and Cultural Activities
- Kourembana, Katerina, Co-director in the Creative Office
- Mandreka, Maria, Co-director in the Creative Office
- Ragos, Yannis, Head of Press Office for Cultural Activities

## APPENDIX V: CRITERIA OF NOMINATION OF SITES FROM GREECE TO THE LIST<sup>1</sup>.

NOMINATIONS BY GREECE	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	N(iii) <sup>2</sup>
Temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae 1986	*	*	*				
Archaeological Site of Delphi 1987	*	*	*	*		*	
The Acropolis, Athens 1987	*	*	*	*		*	
Mount Athos 1988	*	*		*	*	*	*
Meteora 1988	*	*		*	*		*
Paleochristian and Byzantine Monuments of Thessaloniki 1988	*	*		*			
Archaeological Site of Epidaurus 1988	*	*	*	*		*	
Medieval City of Rhodes 1988		*		*	*		
Archaeological Site of Olympia 1989	*	*	*	*		*	
Mystras 1989		*	*	*			
Delos 1990		*	*	*		*	
Monasteries of Daphni, Hossios Loukas and Nea Moni of Chios 1990	*			*			
Pythagoreion and Heraion of Samos 1992		*	*				
The Archaeological Site of Vergina 1996	*		*				
The Archaeological Sites of Mycenae and Tiryns 1999	*	*	*	*		*	
The Historic Centre (Chorá) with the Monastery of Saint John "the Theologian" and the Cave of the Apocalypse on the Island of Pátmos 1999			*	*		*	

<sup>1</sup> The definitions of the criteria for the inclusion of world cultural heritage properties in the List were presented in Figure I, Chapter 2.

<sup>2</sup> A natural heritage property should contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance, WHC.99/2 March 1999, Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, D. *Criteria for the inclusion of natural properties in the World Heritage List*, § 44.



## APPENDIX VI: LETTER FROM THE PEOPLE OF THE REGION OF IMATHIA REQUESTING THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MUSEUM IN VERGINA<sup>1</sup>.

Our neighbours to the north and east doubt the Greekness of regions that, for 4000 years, consisted of the focus and cradle of Greek civilisation. Effort is being made to present the primordial place of the Macedonians, the city of Aristoteles and the place where the performances of ancient tragedies of Euripides took place, as cradles of another 'nation', not Greek. Professor Manoli Andronico's discovery of the royal tombs of Vergina from archaeological excavations, opened a new stage in historic research reaffirming that Aigai, the first capital of the Macedonian nation, is situated in Vergina and that Macedonians consisted of a pure Greek race.

This eminent historic discovery was another significant element in the thousands of finds that had been discovered in the site of Vergina that do not leave any doubt that, all along, Macedonia has been inhabited by Greeks for more than 4000 years. These finds are so important and eminent that they determine the need for the creation of a Museum in Vergina, a fact that was justified by the government when the Archaeological Council gave its expert opinion for the creation of the museum (23-8-1988). The International Scientific Symposium for the history of Macedonia that was held under the auspices of the Municipality of Veroia on the 6-8/9/1991, recorded the unchallenged, scientific position that Hellenism has existed uninterrupted in Macedonia over the last four millennia. Yet neither scientific congresses, nor books nor meetings have equivalent power as the exhibition of archaeological finds that justify, on their own, the self-evident historic truth.

Thus, the construction of the museum of Vergina, that will shelter the thousands of archaeological finds which were discovered and for so many years were not accessible to the public, is a dire necessity and national requirement. The construction of the museum and the exhibition of the archaeological finds will contribute to the presence of the historic truth. We, who consist of the people of Imathia, and contributed to raise national awareness, demonstrate that are continuing our efforts and are determined to fight against the distortion of the historic truth and this will be achieved with the construction of the museum of Vergina. We invite the political and spiritual authorities of the country, all the political parties, Greek youth, local government and all the people to request from the government:

To expedite the programme for the study of the construction of the museum of Vergina. To methodically proceed in all activities so that the site of Vergina will be inscribed on the World Heritage List of UNESCO. To take care of the preservation and the best possible projection of the archaeological treasures of Macedonia and Thrace.

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<sup>1</sup>MoC, F91/19148/1072/92, (26-3-1992), Opinion of the people of the region of Imathia about the construction of the museum in Vergina.