

**Imagining Greece:
Sensing Antiquity in Two Athenian Museums**

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners. I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

Physical and sensorial experiences of museums provide publics with a material ground to (re)imagine history and its relationship to contemporary society. Through these experiences, museums become venues of spatialized discourse that materialize and represent different imaginations of the past in accordance with their political and historical context. Nationalistic discourses of the 19th and early 20th centuries in Greece and Europe idealized antiquity as homogeneous and pristine (rather like white marble). There has, however, been a push in recent decades from artists, scholars, and curators to reimagine this representation of history via an open critique of the fetishized and romanticized images of antiquity.

This thesis examines how the process of materialization and representation works in contemporary imaginations of Greek antiquity in two Athenian museum contexts: The Acropolis Museum's permanent Parthenon exhibit, and the Benaki Museum's temporary Liquid Antiquity installation. Distinct in their locations, orientations, and foci, these displays illustrate two particular products of the call to reimagine antiquity. The former employs modern display methods, a more fluid spatial organization, and more audiovisuals. Yet, it remains bound to the traditional representations of antiquity in the content and meaning of its display. The latter personifies a reimagination of antiquity and puts its critical expressions on display. The form and terms of this display, however, remain reliant on traditional representations of antiquity. By juxtaposing these two cases, I argue that imaginations of the past in museum contexts are multiple, but not boundless. Rather, they are produced and limited by the historical, spatial, and material context of their representation.

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Dedicated to the lives and artefacts that are entangled with mine.

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¹ Pandermalis. *The Acropolis Museum Guide*, 187.

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⁴ Pandermalis. *The Acropolis Museum Guide*, 186.

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Chapter 1

Situating Greek Ethnic Identity in Public Issues Anthropology

Museums create artificial environments that are simultaneously container and contained.⁶ They are spaces where we learn about and experience other cultures as well as our own through public interactions with space and objects. Audiences step into these sometimes grand, often commanding spaces where historical narratives are granted authority by political and professional bodies (e.g. curators, archaeological associations, the Ministry of Sport and Tourism, etc.). Such authority, however, is limited to the physical structure and sensorial experience of museum contexts expressing the messages and aims of those in charge of organizing the space.⁷

This thesis compares the Acropolis Museum's Parthenon exhibit and the Benaki Museum's Liquid Antiquity installation in order to show how museums materialize competing imaginations of the past in accordance with contemporary political discourses. Of particular significance here are the shifts in the use of museums for imagining the national community.⁸ For instance, by outlining the series of events that shaped the Parthenon's life from its construction to the present day, we also inadvertently learn about how its representations in museum contexts embody conflicts over - and political changes in - conceptions of the nation as shaped by imperialist histories and the establishment of modern national identities.⁹

⁶ Antzoulitou-Retsila. *The Museum as Artificial Environment*, 177.

⁷ Ibid. When I refer to *sensorial experiences* I mean the engagement of museum displays that include senses like touch, sound, reconstructions that are large enough or shaped in such a way that they direct overall human movement through space. This definition does not necessarily exclude sight, which is a primary sense used in seeing the material present or reading displays and guides. Other sensorial experiences are in addition to sight, not instead of.

⁸ Anderson. *Imagined Communities*, 178-185; Herzfeld. *Fusion Museums*, 37-38.

⁹ Anderson. *Imagined Communities*, 20.

1.1 Broader European Attitudes Towards Greek Antiquity

Some scholars claim that material remnants from antiquity have been used in efforts to establish a Modern Greek identity.¹⁰ Of these remnants, the Parthenon has become the quintessential emblem of Modern Greek identity.¹¹ The temple was built in 447-432 BCE under the Periclean building program.¹² After the city was sacked during the Persian incursion (499-479 BCE), Athens reached a decisive victory over the Persians at the Battle of Marathon (490 BCE) and reached the height of its power, thus enabling it to rebuild itself luxuriously. The Parthenon was the refurbished city's crowning jewel. Through this lavish building program, Athens was able to successfully express its dominance over its allied city-states through art and architecture. Indeed, in order to harness some of the eminence produced by the ancient Greeks, modern countries such as Great Britain, France, and Germany appropriated Greek antique heritage as cultural capital for their own political, nationalist, and social gains (Table 1).¹³ Intellectuals, politicians, and artists from these Western European nations saw themselves as the true heirs to the ancient Greek legacy.¹⁴

Furthermore, after Greece's declaration of independence in 1821, the Acropolis and the Parthenon in particular became the most popular symbols of Greece and its people, and were therefore directly linked to the nation's identity.¹⁵ The temple was used as site of Christian and Muslim importance, until it was cleared of post-Classical material (i.e. Byzantine, Ottoman, etc.)

¹⁰ Papanikolaou. *Travelling Through Space-Time Aboard a Monument*, 280.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 276, 280.

¹² Athenian statesman Pericles ordered the construction of new buildings to rebuild Athens. His ambitious project was responsible for many of the buildings remaining on the Athenian Acropolis, including the Parthenon.

¹³ Angelos. *The Full Catastrophe*; Baydar. *Teaching Architectural History in Turkey and Greece*; Comet. *Felicia Hemans and the "Exquisite Remains"*; Diaz-Andreu. *Constructing identities through culture*, 50; Geismar. *Anthropology and Heritage Regimes*; Jezernik. *Constructing Identities on Marbles and Terracotta*; Hitler. *Mein Kampf*; Papanikolaou. *Travelling Through Space-Time Aboard a Monument*.

¹⁴ Comet. *Felicia Hemans and the "Exquisite Remains"*; Diaz-Andreu. *Constructing identities through culture*, 50; Herzfeld. *Fusion Museums*, 41; Jones. *Archaeology of Ethnicity*; Yagou. *Metamorphoses of Formalism*.

¹⁵ Herzfeld. *Crisis Attack*, 25; Papanikolaou. *Travelling Through Space-Time Aboard a Monument*, 268.

in the 1830^s to highlight Greek sovereignty.¹⁶ This focus on the preservation of antiquity obscured and dismissed much of the remaining post-Classical material and highlights that both artefacts and ideas have been appropriated by the broader European community.

The most prominent case of such appropriation is that of Lord Elgin who was responsible for much of the physical dismantling of the Parthenon's sculptures. British Lord Thomas Bruce (the Earl of Elgin) (b. 1766) accumulated a large collection of marbles while he served as the British Ambassador to the Ottoman Court.¹⁷ The first metope was removed from the Parthenon on July 31st, 1801, and collection continued until 1804.¹⁸ Some of Elgin's contemporaries applauded his actions.¹⁹ The pieces remained in his personal collection until he offered them to the British Museum in 1811 for £62,400, but was turned down, resulting in many years of financial difficulty.²⁰ On June 7th, 1816, an act in the British Parliament transferred the ownership of the marbles to the British nation with the British Museum as the trustees and successors in perpetuity.²¹

Other Western Europeans became involved in Greek affairs in other ways. Figures such as Scottish historian and philhellene, George Finlay (b. 1799), took it upon themselves to become involved in political and academic discourse on Greek culture.²² People like Finlay, who became directly involved in the formation of the modern Greek state by helping the Greeks fight in the War of Independence (1821-1830), demonstrate that appropriation can occur not only on a physical plane (e.g. Elgin's actions), but also on a conceptual one.²³ In particular, in his

¹⁶ Neils. *The Parthenon*, 3.

¹⁷ Cook. *The Elgin Marbles*, 5, 68-88.

¹⁸ Ibid, 74-75.

¹⁹ Comet. *Felicia Hemans and the "Exquisite Remains"*, 97-98.

²⁰ Cook. *The Elgin Marbles*, 82.

²¹ Cook. *The Elgin Marbles*, 5 82-85; Neils. *The Parthenon*, 166.

²² Potter. *George Finlay and the "History of Greece"*, 13. Philhellene means "lover of Greece".

²³ Ibid, 13.

publication *The History of Greece*, Finlay applauded Classical Greece and considered all following periods to be its slow decline.²⁴ Hence, by interpreting the relationship between ancients and moderns in such a way, characters like Finlay, and others like him, saw themselves as heirs to Greece's ancient legacy and imposed their imaginations of antiquity upon the new Greek state and its people through political involvement and academic publications.

Finally, perhaps the most sombre appropriation of Greek antiquity in modern history has been Adolf Hitler's philhellenic use of the ancient legacy in his Nazi ideology.²⁵ Like Finlay, Hitler had a very specific interpretation of antiquity, believing that the ideal German citizen would also embody the ancient Greek ideal of beauty (i.e. athletic and muscular), and be introspective (to a point where they become philosophical).²⁶ When Hitler saw what he believed to be a discordance between the living population and his imagination of Greek antiquity, he treated the modern population as lesser and worthy of less respect. During the invasion of Greece during the Second World War, the Nazi army perceived modern Greeks as having broken with the great legacy of their antique forbearers.²⁷ The army, its archaeologists, and its architects admired Greek antiquity and its material remnants, but despised the modern population.²⁸ This treatment of the local population shows that it is not only certain individuals who interpreted and expected the ancient Greek legacy to remain stagnant over time, but entire groups of people.

As demonstrated above, European attitudes towards Greek antiquity underscore the centrality of a specific imagination of ancient Greece on the construction of modern European identities in

²⁴ Comet. *Felicia Hemans and the "Exquisite Remains"*, 96-98; Finlay. *A History of Greece*; Neils. *The Parthenon*, 332-333; Potter. *George Finlay and the "History of Greece"*, 15, 17. Other figures involved in such discourses include: historian Edward Gibbon, Voltaire, Lord Byron, poet Felicia Hemans, Percy Shelley, and many others.

²⁵ Arnold. *Arierdämmerung*; Hitler. *Mein Kampf*, 393, 423.

²⁶ Hitler. *Mein Kampf*, 408, 409, 423.

²⁷ Mazower. *Inside Hitler's Greece*, 157.

²⁸ *Ibid*, 157-159. Members of the army are even called *war tourists*.

varying contexts of nation building. In imaginative spaces, material vestiges of the Classical period represent democracy, an aesthetic and artistic style rooted in the Classicism, philosophy, and political and militaristic power (Table 2).²⁹ These historical events were materially represented in art, architecture, literature, and coincided with the spreading of Greek as a language to other parts of Alexander's empire. In line with the nationalist imaginary, "supported by ideas of the nation as a 'people' whose purity and life must be preserved,"³⁰ these representations of Greek antiquity have come to be associated with the images of pristine white marble sculptures in sites like the Parthenon. However, these associations, just as the homogenizing ideas of the nation, have been challenged in the context of new political, socioeconomic, and artistic developments since the late 20th century.

1.2 Transformations and Continuities in Nationalistic Representations of Antiquity

The homogenous and monolithic image of Greek nationalism (predominately via notions of Greek antiquity) has not gone unchallenged since its development in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Socio-political transformations in spheres ranging from international relations to immigration and tourism have produced frictions in the singular concept of Greek antiquity and have challenged its obscuring of Greece's past pluralism through contested processes of identity formation at both individual and group levels.³¹

²⁹ Bintliff. *Ottoman Archaeology in Greece*, 222, 225; Comet. *Felicia Hemans and the "Exquisite Remains"*; Drakopolou. *Research on Byzantine Attica*, 145-147; Gilmore. *Anthropology of the Mediterranean Area*; Highet, Kahale, and Peters. *Commission of the European Communities v. Hellenic Republic*; Pomeroy et al. *Ancient Greece*, xvii-xxv, 471; Potter. *Two Thousand Years of Suffering*, 17, 24; Sakka. *"A Debt to Ancient Wisdom and Beauty"*. The early Classical period saw the rise of democracy in Athens and the city-state's rise to power. The late Classical period witnessed the conquest of Alexander the Great and, under him, an enforced monarchical unification of Greece. The Classical period ends with Alexander's death and the disintegration of Alexander's empire. During the Hellenistic period that followed, Greece, as a geographic location to be dominated, was fought over as one entity as opposed to the individual city-states it was divided in pre-conquest.

³⁰ Antonsich, et. al. *The Persistence of Nationalism*, 58.

³¹ Angelos. *The Full Catastrophe*, 187; Charney. *Identity and Liberal Nationalism*; Kalentzidou. *Pots Crossing Borders*; Robins and Robins. *Engaging the Contested Memory of the Public Square*; Sutton. *Local Names, Foreign Claims*; Theophanous. *Ethnic*

For instance, in 1992, in the wake of the formation of new nation-states in post-Cold War Europe, many in Athens protested ownership rights to Alexander the Great's legacy, countering interlinked heritage and territory claims to "Macedonia" by former Yugoslavs.³² The protestors claimed Alexander's legacy was to be Hellenic (the true descendants and inheritors of this history and its material vestiges) and therefore not belonging to the former Yugoslavs (who descended from Slavic people and were therefore not the true inheritors), who by the direction of the United Nations eventually named their newly-formed nation the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.³³

The meaning and significance of the idea of the Greek nation have continued to face the pressures of globalization, neoliberalization of economy and politics (both within the country, and the rest of Europe), and the increasing precariousness of Greece's place within the European Union, most evident in the 2009-2016 Greek government-debt crisis, as well as the country's ongoing refugee crisis.³⁴ Imaginations of the Greek nation and its ties to antiquity are integral to these conflicts. Therefore, the relationship between the modern nation and its ancient past requires study. Some scholars propose that even adding the word *modern* before Greece centralizes the importance of antiquity in Greek history, and highlights that ancient Greece was

Identity and the Nation-State in the Era of Globalization. In antiquity Greeks were not unified as a single population belonging to a nation. Rather, they identified as single city-states, each with its own patron deity, as well as its own philosophical and political views. Moreover, after antiquity other time periods introduced new art, religion, architectural styles, etc. This historic progression has created more sedimentation in material history and ways of identifying as Greek.

³² Agnew. *No Borders, No Nations*; Angelos. *The Full Catastrophe*, 179; Highet, Kahale, and Peters. *Commission of the European Communities v. Hellenic Republic*. Macedonia is claimed to be Greek since antiquity and therefore being Greek cultural property. Alexander the Great however, was Macedonian and even though his conquest spread Hellenic intellectual property such as language and philosophy, the geographic area we now know as Greece was under Macedonian rule. Under Alexander's leadership Greece was dominated by a monarchy, not democracy. Greece's sovereignty was arguably lost during the Macedonian conquest. The identification with this time and its material remnants could be argued as being either Greek or not, depending on the public being asked. The Roman conquest, however, is indisputably not Greek and I therefore demarcate the loss of Greek sovereignty with the Roman conquest rather than that of Macedon.

³³ Angelos. *The Full Catastrophe*, 179; Neils. *The Parthenon*, 1, 230; Shore. *Imagining the new Europe*, 106.

³⁴ Angelos. *The Full Catastrophe*, 190-194; Kalyvas. *Modern Greece*, 74-79. Thousands of asylum seekers would go to Athens to apply for asylum, or they intended to use Greece as a doorway to other European countries. Greece, however, was easier to enter than exit (towards the rest of Europe). Other refugees came into Greece as a result of the 1950's Cyprus conflict and the ensuing population exchange.

more rooted in Europe.³⁵ Identity-making is central to nation-making, in which identity is often delineated by the expression of self on and ownership of material (e.g. architecture, art, etc.). In order to understand the relationship between the modern nation and its ancient past, we must therefore look at how ideas of the nation are materially expressed.³⁶ In this study, materiality is not only expressive of itself (e.g. archaeological context, architectural iconography), but it also becomes physically representative of platonic ideas (i.e. intellectual and cultural property such as philosophy or works of literature and theatre) which bridge time, space, are central to nation-making, and define contemporary relationships with numerous other publics (e.g. other nations that use Greek antiquity in nationalist messages, historians, artists, architects, tourists, etc.).³⁷

Yet, despite the reconfiguration(s) of the relationship between antiquity and Greek national identity in response to the socio-political pressures examined above, contemporary Athens continues to be physically and materially evocative of its ancient past. The presence of historically significant sites acts as constant reminders of antiquity as lived and experienced in daily life. Walking down the streets of Athens locals and foreigners alike are physically surrounded by antiquity, be it by archaeological remnants, goods for sale (e.g. souvenirs sold by street vendors), or images used in marketing (e.g. tour buses, films, books, travel, company logos, etc.). In short, antiquity is lived and sensed in daily activity.

³⁵ Green, *Notes from the Balkans*, 2.

³⁶ Agnew. *No Borders, No Nations*; Demetriou. *Streets Not Named*; Green, *Notes from the Balkans*, 2; Gefou-Madianou. *Cultural Polyphony and Identity Formation*; Kotzamani. *Athens- Ancient and Modern*; Meszell. *The Intersections of Identity and Politics in Archaeology*.

³⁷ Anderson. *Constructing Identities in the Bicultural Family*; Green. *Notes from the Balkans*, 1-4.

1.3 Facing Challenges in Two Athenian Museum Contexts

The Parthenon exhibit in the Acropolis Museum and the Liquid Antiquity installation in the Benaki Museum, present us with two contexts in which to examine how museums engage with the homogenous imagination of antiquity and the challenges that arise to such an imagination. The Acropolis and Benaki museums both seek to inform visitors about Greece's past and how history continues to play a role in contemporary Athens. The Acropolis museum uses modern display methods (e.g. open spaces, big windows that permit a lot of sunlight to enter the space, etc.), a transparent and fluid organization of space, and additional audiovisuals to convey and amend traditional representations of the Parthenon to contemporary imaginations of Greek history and identity. The Benaki museum, in comparison, features exhibitions and galleries that seek to step away from that tradition completely. Instead, it highlights the periods of Greek history (such as the Byzantine period, Ottoman occupation, Independence, and other significant moments), the importance of Church, and differences between subcultures. Periods like the Byzantine era and those that followed have been neglected due to the prevailing overemphasis on antiquity (namely, in the image of the Parthenon), and their representation thus turns this overemphasis—and its criticism by artists and scholars—itsself into an object of museum display, as we will see in the Liquid Antiquity exhibition and the Romantic Impulses Gallery (Chapter 2). These two modes of engaging and displaying Greek antiquity in museum settings are inseparable from broader socio-political and public debates concerning the meaning of Greek national identity and its place within Europe. As such, they provide insight into public issues concerning the relationship between cultural heritage, materiality, and imagination vis-à-vis the shifting and persisting conceptions of the nation.

Anthropologists argue that the study of history and its physical representations in museums is not limited to an academic audience.³⁸ History is a necessary form of public discourse because it is often used as justification for violent acts that divide rather than connect people (e.g. Hitler's formation of his Nazi ideology, discussed above).³⁹ In Greece, identity-related challenges occur in direct relationship to antiquity and its material remnants.⁴⁰ The relationship between Greece and the rest of Europe is similarly demarcated by the physical presence of antiquity as *European* material.⁴¹ Given that museums play a mediating role between political and public, they therefore become primary public sites of exposure to imaginations of not only the past, but also the roles history continues to play in the present. In this context, I argue that this thesis is of interest to public readers as well as to academics. My use of the term *public* here refers to anyone who encounters Greek antiquity in a material form. This may include visitors (specifically, those present in museum spaces), and those exposed to virtual tourism (e.g. online tours, social media) and marketing strategies (e.g. travel guides, brochures, television and internet ads) that use antiquity as universal symbols for the Greek nation.

This thesis can also be accessed by a public that has experienced Greek antiquity outside of Greece, who encounter and engage with it in other museums that have ancient artefacts on display. Since we all engage with material on a day-to-day basis, it is important to recognize how materiality is interwoven and entangled with our lives in varying degrees. In museums we come across material representations of the past and interact with displays on an individual level. The displays, however, demonstrate that our interactions with materiality are nonetheless bounded by

³⁸ Herzfeld. *Neoliberal Hijacking of History*, S260.

³⁹ Herzfeld. *Neoliberal Hijacking of History*, S260; Hitler. *Mein Kampf*, 393, 423; Mazower. *Inside Hitler's Greece*, 157-159.

⁴⁰ Angelos. *The Full Catastrophe*; Baydar. *Teaching Architectural History in Turkey and Greece*; Comet. *Felicia Hemans and the "Exquisite Remains"*; Matthews. *Greco-Roman Cities of Aegean Turkey*.

⁴¹ Herzfeld. *Fusion Museums*, 39.

either the physical spaces of museums themselves, or more intangible forces, including ideas of nationalism, globalization, and tourism.

1.4 Publication Venue

My proposed venue of publication for this thesis is *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale* the major journal for the European Association of Social Anthropologists. The journal's profile is primarily European in nature but also has a global scope. Given primary focus of this thesis on Greece and Europe, *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale* seems the most appropriate. Moreover, the journal has not extensively published works on Greek identity, and this project would thus create an opening for further research and discussion. Finally, the publication is available to academics, students, and researchers within the field of social anthropology, and has an Open Access option. Even though the primary readership of this journal is an anthropological audience, the Open Access option would make this project available to anyone who wishes to access it, even if they do not have formal academic subscriptions to this journal.

Chapter 2

Sensing Past and Present in Two Athenian Museums

2.1 Introduction

Museums shape how publics perceive a nation's relationship to its past. Physical experiences of museums provide publics with a material ground to reimagine history and its relationship with contemporary society. By comparing the Parthenon exhibit at the Acropolis Museum with the Liquid Antiquity installation at the Benaki Museum of Greek Culture (hereafter referred to as the Benaki Museum), this thesis examines competing imaginations of antiquity, and the use of museum spaces in the material representation and (re)imagination of antiquity. Materiality is granted the role of symbolizing intangible traditions (e.g. democracy, an aesthetic and artistic style rooted in the Classicism, philosophy, etc.). Materials in museums are therefore granted the roles and restrictions of the different cultural and historic aspects they represent. In other words, they reflect competing imaginations, which are nevertheless bound by their socio-historic context, and the physical parameters and sensorial experience of the museums themselves.

With the establishment of modern European states and their national and ethnic identities, antiquity has been conceptualized in a homogenous way. As a marker of civilization, Greece's ancient past has been glorified and absorbed by other European countries both literally through the removal of artefacts and their display in personal or museum collections, and conceptually through the adoption of perceived ancient ideologies and literature (Chapter 1). Identifying with the ancient Greek past makes a modern state more *European* a relationship that is animated by the desire by modern states to position themselves at the height of Europe's impressive past. Antiquity generally, and Greek antiquity specifically, therefore has been granted the role of

making European culture and identity throughout its modern history.⁴² This engagement with ancient Greece, in turn, has contributed to a homogenous imagination of its past and its impact on the present despite possible other imaginations. Moreover, emphasis placed on the presence of certain artefacts (like the Parthenon sculptures) within the country could be considered an expression of the political predicament in Greece as to whether it can be considered European or not.⁴³ Through their displays, museums employ different strategies to materialize and foster this imagination of antiquity. Using the Acropolis Museum's Parthenon exhibit and the Benaki Museum's Liquid Antiquity installation as examples, I argue that the imaginations of the past in museum contexts are produced and limited by the historical, spatial, and material context of their representation. Furthermore, I show how this process is informed by the shifting configurations of the nation as an imagined community and a marker of identity.

Data were collected through the examination of written museum guides, display practices, and spatial organization in the museum exhibits. I draw on field-notes, on-site photography, and material made available to the public such as pamphlets and travel guides. These data show that the one identity imagined by the public can be continuously revised, reimagined, and expressed as multiple identities. Before delving into the two cases compared in this thesis, I will address the components which go into the production and reinforcement of identity, namely the socio-historic context, ties between imagination and nationalism, and how imagination takes shape in museum spaces.

A necessary point of discussion is why a large permanent exhibit would be compared to an installation when they differ in scale and purpose of construction. The rationale behind

⁴² Hartog. *The Double Fate of the Classics*, 964, 968; Herzfeld. *Crisis Attack*, 25; Herzfeld. *Fusion Museums*.

⁴³ Graves-Brown and Jones. *Archaeology and cultural identity in Europe*, 9-10; Herzfeld. *Fusion Museums*, 38; Kalyvas. *Modern Greece*; Kristiansen. *European Origins*, 138; Shore. *Imagining the new Europe*, 106.

selecting these two exhibits specifically was to compare the spaces within which they were situated, and how they appeal to public imaginations of the past and present. Indeed, examined at another time, the permanent Benaki Museum would not have had the same Liquid Antiquity component. At any other time, one might compare antiquity to the Byzantine or Ottoman legacies, or museums which display all of Greek history rather than one period. The latter had been my initial intent. Being physically present in Athens, however, influenced the shift of my focus from a broad historical scope to the specific relationship between antiquity and modernity vis-à-vis national identity. This decision occurred approximately half way through the on-site portion of my research and was largely tied to the inclusion of the Parthenon exhibit. For the limited scope of this thesis, I found it necessary to address two examples which sought to engage with antiquity and its quintessential embodiment in the Parthenon in different—if not explicitly critical—ways.

2.1.1 Which Greece?

Throughout history a variety of political, international, artistic, academic, and general audiences have traditionally focused on the heroic age narrated by Homer, and the buildings and sculptures of the Classical period.⁴⁴ Ancient Greece was (and continues to be) depicted as the childhood of Europe.⁴⁵ Post antiquarian periods were therefore treated as lesser by modern European audiences.⁴⁶ Following Greece's conquest by the Romans (second century BCE) until the nation's independence in the 19th century, Greece was not in control of its sovereignty.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Potter. *Two Thousand Years of Suffering*, 14.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 15.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 16.

⁴⁷ Neils. *The Parthenon*, 1, 230; Shore. *Imagining the new Europe*, 106. (Chapter 1)

Byzantium was considered a remnant of Rome's decline, and the rise of monastic religion was seen by some Renaissance historians as further corrupting Greece's ancient legacy.⁴⁸ Hence, material remnants from antiquity became glorified as physical demarcations of a time in which Greek city states were at the height of their power and influence, and not under another's control. This history is not representative of only Greek culture and identity, but of a broad European culture and identity that was structured around the antique past.⁴⁹ This double-sided role of antiquity has made it subject to multiple imaginations and therefore multiple influences despite a predominance among European countries and institutions towards a homogenous representation of Greece's ancient past.⁵⁰

A major political movement beginning in the 18th century, Modern Greek nationalism likewise emphasized the ideals and artefacts of ancient Greece as a source of symbolic capital. Nationalist elites sought to liberate Greece from the Ottoman Empire in the Balkan Wars. Moreover, they sought to turn Greece into a powerful nation in the post-World War I European nation-state order by invoking its glorious past as both uniquely Greek and as being at the root of modern European identity.⁵¹ Some early Greek nationalists envisioned a state that was ethnically plural but culturally Greek, while others argued that the population of the time were descendants

⁴⁸ Potter. *Two Thousand Years of Suffering*, 15, 19.

⁴⁹ Hartog. *The Double Fate of the Classics*, 973. "Classical" and "antiquity" have often been treated as synonymous, even in academic literature. This use in language obscures that antiquity was divided into multiple periods rather than as a homogenous entity. Firstly, there is a division between Greek and Roman antiquities (amongst others globally). Even though there were some similarities and cultural borrowings, they are nonetheless different. Moreover, within Greek antiquity there is further division, with particular difference between "Classical" and "classical". The former being a specific time period (480-323 BCE), and the latter being a general synonym for antiquity. "'Classic' could thus act as a cultural operator, allowing either linkage or division. 'Classical' could qualify certain periods of antiquity ... just as it could qualify certain moments in the history of the moderns". The lack of clarity even in academic literature therefore leaves little room for surprise at public use and understanding of antiquity as one monolithic entity rather than a series of historic developments.

⁵⁰ Hartog. *The Double Fate of the Classics*, 970. There is an elective affinity in place between ancients and moderns in which "the expectations of the moderns converge, with the former giving its form to the latter". The notion of "classical" creates a circuit between ancients and moderns to the extent that one can be applied to the other (e.g. calling a book a *modern classic*) which renders an ancient piece (of literature, sculpture, or any other material remnants) as being "already modern", or a modern piece as being "still ancient".

⁵¹ Kalyvas. *Modern Greece*, 1-67.

of the ancients and that the connection between ancients and moderns would transform Greece into a unified nation.⁵² This ideology did not, however, consider that the ancients themselves were not unified under a single nation. Instead they lived in distinct city states, each with its own identity and often warring with among themselves.

2.1.2 *Why Athens?*

The Classical Period in Greece was dominated by three powers, Spartan, Athenian, and Theban. Why then, of the three powers, is Athens most marketed to tourists? With the rise of Communism after the Second World War, Greece remained one of the last unclaimed territories by Western European and American authorities, or by the USSR and its allied states. Claiming Greece was therefore not only a matter of attaining another ally, but a symbol of the struggle between Democracy and Communism.⁵³ Ultimately, Greece was the only Balkan nation to remain a democratic state and escape Communism.⁵⁴ 20th century Greek nationalists looked to Western Europe for political ideological inspiration whereas their Balkan neighbours looked east towards Russia.⁵⁵ As the ancient symbol of Democracy, Athens thus made the most sense to be marketed and capitalized by Western populations.⁵⁶ Many public figures of the 19th century (Chapter 1) were interested in the regeneration of ancient Athens and how its values could be replicated by modern democracy.⁵⁷ Political appeal to democracy was also prevalent during

⁵² Kalyvas. *Modern Greece*, 22.

⁵³ Hamilakis and Labany. *Time, Materiality, and the Work of Memory*, 113; Sakka. *A Debt to Ancient Wisdom and Beauty*, 207, 211-213,

⁵⁴ Kalyvas. *Modern Greece*, 12.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 22-23.

⁵⁶ Neils. *The Parthenon*, 2. The ancient historian Thucydides -who was Athenian- predicted that Classical Athenian monuments would be used to exaggerate the city's political importance (1.10). He believed that Sparta remained (and would continue to remain) in obscurity because it lacked the same amount of magnificent buildings, thus making it appear politically weaker and less important.

⁵⁷ Potter. *Two Thousand Years of Suffering*, 22,

Greece's war of Independence in the 1820s, and as resistance to Nazi occupation during the Second World War.⁵⁸ Antiquity was called upon by modern people not just materially, but also conceptually in an effort to comment on contemporary issues as they arise (such as the rise of Nazism). This shows that as time progresses, parts of antiquity were taken and reimagined for new purposes and in different ways.

Post-Cold war developments brought new challenges to the idea of the nation in Greece and that of broader Europe, which in turn pushed for a reimagination of antiquity and its place in modern Greece. The conflict between Greece and FYROM over claims to heritage, identity, and nation building highlights discourse about the need to establish an identity to escape marginalization (within Europe), and that through these conflicts, the marginal also remain a centre of focus (Chapter 1).⁵⁹ On the artistic (fine arts, performance, music, architecture, etc.) and philosophical front, European *postmodernism* looked back at history in an often ironic, playful, and eclectic way that subverted convention.⁶⁰ In Greece, this movement challenged and blurred the distinction between “high culture” (equated with antique history and artefacts produced during antiquity) and “low culture” (often associated with material from other periods such as Folk, Ottoman, etc.) in favour of a combined approach to art and identity.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Kalyvas. *Modern Greece*, 10.

⁵⁹ Green. *Notes from the Balkans*, 1-4.

⁶⁰ Levin. *Modern and Postmodern Art and Architecture*, 380-381.

⁶¹ Kotzamani. *Athens- Ancient and Modern*, 15, 16; Levin. *Modern and Postmodern Art and Architecture*, 380-381; Yagou. *Metamorphoses of Formalism*.

Yet, despite such pressures and developments, present day Athens, as the Greek capital with approximately half of the country's overall population, continues to be evocative of its grand and glorious past.⁶² Walking through the Greek capital, a visitor is met with a plethora of vendors that line the streets, selling souvenirs such as statues, jewelry, masks, etc. depicting ancient imagery (e.g. dramatic masks, architectural and archaeological replicas, etc.). While

these vendors are not affiliated with the museums, they continue to reinforce traditional imaginations of the ancient past. Museums likewise have their own gift shops which sell similar objects as well as



Figure 1: Syntagma metro stop, Athens



Figure 2: Akropoli metro stop, Athens



Figure 3: Monastiraki metro stop, Athens



Figure 4: Archaeological site at Monastiraki metro stop, Athens

books by scholars on different topics from Greek history. Metro stations such as *Akropoli*, *Monastiraki*, and *Syntagma* also display archaeological sites, artefacts, and displays that exhibit similar material (Figures 1-4), some of which were discovered during the construction (i.e. excavation) of these stations. The M1 line even runs through the ancient Agora, with the ruins

⁶² Hartog. *The Double Fate of the Classics*, 964.



Figure 5: Agora entrance statement, Athens

visible during that portion of the train ride. A European Heritage statement at the North entrance to the Agora asserts that, “Europe starts here!” (Figure 5) thus acting as a bridge connecting Greece to the rest of Europe.

Tourist locations such as Socrates’ Prison are also used as points of sale and tourism, although tour guides will sometimes admit that historic people like Socrates actually had nothing to do with the location,

and that the site was simply given that name in an effort to attract tourists. Scholars have looked at how even the choice to name streets in modern Athens after ancient figures has added to the physical exposure to antiquity.⁶³ Walking through Athens therefore becomes an extension of any museum experience, the city streets acting as long hallways between different locations where people engage with historic material or copies thereof (e.g. souvenirs or business logos) (Figure 6). Thus, traditional imaginations of antiquity are no longer read from behind a case, but lived.



Figure 6: Souvenirs for sale, Athens

2.1.3 Situating Imagination in Museums

I use *imagination* to describe the capacity to create a vision of that which is not necessarily present or is only present in part. Imagination has the capacity to encompass a variety of spaces, modes of perception, and conceptualizations of the real.⁶⁴ Yet this capacity is also

⁶³ Demetriou. *Streets Not Named*.

⁶⁴ Mittermaier. *Dreams that Matter*, 3.

defined and shaped by the socio-political and material context of its deployment. The imagination and reimagination of Greek antiquity in the Acropolis and Benaki museums, for instance, are grounded in the sensorial experiences of the related displays which in turn act as conduits of public discourse in response to particular political developments (such as the ownership debates over the Parthenon Marbles reflecting the political discourses and imaginations of Greek national identity).⁶⁵ I therefore will examine museums as primary sites of physical exposure to imaginations of the past and present, which encompass both the process of embodiment (i.e. visitors walking through and experiencing the past) and cognition (i.e. reading display panels, or guides that visitors may then take home and reread).⁶⁶ Moreover, the geographical space in which the museum is located determines the conditions of such experience.

The presence of archaeological sites in Athens directs the movement of people through the city as well as how construction can be conducted, or what needs to be preserved. Situated atop the Acropolis, the Parthenon can be seen from many points from the city. This visual presence is reinforced by and incorporated into the Acropolis museum's modernized forms of exhibiting the Parthenon. Yet museums are not exclusively visual entities.⁶⁷ Visitors are brought into direct contact with ideas and are disciplined by regulation of movement, timing, and access to spaces.⁶⁸ In the examples examined in this thesis, the Parthenon exhibit's reconstruction of the temple's sculptural program creates a space that is experienced by the whole body rather than just the eyes; similarly the Liquid Antiquity installation transforms the Benaki's antique display

⁶⁵ Jones. *Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 178-185.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Meyer. *Aesthetic Formations*, 6.

⁶⁸ Herzfeld. *Fusion Museums*, 37-38.

section from a space that is primarily experienced by the eyes, to one that is also auditory and palpable.⁶⁹

In both cases, the relationship between imagination and materiality concerns not merely the artefacts on display in and of themselves, but also the way that imagery is treated within its initial or new context. Copies substituting missing archaeological artefacts in the Parthenon exhibit appear just as central as the original remains for imagining *Greekness* in the past and the present. Both the artefact and their copies, as well as the drawings of them that now are on display in the Benaki museum's Romantic Impulses Gallery (discussed below) act to reproduce traditional representations of antiquity: grand yet in ruins, white and pristine yet faded with age. Likewise, museum spaces can also employ new methods or content following artistic movements (e.g. ATHENSCOPE and its goal to depict Athens as if history had been rewritten at various points) seeking to emancipate modern Greece from its ancient past, to reinvent or reject antiquity, or to include more subcultural components (such as folk art) into the national identity.⁷⁰ In each case, the socio-political and historical work of imagination becomes defined by its material conditions even as it expands these conditions.

2.2 Imagined Identities

Since Benedict Anderson's seminal book, *Imagined Communities*, where he defined the nation as an abstract community imagined through sentiments of comradeship and fraternity, the concept of imagination has been central to scholarship on identity formation and nationalism.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Visitors had the ability to pick up a copy of *Liquid Antiquity* and follow along in the book as they sat or stood and watched each of the six artists being interviewed.

⁷⁰ Kotzamani. *Athens- Ancient and Modern*, 15.

⁷¹ Anderson. *Imagined Communities*, 7.

In Anderson's formulation, national communities are not given pre-existing entities associated with a fixed set of symbols, as is often presumed by nationalist movements. Instead, they "evolve around mediated imaginations that are able to substitute the (spatial) distance between members with a feeling of togetherness".⁷² Anderson focused mainly on language and European print capitalism as the primary media of modern imaginations of community and identity in line with the new national consciousness.⁷³ This thesis understands the nation in similar terms, as flexible and always in the making (in time and space) rather than inherent in the peoples or artefacts.

The question I am concerned with is how the language on which modern imagined communities and their "invented traditions" depend acquires a sense of truth and reality for the proponents and audiences of nationalist ideologies.⁷⁴ How do imagined communities become tangible and materialize in the spaces and objects and are embodied in subjects?⁷⁵ How they are simultaneously limited and shaped by finite social and physical boundaries?⁷⁶ While national boundaries such as borders are typically used as separating entities, museum exhibits also become physical referents that influence the formation of social boundaries. Furthermore, scholars who examine the relationship between archaeology and ethnicity propose that ethnicity is structured by the physical presence of material.⁷⁷ Imagination evokes a shared understanding of and connection to fellow citizens and helps in forming relationships with objects (and vice versa).⁷⁸ The use of space and time as means of connecting peoples of the past and present is

⁷² Meyer. *Aesthetic Formations*, 4.

⁷³ Gellner. *Nations and Nationalism*.

⁷⁴ Hobsbawm and Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition*.

⁷⁵ Meyer. *Aesthetic Formations*, 6.

⁷⁶ Anderson. *Imagined Communities*, 7.

⁷⁷ Jones. *Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 120.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

manifested in material remains and landmarks that are then displayed in museums or turned into them.⁷⁹

2.3 Research Context and Methods

My data derive largely from field notes based on observations, images of museum displays and artefacts, and excerpts from museum guides, pamphlets, and the *Liquid Antiquity* publication. This textual information was gathered in English, which was the second most used language in displays after Greek. Some museums provided written guides in other languages, however, overall the dominant languages were Greek and English (in that order). These were gathered from the Acropolis and Benaki museums through on-site research from May 20th, 2017 to June 2nd, 2017.

Each museum was visited three times for a duration of three hours each time. Research and material analyses were conducted from January 1st, 2017 to August 31st, 2017. I initially intended to conduct interviews with local professionals in Athenian museums. This information was meant to be supplementary data about professional perspectives on local museum organization. The limited duration of my stay, the timing of my visit which coincided with the beginning of the archaeological season, and my status as an outsider largely limited my ability to find interested interviewees. For this reason, my analysis prioritizes the spatial characteristics of displayed objects in these museums as well as public discourses and narratives about them.

⁷⁹ Anderson. *Imagined Communities*; Calhoun. *Nationalism and Ethnicity*; Foucault. *Of Other Spaces*; Shore. *Imagining the New Europe*, 106.

Sites such as the Athenian Acropolis, Aristotle's Lyceum, the Temple of Olympian Zeus, the Arch of Hadrian, the ancient agora, Hadrian's Library, the Kerameikos and the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion were also visited to acquire a contextual backdrop for this thesis. Museums such as the Goulandris Museum of Cycladic Art, the National Archaeological Museum, the Athens War Museum, the Archaeological Museum of Thebes, the Eleftherios Venizelos Museum, and the Stoa of Attalos, were also visited. Indeed, it is important to note that while the above institutions engaged visitors' sensory experiences, they nonetheless were more limited in this respect than the displays on offer at the Acropolis and Benaki museums which included engagement with other senses (i.e. sound, touch) on top of sight, and were structured in such a way as to continuously discuss the ties modernity has to antiquity. The Parthenon exhibit wholly envelops its visitors through its size and structural organization where people are permitted to walk around, and through the material (i.e. doorways). Guides providing tours and a video playing in the cella of the structure also provide an aural component to the space. The Liquid Antiquity installation's primary component is a video display that includes audible interviews with the artists heard and shown on screen. Visitors choosing not to watch the video could still hear it as they moved through the Benaki's permanent gallery, thus making the aural component of the installation the primary sense that visitors engaged with during their visit in combination with sight. Each of the installations also had a copy of the *Liquid Antiquity* book beside a chair where visitors could sit and read and/or flip through.

The contemporary Acropolis Museum is a national, publicly funded institution situated three hundred meters away from the south side of the

Athenian Acropolis and its monuments (Figure 7).⁸⁰

The structure rests atop remnants of Ancient Athens, now the archaeological site known as the

Makrygiannis Plot (Figure 8), and has on display

material from the Archaic to Classical periods.⁸¹ In 1976 it was decided that the Parthenon's sculptures ought to be dismantled and transferred to the original Acropolis Museum that was in



Figure 7: Acropolis Museum, Athens



Figure 8: Archaeological site beneath the Acropolis Museum, Athens

place at the time for protection, conservation, and exhibition. That structure however, did not have enough space for the inclusion of

more artefacts and the growing number of visitors.⁸² Architectural

competitions were held to select a design for a new museum. It was

during the fourth competition in 2000, that the design by Bernard

Tschumi and Michael Photiades was finally selected.⁸³ On January

30th, 2004 the Acropolis Museum was completed but was not formally

opened until June 20th, 2009.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ The construction of the newest Acropolis Museum building replaced the nationalist role that was initially played by the National Archaeological Museum. This role reversal as well as its location in a central tourist zone, contribute to the amount of publicity this museum receives.

⁸¹ Pandermalis. *The Acropolis Museum Guide*, 11, 18.

⁸² Ibid, 9.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

One of the main purposes of the modern Acropolis Museum building is to maintain a connection between the artefacts on display and their original context: the Acropolis (Figure 9).

The Parthenon gallery is granted particular importance and is acknowledged (literally and figuratively) as the high point of the museum (Figure 10). The museum's general spatial organization encourages fluid movement, with artefacts largely unobscured: guests are able to walk around items rather than observe them hanging. On the ground floor guests can see parts of the archaeological site below through a glass floor, further emphasizing the connection between being inside the museum and the original contexts of the artefacts on display. Moreover, a visitor has the ability to see the sculptures against the natural Attic light as it changes throughout the day and seasons.⁸⁵ Being able to see the artefacts in natural rather than artificial light furthers the



Figure 9: View of the Acropolis from the Parthenon Exhibit, Acropolis Museum

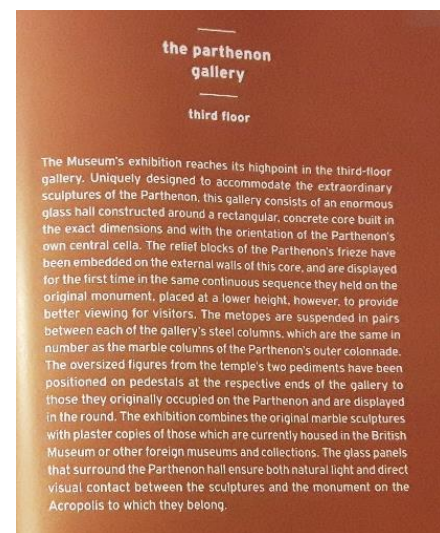


Figure 10: Excerpt from the Acropolis Museum Guide about the third-floor exhibit

connection visitors have with the landscape and allows the materials on display to be seen in the light they were intended to be seen and experienced in by their original artists and builders.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 11. Athens is situated in the region of Attica.

Until its various pieces were removed by Western Europeans, the Parthenon had retained much of its sculptures, despite its conversion to a Byzantine church and Latin cathedral (600-1458 CE) and a Mosque (1460-1833 CE). Before the European removal of its sculptures the



Figure 11: Acroterion in the Parthenon exhibit, Acropolis Museum

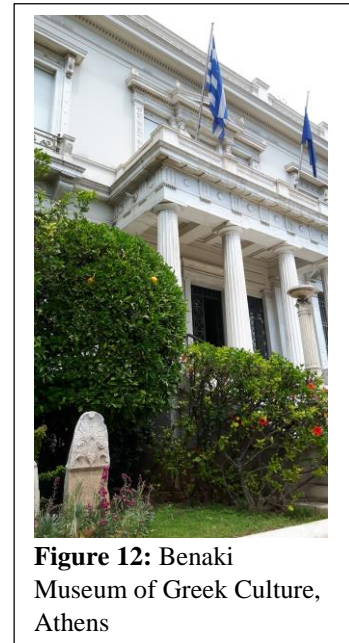
Parthenon had retained a 524-foot frieze, 92 metopes, 2 pediments, and acroteria (Figure 11). Sixty seven frieze blocks were removed (the central east frieze also broke in half during removal), and 15 of the original 32 pieces of the southern metopes are in London. Other pieces of the south metopes are housed in other museums in Munich, Copenhagen, Wurzburg, and Paris.⁸⁶ Since the Parthenon artefacts have been discussed in great detail in terms of ownership and archaeological ethics, I initially intended to seek out an exhibit that did

not display such widely known material. While conducting research in Athens, however, it became evident that the temple and its artefacts were emphasized by tour guides and tourism media. I could not therefore deny the significant role these pieces continue to play. The Parthenon exhibit, a physical reconstruction of the Parthenon's sculptural program displayed in a 3200m² space, is a sensorial structure it goes beyond objects displayed behind a glass case and it is one cohesive entity to be experienced as a whole rather than in individual pieces.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Neils. *The Parthenon*, 1, 3, 4, and 166.

⁸⁷ Pandermalis. *The Acropolis Museum Guide*, 9.

Founded in the 19th century by Greek nationalist Antonis Benakis (1873-1954), the Benaki Museum of Greek Culture is a ten-minute walk from Syntagma Square and the Greek Parliament building in central Athens (Figure 12). Although it is also regulated by the Ministry of Culture and Sport, the Benaki Museum is a private institution that relies on donations. Benakis intended to convert his childhood home into a museum that would display Greek historic and archaeological material.⁸⁸ Even though he was a steadfast patriot who nurtured ideals of Greek liberation and the Europeanization of social and public life, Benakis' close friendship with scholars in Byzantine, Post-byzantine, and Folk Art influenced his decision to include all of Greek history in his museum



(Figure 13) which harkens more to our contemporary discussions on Greek representation, rather than the representations emphasized during his own time.⁸⁹ In 1910, when the building was still



a home, the neoclassical mansion was remodelled for the first time. When it was made into a museum another addition was needed.⁹⁰ The building was donated to the nation and inaugurated on April 22nd, 1931 before the last addition was constructed in 1988-1990.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Delivorrias. *A Guide to the Benaki Museum*, 13-27.

⁸⁹ Ibid, 16-17.

⁹⁰ Ibid, 17, 21.

⁹¹ Ibid, 17, 21-22.

In the summer of 2017, the Benaki Museum promoted the recently published *Liquid Antiquity* book (2017) via the inclusion of an installation in six of its permanent galleries (Figures 14 & 15). The purpose of the installation was to challenge the public to look at antique material and reimagine its use in a contemporary way without romanticizing the material particularly its impact on the present (Table 3, section 2.5). The pamphlet displayed in Figure 15 states

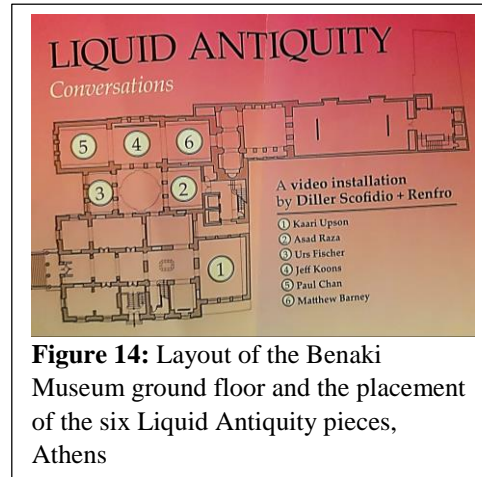


Figure 14: Layout of the Benaki Museum ground floor and the placement of the six Liquid Antiquity pieces, Athens

that the installation’s audience is: “we who encounter the classical past.”⁹² Use of general words like *we* and *our* highlights the adoption of Greek culture and imagery by other countries and

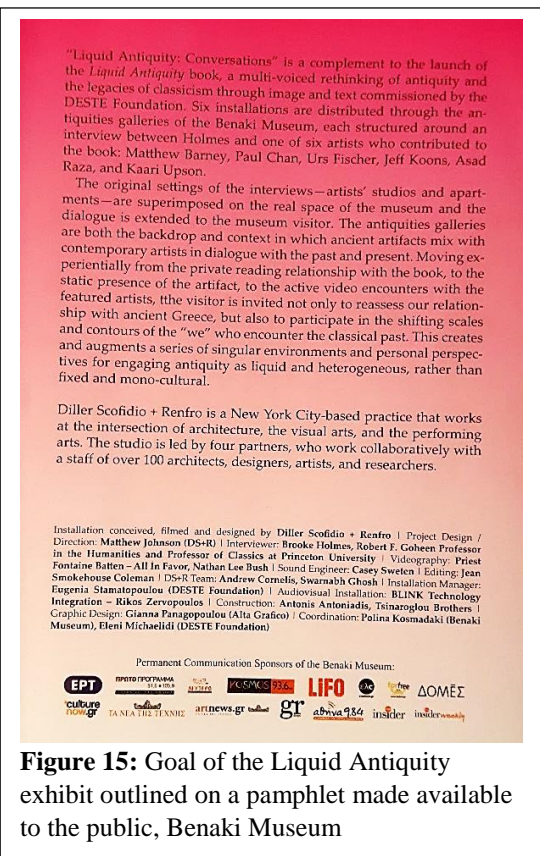


Figure 15: Goal of the Liquid Antiquity exhibit outlined on a pamphlet made available to the public, Benaki Museum

acknowledges the multiple imaginations of antiquity that have contributed to both the homogenous representation of antiquity but also the contemporary artistic push for reimagination. The installation and its six constituent pieces displayed this tension.

The temporary Liquid Antiquity installation was dispersed across the galleries that display antique history. It did not, however, necessarily only depict the messages and perceptions of those involved with the Benaki Museum. As outlined by the *Liquid Antiquity* book and pamphlet (Figures 14

& 15), other scholarly and art entities including Diller and Scofidio + Renfro, the DESTE

⁹² DESTE Foundation. *Liquid Antiquity Conversations*.

foundation, and the *Postclassicism* Initiative at Princeton University, as well as an eclectic group of international artists (Table 3), were also involved in collaboration with the museum.⁹³

Installations are by their nature meant to provoke a critical awareness about their immediate surroundings (the immediate physical space, but also the broader socio-cultural context) to reshape boundaries rather than having them strictly defined⁹⁴ Due to visitors' simultaneous inclusion and exclusion from the material displayed or discussed, installations demand sensorial interactions from their audiences.⁹⁵ Against the backdrop of permanent displays in the Benaki Museum, the *Liquid Antiquity* installation therefore becomes a venue of spatialized discourse. Instead of the individual items in the permanent exhibit, the staging and mode of display becomes central.

2.4 Museum Spaces

The Acropolis Museum's third floor exhibit is to recreates the Parthenon and allows guests to experience walking through the temple via its proxy in the museum (Figures 16 & 17). The space also stands in contrast to the rest of the museum in terms of spatial arrangement: while the lower floors of the museum are organized in chronological order, this upper



Figure 16: Parthenon Exhibit, Acropolis Museum

gallery breaks with chronology. Visitors are introduced to the gallery as they come up the stairs

⁹³ DESTE Foundation. *Liquid Antiquity Conversations*.

⁹⁴ Potts. *Installation and Sculpture*, 7.

⁹⁵ Ibid, 14. Since installations are of a critical nature, visitors are often both the viewer and the viewed. They have the ability to physically engage with the space, but the message portrayed is often a criticism or a call to introspection of those engaging with the installation. In the case of *Liquid Antiquity*, visitors may engage with the material presented by each artist in different ways. What someone may find inspirational or interesting, someone else may feel distaste for, or indifference. Moreover, in *Liquid Antiquity* visitors were able to sit and listen if they chose to, and they could hear each artist speak their mind. However, visitors could not verbally respond and so the engagement remained one-sided thereby retaining a level of exclusion on the part of the visitor.

into the centre (Figure 18), where a glass hall constructed around the concrete core mimics the temple's central cella, and they are presented with a model of the Acropolis in 5th century BCE.⁹⁶

Outside, blocks from the Parthenon's frieze are displayed in continuous sequence, at a lower height (instead of above the columns) for easier viewing (Figures 16 & 17).

⁹⁷ The metopes (Figures 16 & 19) are also placed lower for easier viewing, in between steel columns in the same in

number as in the Parthenon's outer colonnade.⁹⁸ The two pediments (Figure 19) are also lowered



Figure 19: Parthenon exhibit, Acropolis Museum

and placed on pedestals on the east and west ends.⁹⁹ The artefacts are yellowed from age and the plaster copies of the missing pieces stand in stark white contrast (Figures 16 & 17). The final display experienced as visitors leave is a small television atop the escalators describing where the remaining real Parthenon artefacts are, and the

history of their removal. Part of this video is available online by the Acropolis Museum as a

trailer to the film *The Adventures of the Parthenon Sculptures in Modern Times*.¹⁰⁰ This video



Figure 17: Parthenon Exhibit, Acropolis Museum

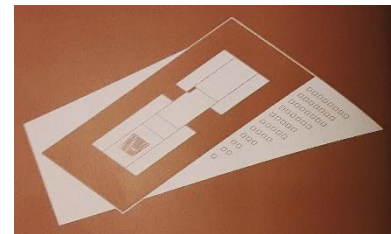


Figure 18: Layout of the Parthenon exhibit, Acropolis Museum

⁹⁶ The cella is the inner chamber of the temple. This is also the space where the statue of Athena would have been housed.

⁹⁷ A frieze is the superstructure of moldings and beams which rest above columns on the inner layer of the structure. The Parthenon's frieze depicts the procession of the Greater Panathenaia- the most important festival in Athens.

⁹⁸ Metopes are the sculptures atop and in between columns on the outer layer of the structure. The Parthenon's metopes depict the Trojan War on the north end, the invasion of Athens by the Amazons on the west end, the battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs on the south end, and the battle between the Olympian Gods against the Giants on the east end. A colonnade is the long sequence of columns.

⁹⁹ Pediments are the triangular portions placed at the top. The Parthenon's pediments depict the birth of Athena on the east end, and the battle between Athena and Poseidon over the patronage of Athens on the west end. The temple's entrance would have also been on the east end.

¹⁰⁰ The Acropolis Museum. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rsnGfXDvYHE&feature=youtu.be>.

and the longer feature film inside the museum include photos of the Parthenon artefacts, animations, and a timeline of events.

The placement of the six Liquid Antiquity pieces is not addressed in signage or accompanying publications. Since one of the goals of the installation is to reevaluate our relationship with the ancient past (Figure 15), it stands to reason that the installation pieces are disbursed across six galleries displaying antiquity (Figure 14), namely the second, fourth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth galleries.¹⁰¹ These galleries display: pottery, bronze and clay figurines, gold dishes, marble sculptures, marble carvings, marble reliefs, bronze tools, gold jewelry and wreaths, marble busts, gold statues, wooden portraits, marble inscriptions, bone reliefs, brass tools, and clay tools, all within their respective time periods (Table 1). The permanently exhibited artefacts are accompanied by a



Figure 20: One of the six Liquid Antiquity displays (Asad Raza), Benaki Museum

small stage holding one of the installation pieces, which consisted of a screen playing each artist's interview, a chair for audience members, and a copy of the Liquid Antiquity book for the public to follow along with the video (Figure 20).

The artists encourage the public to re-evaluate the homogenous image of Greece constructed by modern states before offering one or more alternatives. Discussed in detail below, some artists such as Urs Fisher, Kaari Upson, and Paul Chan propose a specific reimagination of antiquity (e.g. the purposes of specific materials such as marble or bronze, time not being

¹⁰¹ Delivorrias. *A Guide to the Benaki Museum*, 30-35, 38-61; DEST Foundation. *Liquid Antiquity Conversations*. The permanent Benaki galleries displayed the following periods from antiquity: Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Daedalic period in the second gallery, the Classical Period in the fourth gallery, Recession and vision of the Alexandrian period in the sixth gallery, Alexander's conquest and consolidation of Roman domination in the seventh gallery, Hellenism and Roman rule in the eighth gallery, and finally Continuation of Graeco-Roman world in the early Byzantine Empire in the ninth gallery.

necessarily linear, and Odysseus as the proto-capitalist). Others such as Asad Raza, Jeff Koons, and Matthew Barney encourage multiple imaginations of antiquity (e.g. by arguing that antiquity is subject to multiple interpretations, asking viewers to (re)consider the Platonic ideas of objects and concepts, and noting ideas can influence each other while also remaining themselves). Artists' critique of Greek antiquity thus renders the artefacts on display as referents for expressing this critique, which in turn allows the public to reimagine their place in antiquity and alternative ways of relating to the present.

In the Acropolis Museum, I listened to guides who brought their tours to the Parthenon Exhibit where they discussed the displayed archaeological material, and the cast copies that filled in the spaces where the missing pieces ought to be. In the Benaki Museum I did not encounter many guided tours; visitors were left primarily on their own. While the Liquid Antiquity artists can be comparable on an auditory level to the tour guides at the Parthenon exhibit, in the Benaki Museum the aural component is the crux of the installation. In contrast, while available, guides are not necessary for the experience of the space in the Parthenon exhibit, which primarily engages with the whole body (i.e. as it moves through the exhibit), spatial awareness, and enables physical comparisons and connections to the temple's reconstruction. The video describing the history of the Parthenon sculptures also creates an auditory experience of the space as a part of the exhibit, however unlike Liquid Antiquity, it remains an educational inclusion, providing the public with the context for the missing sculptures rather than being central to the exhibit itself.

2.5 Discussion

2.5.1 Heeding the Traditional

Due to the spatial organization of the Parthenon gallery, the traditional aspect of this exhibit is not overt. Marketing images (e.g. business logos, social media, etc.), and a quick internet search provide images of antiquity as stark white marble architecture and sculptures. Audiences sometimes take this imagery for granted. With technological advancements (such as the ability to ascertain what colours sculptures were even though their colours have worn off) and continuous academic discussions on the representations and embodiments of Greek antiquity notions of antiquity have undergone some change, at least among professional audiences (i.e. professors, curators, conservators). The result is museums having one foot in a traditional arena, and one foot in a contemporary space that seeks to reimagine the past. Indeed, as general consumers of culture, it has become our habit to interpret antiquity in such a homogenous, not realizing that this representation primarily stems from damage to artefacts, features that have become seemingly entrenched over time (i.e. discolouration), and the converging imaginations of our early modern predecessors. Moreover, we are not always made aware that museums materialize multiple and bounded representations of history.

The Acropolis Museum's Parthenon exhibit creates a sensorial experience of the antique past well as one that explores antiquity's relationship with modern populations. The Acropolis Museum opted to leave the cast copies of its collection white and to place these next to the worn artefacts that have yellowed with age (Figure 21). Differences in colour and quality between artefact and copy serve as critical

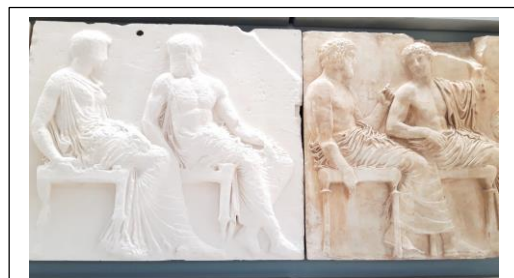


Figure 21: Cast Copy (white) and archaeological artefact (cream), Acropolis Museums

commentary of foreign involvement in early modern Greece, as well as the assumptions of other Europeans who assume themselves to be as heirs to the Greek legacy, they were therefore welcome to the artefacts.



Figure 22: Romantic Impulses gallery, Benaki Museum

Figure 23: Table display in the Romantic Impulses Gallery, Benaki Museum

While not part of the Liquid Antiquity installation, the material pertinent to the development of antiquity’s homogenized image is displayed in a different gallery on the first floor, called *Romantic impulses in travels to discover Greece through rediscovering antiquity: The Case of Athens* (hereafter called the Romantic Impulses gallery).¹⁰²



Figure 25: Romantic Impulses Gallery, Benaki Museum

This gallery reflects on the relationship between Greece as a modern state

and antiquity. While this space is not explicitly related to Liquid Antiquity, it does display the homogenous and singular imagination that the Liquid Antiquity artists discuss. Moreover, this space highlights how imaginations of antiquity



Figure 24: Artistic representations of the Athenian Acropolis from the 19th century, Benaki Museum

¹⁰² Floors in Greece are not labelled as we are typically accustomed in North America. What we would call the ‘first floor’ is the ‘ground floor’ and what we would call the ‘second floor’ they refer to as the ‘first floor’. This difference is necessary to note as Liquid Antiquity and the “Romantic impulses” gallery are on separate floors, and I often refer to this gallery as being “upstairs”, even though on local maps it is referred to as being on the first floor.

were romanticized, became a singular and homogenous imagination (even though it was imagined by multiple publics), and how sites like the Parthenon captured the attention of the public (Figures 22-25).

The Romantic Impulses gallery requires mentioning since the multiple imaginations encouraged by *Liquid Antiquity* are built off of the initial representation of Greek antiquity as homogenous. These imaginations are, in other words related to traditional notions of antiquity even if that relation is in opposition. This sentiment is particularly illustrated by two artists:

I was also amazed that the Greeks really did build this thing and ‘it,’ meaning ancient Greece, really does exist. But what that existence means is subject to different interpretations, and it’s not only meaningful to people who consider themselves to be part of what we call Western culture. ... [T]hinking about ancient Greece can actually lead you to places that can only be accessed through imagination and bodily practices. Rituals, art, literature, and poetry are all ways of pointing at something you can’t fully grasp ... Something that can’t be finished and can’t be fully known completely can provide us with space to move around in. It can allow us to create new practices, and to relate them to practices we’ve discovered and imagined from the past.¹⁰³

Asad Raza, Gallery 4 (Figure 20)

You can walk through room after room in a museum and not know what to do with the objects inside. ... I wouldn’t know how to interact with marble at this point. The problem is that it is very dominant- there’s a lot of history there that weighs things down. If you want to work with marble you have to contend with how it was used in antiquity ... the same goes for bronze. Sometimes you don’t know if a bronze sculpture is two thousand years old, five hundred days old, or just five days old. It all lumps into bronze sculpture.¹⁰⁴

Urs Fisher, Gallery 6

¹⁰³ Holmes, Joannou, Kosmadake, and Tzirtzilakis. *Liquid Antiquity* 222-223.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 62, 68.

The artists do not directly discuss the Romantic Impulses gallery. However, the aim of the Liquid Antiquity installation is to challenge the traditional imagery of Greece displayed in Romantic Impulses. Indeed, Asad Rada's comment emphasizes multiple and individual representations, while Urs Fisher's comment expresses a need to find alternative ways of using materials (i.e. marble or bronze) without succumbing to the social constraints placed upon them by antiquity.

2.5.2 Reimagining the Traditional

Whatever one's position is on the ownership of the Parthenon pieces, the museum space itself is meant to be evocative of international debates in smaller public spaces, and the establishment of Greek identity as a result of the nation foregoing these artefacts to international tourism and capitalism. The Parthenon exhibit presents archetypal examples and symbols of antiquity exhibited to various publics.¹⁰⁵ It is in many ways also evocative of a Modern Greek history in which the nation has endured much international intervention in the construction of its modern state.¹⁰⁶ Experience of the Parthenon exhibit is also the experience of a national and international dialogue about identity and heritage, and the many imaginations that contributed to that dialogue. These imaginations have simultaneously created and bounded the representative capabilities of museums, determining what can be materialized and how.

The Parthenon exhibit is meant to elicit a sensory experience that bridges past and present. Its display emphasizes the point that bodily sensation is necessary in bringing imagination to a lived environment. Although part of this exhibit reflects a traditional way of displaying antique remnants (i.e. presenting artefacts as white and pristine), its physical

¹⁰⁵ Papanikolaou. *Travelling Through Space-Time Aboard a Monument*.

¹⁰⁶ Kotzamani. *Athens- Ancient and Modern*; Papanikolaou. *Travelling Through Space-Time Aboard a Monument*.

presentation is contemporary (i.e. its reconstructive display method and the number of casts highlighting modern history). It brings people, quite literally, into the material being discussed, and creates a space where they can walk through antiquity. Due to the fragility of archaeological remains, visitors are often not allowed to walk through ruins. The museum's reconstruction, however, permits visitors to walk through its space, get close to the items on display, and compare themselves to the structure (i.e. scale). The extra spatial access permitted by the exhibit therefore enhances the experience of the space.

In 2012, the Acropolis Museum began an initiative to examine the use of colour in archaic statues.¹⁰⁷ This initiative an ongoing project that is still discussed in tourism media years after its introduction, involves technical and colour experts, as well as the public, in its exploration of ancient aesthetics.¹⁰⁸ The project presents the past in a way that steps away from the homogenous representation established by moderns by displaying antiquity in its original and intended colour, not as white marble. Moreover, it includes an online interactive component (*Colour the Pelops Kore*) (Figure 26) in which people can paint their own statue and compare it to the original.¹⁰⁹ While this is not an interactive or sensorial experience within the museum itself, online components like these can nonetheless act as extensions of the museum. In particular, such a project could be expanded as an installation that for example allows for public engagement in exploring the possible colouring of the Parthenon exhibit and its initial colouring.



Figure 26: Original colouring of the Pelops Kore provided by the Acropolis Museum

¹⁰⁷ Acropolis Museum. *Archaic Colours*.

¹⁰⁸ Pandermalis. *The Acropolis Museum Guide*, 170-173; Blatsiou. *Recreating the True Painted Colours of Ancient Statues*.

¹⁰⁹ Acropolis Museum. *Archaic Colours*. www.theacropolismuseum.gr/peploforos/

This project materializes antiquity and provides another venue for imagination. It demonstrates academic changes and technological advancements. The expansion of the colour project into the Parthenon exhibit would help contemporary audiences reimagine antiquity and alter perceptions about pristine white marble architecture and sculptures without necessarily undermining such an important time in Greek history. It is an example of how new or changing ideas can be introduced and represented in museums spaces, further creating multiple imaginations of the past. Indeed, even though traces of paint from the original sculptures are gone, some scholars can create conjectures on what some of the colours could have been and in doing so create an opportunity for further discussions and engagement with the public (i.e. why the colours are so difficult to detect).¹¹⁰ It could be another way of representing the past, yet still be bound to the museum's physical space and ideas of the nation. The past is thus continuously used as a point of reference, materially and ideologically.

The Liquid Antiquity artists at the Benaki Museum discussed a wide array of topics such as accessing *the self* by exploring *the other*, juxtaposing physical remnants of the past to imaginations of the present and future, politicization of history, and expanding one's identity parameters:

While our conscious mind knits together a linear direction for our selves to move through, some abstraction of past or future that rescinds in the distance or peeks over the horizon, our unconscious exists outside of that narrative scaffolding. It just is, always, which is kind of horrific and also kind of beautiful. Classical philosophers also wrestled with these ideas; Aristotle had this idea that time only exists because observable change exists; it only comes into being when you point to it.¹¹¹

Kaari Upson, Gallery 2 (Figure 27)

¹¹⁰ Neils. *The Parthenon*, 159-161.

¹¹¹ Holmes, Joannou, Kosmadake, and Tzirtzilakis. *Liquid Antiquity*, 87, 90.

I think it's up to the people listening to assess the persuasiveness of the argument and to be vigilant about what they're hearing. ... The main Odysseus I had to contend with was the one Adorno talked about ... Adorno was the one who articulated what for me was the main claim about what Odysseus is to us today. Adorno thought that Odysseus was the proto-capitalist. ... But there was also a political purpose to his engagement with the Greeks, right? ... He knew how fetishized Greeks were in German culture, how they represented "the myth of the origins"- the purest race, the purest culture. Adorno's courageous, inspiring critique redescribed the Greeks against what he saw happening in his own country. ... Auerbach and Adorno were dealing with Odysseus because they knew that a criticism of the Greeks would amount to a political protest against what they saw as the debasement and the depravity of German politics and the Nazis.¹¹²

Paul Chan, Gallery 7

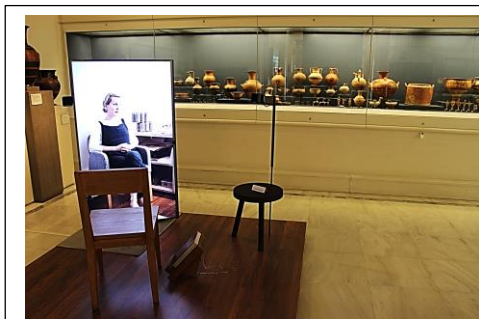


Figure 27: One of the six Liquid Antiquity displays (Kaari Upson), Benaki Museum



Figure 28: One of the six Liquid Antiquity displays (Jeff Koons), Benaki Museum

The message that weaves the commentaries of all artists together is that we all understand and interpret the past slightly differently, just as we envision the future differently. While we may look upon a piece of art or an artefact and have a collective understanding about a factual history (i.e. the grandeur of Greece's ancient past), we can also nonetheless imagine that past, as well as its import to the present or the future, in different ways.

¹¹² Bremmer. *Auerbach and His Mimesis*, 4-5; Davis. *Adorno: Theoretician through Negations*, 390-392; Gerhardt. *Introduction: Adorno and Ethics*, 1-3; Holmes, Joannou, Kosmadake, and Tzirtzilakis. *Liquid Antiquity*, 227-230.

Theodor Adorno was a German sociologist whose primary work was on ethics. His writings were centred around popular culture, astrology, and mass media, and influenced scholars such as Jaques Derrida and Judith Butler. Erich Auerbach (b. 1892) was a Jewish-German philologist who taught Western European literature until the Second World War when he and his fellow Jewish professors were questioned about their racial backgrounds. Having fled to Istanbul Auerbach was not able to continue his work as Western European literature was not widely available. Drawing on sources such as the Old Testament and Homer, he was therefore given the opportunity to reflect on his experience with the Nazis.

I'm interested in what it means to be a human being, to have one foot in the past while at the same time walking in the present. Some people think history is confining, that it narrows us and keeps us from making gestures to the future, but I really believe the opposite. I think that history can change who we are and help us walk into the future more confidently. ... If I'm working with a copy, I'm doing it as a reference, because what I'm really interested in is the Platonic idea of the piece ... It's not about the object per se, but about the original artist and the artists whom that person felt connected to.¹¹³

Jeff Koons, Gallery 8 (Figure 28)

I'm interested in placing narratives or histories or even aesthetic modes of proximity or contact, even as each one never stops being itself. ... Histories can be dealt with as raw materials that can be placed in proximity to the contemporary or personal, and chemical reactions can take place from there. Real energy can be created from that proximity, or contact.¹¹⁴

Matthew Barney, Gallery 9

The interplay between national and international perspectives is of particular importance since imaginations of Greek identity were used in the construction of other modern European nations. Moreover, local and foreign collaboration involved in the construction of Liquid Antiquity highlights that our imaginations of the past continue to be a dialogue between different audiences. Through such conversations we can revisit topics such as identity, art, literature, or architecture. Indeed, the purpose of this installation is not to wholly change perceptions, but to begin a discussion about different imaginations and possibilities.

In these comments, and the remainder of each video, the artists bring attention to the engagement visitors have with the material being exhibited. As they make their way through the museum, visitors are simultaneously meet the famed past, and a call to challenge its overrepresentations as being quintessentially "Greek." The Liquid Antiquity installation allows

¹¹³ Ibid, 204, 210.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 143.

visitors, in other words, to experience how they themselves as well as others (i.e. foreigners, fellow Greeks, locals) who may be implicated in the construction of the installation.

2.5.3 Changing Perspectives

During my initial visits to the Acropolis and Benaki museums, I looked at each with the eyes of somebody new to these spaces. My following visits, however, gave me the ability to look at these spaces as someone who was already familiar with them. Other visitors may not have the same access to these spaces; tourists potentially only visit once, while locals could potentially be returning audience members. Moreover, having experienced *Liquid Antiquity* prior to the *Romantic Impulses* gallery, I saw the clear relationship between the artists' comments about fetishization and the homogenous representation of antiquity (as pristine and white, yet in a ruinous state).

The different components that constructed and bounded nationalist and identity-related imaginations of antiquity were more overtly materialized even though no changes were made to this particular space. Rather, the representation of *Liquid Antiquity* impacted how I approached the *Romantic Impulses* gallery. This imagery also harkened back to the Acropolis Museum's display of the Parthenon copies- that is, following in the homogenous representation of ancient aesthetics. Not having been to the Benaki Museum previously before *Liquid Antiquity* was in place, I also wondered what somebody else's experience of the *Romantic Impulses* gallery would be like without the antecedent influence of the *Liquid Antiquity* installation. By engaging with the installation prior to seeing this gallery, I was already in a more critical mindset than I would have been otherwise.

Upon my second visit at the Parthenon exhibit, I had some new questions. What would Liquid Antiquity look like spread out in this gallery instead of the Benaki Museum? How would the inclusion of an installation of this already sensory space affect its experience? Similarly, after venturing the streets of Athens and experiencing more of the Parthenon exhibit, I returned to the Benaki Museum better able to ethnographically situate the context that made antiquity the international symbol of Greece as well, the push to imagine antiquity in a more unlimited way. This occurred as a result of my spending additional time in the museum spaces and growing attuned to them, revising them with different people present, and informally speaking to locals. By my third visit to each museum, I had listened to tour guides on the streets of Athens, spoke informally to locals, and had a better understanding of some of the social networks that influenced the organizations and messages of the museums. Although constrained by previous representations and nationalist ideas (which may or may not also change over time), these different forms of materially representing the past can further create new ways of understanding history.

2.6 Conclusion

Through an examination of the Acropolis Museum's Parthenon exhibit and the Benaki Museum's Liquid Antiquity installation we can begin to understand how museums can materialize and represent imaginations of Greek history. Such framing can be guided by the establishment of modern identities, the nation's material past, nationalism (as well as how nationalist ideas also change over time), and a how museum spaces can convey such varied relationships. By addressing the relationship between antiquity and modernity, we can step away from the homogenous and marketed glories of the ancient past whilst not condemning it as less

important or negating its existence. Examining material representations in such a way recognizes the nuances of museum displays and the components of public and national or international spheres that impact how museums can represent the past in conjunction with continuously changing ideas about the nation. We are therefore presented with a bound yet complex context that continues to change and be (re)imagined.

While the Acropolis Museum's Parthenon exhibit does conform to the homogenizing and widely marketed conceptions that Greece is primarily delineated by certain material from antiquity, it is also representative of modern international relations and ongoing disputes. The pieces on display may be antique, but the discussions about them are modern. Conversely while the Benaki Museum's Liquid Antiquity seeks to re-evaluate our relationship with antiquity, it nonetheless still engages with the traditional and homogenous representation(s) of Greece established by our early modern forbearers through its opposition to that specific imagination. Both of these exhibits demonstrate that even with a goal to change and reimagine the past, we are still bound to and defined by the past, and that this relationship is materially represented in museums. By examining the relationship between imagination and the senses, and how they might be shaped by the physical parameters of museums, we might begin to situate antiquity as part of a wider socio-historic context.

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Appendix A

Imagining Bodies	Imaginations of the Self in Relation to Greek Identity
Greek	<p>-18th century Greek thinking had a “Western inspired animus against Byzantium”, however, between 1860 and 1874 this changed and the Byzantine tradition in Greece was accepted as crucial to the continuity and unity of the Greek nation.</p>
British	<p>-General Western European fascination with the classical past as a “traceable ‘re-birth’” [i.e. Re-neissance, re-birth] and in Britain specifically, Classical Athens was valorised which as also imperially successful. Almost all of the prominent public figures of the Victorian Age (1837-1901) reflected on Athenian achievements and how those achievements could be replicated on the larger scale of the British empire.</p> <p>-Classical Athens [see Table 2] was understood as an imperially successful democracy which had high levels of citizen participation, high cultural standards, produced works of ‘intellectual genius’, and embodied social cohesiveness. All of this was achieved and maintained with a ‘moral fiber’ which was maintained without Christian revelation.</p>
French	<p>-Imitation of the Roman Empire, which was in itself an imitation of ancient Greece, creating a cycle of imitation.</p>
German	<p>-Avoided the cycle of imitation by directly drawing influence from the ancient Greeks.</p>

	<p>-Considered the place where “good taste” began, imitation of Greece was considered the best way for the country to “grow up” politically.</p> <p>-One of the building blocks in Adolf Hitler’s ideology was the combination of Hellenism and Germanism, to create a perfect society which functioned efficiently but also possessed a “noble soul” and “brilliant mind” which would create a culture of exemplary beauty.</p> <p>-Spartan equality and liberty of the Athenian citizen.</p>
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Table 1- Modern International Imaginations of the National Self in Relation to Greek Antiquity¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ Hartog. *The Double Fate of the Classics*, 972-974; Hitler. *Mein Kampf*, 393, 408, 423; Potter. *Two Thousand Years of Suffering*, 14,

Time Period	Socio-historic Points of Significance	Physical Markers (Architecture, Material, Intellectual)
Classical Period (480-323 BCE)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Foundation of Delian League (headed by Athens) (477 BCE) -Growth of democracy in Athens -Pericles rises to prominence in Athens (he would later put into place the “Periclean building Program” which the construction of the Parthenon was a part of) (461 BCE) -“First” Peloponnesian War (460-445 BCE) -Athenians move Delian League treasury from Delos to Athens (454 BCE) -Flourishing Greek trade and manufacture -Pericles limits Athenian citizenship (451 BCE) -Peloponnesian War (431-404 BCE) -Death of Pericles (429 BCE) -Oligarchic coup in Athens (411-410 BCE) -Sparta the most powerful state in Greece (403-377 BCE) -Trial and execution of Socrates (399 BCE) -Economic inequalities and social stasis throughout Greece -Athens the most powerful state in Greece (377-371 BCE) -Thebes the most powerful state in Greece (371-362 BCE) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Classical sculpture style emerges -Construction of Temple of Zeus at Olympia (470-456 BCE) -Construction of Parthenon (Athens, 447-432 BCE) - Thucydides begins <i>History</i> -Sophocles’ <i>Oedipus Tyrranus</i> (428 BCE) -Aristophanes’ <i>Acharnians</i> (425 BCE) -Euripides’ <i>Trojan Women</i> (415 BCE) -Aristophanes’ <i>Lysistrata</i> (411 BCE) -Dialogues of Plato and foundation of the Academy (399-347 BCE) -Writings of Xenophon (399-360 BCE) -Aristotle studies at the Academy (368-348 BCE) -Aristotle returns to Athens and found the Lyceum (335 BCE) -Foundation of Alexandria (Egypt) by Alexander III (331 BCE)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Drastic population decline in Sparta, increasing property in the hands of women -Birth of Alexander (III) the Great (356 BCE) -Death of Plato (347 BCE) -Athens and Macedon at war (340 BCE) -Accession of Darius III (of Persia), assassination of Phillip II, and accession of Alexander III (336 BCE) -Revolt of Thebes (335 BCE) -Alexander's invasion of India (327-325 BCE) -Death of Alexander III (323 BCE) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Destruction of Persepolis by Alexander III (330 BCE)
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Table 2- Short Breakdown of the Classical Period and Its Physical Remnants¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Bintliff. *Ottoman Archaeology in Greece*, 222, 225; Drakopolou. *Research on Byzantine Attica*, 145-147; Pomeroy et al. *Ancient Greece*, xvii-xxv, 471; Potter. *Two Thousand Years of Suffering*, 17, 24.

Gallery	Artist, background, and their medium	Video Content (themes, main points)	Displayed Material
<p>2</p> <p>Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Daedalic period</p>	<p>Kaari Upton</p> <p><i>The Larry Project</i>- an ongoing project since 2007 which explores ruination and abandonment of a home by “Larry” (who she never met) expressed through various media.</p> <p>Primarily works in sculptures (but does not consider herself a sculptor since she studied paintings) that are made from “untraditional” and “soft materials”</p>	<p>The Body</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Looking at ruination from different vantage points, and avoiding the word “truth”. -“Accessing” the self of another by examining their material remnants. -Layers of fantasy about ‘the other’ emerging. -Storage, potential loss of records, and the (emotional) containment of the past. -The importance of “the missingness” of an item that records history. -Injecting the self into the missing gaps of history. -Classical philosophers (e.g. Aristotle). -Getting the narrative “right” means letting go of the narrative in its entirety. -Idealization of the past being poured into reconstructions. -Disregarding the impact history has had on artists aesthetics. 	<p>Pottery, bronze and clay figurines, gold dishes.</p>
<p>4</p> <p>Classical Period</p>	<p>Asad Raza</p> <p>Worked on a project in the Roman Agora of Athens in 2014.</p>	<p>The Institution</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -General and popular exposure to images of the Parthenon, and seeing it in person it felt like the “beacon” of Athens. -Ancient Greece and ancient Rome as abstract places. -Physically being present in Athens gives a strong sense of an embodied connection to a long time ago. 	<p>Pottery, bronze figures, marble sculptures.</p>

	<p><i>This Progress</i> [2010] explored the idea of progress and motion through time.</p> <p>Evoked the image of Pan and his relationship to the image of “the primitive” in one of his projects.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Juxtaposing ruins and physically present material from the past with a dialogue about temporality (e.g. Socratic dialogue). -Topography shaping people’s movements and actions. -Heraclitan influences; ends that do not feel final because they are constantly in flux (i.e. no big spectacles) and no desire to travel back in time but to use parts of the past in shaping something new. -Connection and disconnection from the past. Doing something in connection with the deep past or in it, but not too explicitly. -Dialogic experiences rather than didactic experiences. -Pan as a mediating entity between gods and human, divine and mortal because he can identify with both. -Elements (e.g. practices, rituals, and elements of oral culture) of the deep past are still with us. -Pan being part of human imagination since the Neolithic era and not just classical antiquity [as is usually attributed]. -Western reimagination of figures such as Pan into perverted, vulgar, and weird. -Passing traditions and stories to younger generations by letting them create the stories. -Pan being more relatable than the perfect human being. -Existence is subject to different interpretations (especially when you expand into how other cultures view the world, e.g. how someone Pakistani would consider Socrates). -Figures such as Pan cracking traditions from the past rather than from the future, and connects pre-classical people to every generation since. -Thinking about ancient Greece can lead you to places that can only be accessed through imagination and bodily practices. -Creating new practices and connecting them to practices we’ve discovered and imagined from the past. 	
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<p>6</p> <p>Recession and vision of the Alexandrian period</p>	<p>Urs Fisher</p> <p>Primary works with wax, sometimes bronze, never marble or ceramic.</p>	<p>The Body</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The impact of history on art and artists. -History needing order. -Each generation creates its own perspectives on the past, for different advantageous reasons. -The process of decay, and that art and people can be protected from it. -History weighing down the potential uses of marble, bronze, and ceramic. -The difficulties of creating art so it does not drown in history. 	<p>Pottery, clay figurines, marble carvings and statues, Bronze weaponry</p>
<p>7</p> <p>Alexander's conquest and consolidation of Roman domination</p>	<p>Paul Chan</p> <p><i>Hippias Minor</i> [2015] project involved a new translation of Plato's early dialogue</p>	<p>The Institution</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Professional attractions to things that don't make sense (e.g. <i>Hippias Minor</i>) and the use of 'polytropos' meaning "lying" or "cunning" (which is also used in Homer's <i>Odyssey</i>). -Cunning as a creative act since it requires imagination and critical ways of thinking. The word itself being powerfully evocative of the audience's emotions. -Odysseus' use of his cunning rather than physical force, and Plato's belief that violence of language could be more damaging than physical violence. -It's up to the audience to be vigilant about what they are absorbing. -Reason being dependant on the social. -Different depictions in time and by different authors of Odysseus' cunning or wit. -Different perceptions of the Greeks as the aesthetic ideal (e.g. Nietzsche) or not (e.g. Adorno). 	<p>Bronze tools (e.g. mirror), gold jewelry and wreaths, pottery, marbles carvings and reliefs.</p>

		<p>-Political purpose of engaging with the Greeks, and the fetishization of the ancient Greeks by 1940's Germans (i.e. 'myths of the origins' and being 'the purest race and purest culture').</p> <p>-German Hellenism reaching rock bottom in fascism and a politicized relationship to antiquity.</p> <p>-“I didn't find the Greeks: the Greeks found me... [a]s I kept reading and thinking about them, they gave me resources for understanding contemporary art in general.” (232)</p> <p>-“I read somewhere that before Zeus became the god that protects strangers and the homeless, he was simply a typical, vengeful father-god... It's interesting to think about what happened in Greek society so that the interpretations of Zeus changed... I feel like we need a similar figure today to combat xenophobia and the impulse to kill or maim foreigners.” (232-233)</p>	
8	<p>Jeff Koons</p> <p>American artist.</p> <p><i>Antiquity</i> series, ongoing since 2008 depicting how our external cultural life emulates our interior lives, and how we are changed by coming into contact with material.</p>	<p>The Institution</p> <p>-Myth and art bringing a sense of concreteness and sense of self.</p> <p>-Connectivity of art history.</p> <p>-How history and art shape us as individuals and as communities.</p> <p>-Eternal yet constantly changing beings (e.g. Pan and cultural understandings of him).</p> <p>-Two variations of the eternal: biological and in the realm of ideas (e.g. Platonism and pure form).</p> <p>-Art and the material helping one learn and accept the self, and through that, growing the ability to accept others and maintain a community.</p> <p>-Expanding one's parameters in terms of understanding cultural histories. This can be done by acceptance and giving meaning to something outside of the self.</p>	<p>Marble statues, busts, carvings, gold jewelry, gold statues,</p>

	Depictions and understandings of mythological figures, particularly Pan and Eros.	-The reproduction of images- Roman copies of Greek originals. -- Copies as reference points, and the Platonic idea of a piece rather than its direct material importance. Connecting with the original artist of a piece, not necessarily focusing on the real item itself. -No sense of true self because of constant change. -Internal adapting to the external, and vice versa.	
9 Continuation of Graeco-Roman world in the early Byzantine Empire	Matthew Barney Recent work was <i>River of Fundament</i> [2014] which was inspired by Egyptian mythology and Norman Mailer's <i>Ancient Evenings</i> Primarily works in sculpture	Time -Understandings of mythological narratives, and carried by a wide public. -The impact of history on “material language” and certain materials such as bronze transforming from taboo (as a result of “historical baggage) to accessible. -The use of stories and material that have a hybrid nature, to create hybrid stories. -The body as both landscape and figure (an empty vessel that another narrative can pass through).	Gold jewelry, wooden portraits, marble inscriptions, marble statues and sculptures, bone reliefs, brass tools (e.g. situla), clay tools (e.g. tray).

Table 3- Breakdown of the Liquid Antiquity installation components and its artists.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ Delivorrias. *A Guide to the Benaki Museum*, 30-35, 38-61; DESTE Foundation. *Liquid Antiquity Conversations*, Holmes, Joannou, Kosmadake, and Tzirtzilakis. *Liquid Antiquity*, 4-5, 62-69, 84-95, 134-143, 204-233