I. INTRODUCTION

1. ARCHAEOLOGY AND EUROPEAN MODERNITY: STORIES FROM THE BORDERS

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Archaeology has recently started engaging in a critical manner with its disciplinary heritage and its position within the discourses and practices of Western modernity (e.g. Schnapp *et al*. 2004; Thomas 2004). This represents an important change from earlier traditions of merely historiographic accounts or de-politicised histories of ideas. These new inspiring and important critical studies, however, have tended to view Western modernity as a monolithic and homogeneous phenomenon, and have rarely examined in detail the specific and multivalent links between the diverse expressions of modernity and the equally diverse archaeological discourses and practices. Moreover, these studies have focused almost exclusively on archaeological and other scholarly or artistic productions, ignoring the interplay between these and wider popular receptions, consumptions, and reproductions. This volume goes some way towards addressing these shortcomings: it contributes to current debates on archaeology and European modernity, focusing on 'Minoan' Crete, an area so far neglected in these respects, and one that, due to its geographical and often disciplinary 'marginality', can illuminate issues at the core of the matter. If Europeanism and its project of modernity are about identities and boundaries, it makes sense to examine in detail the archaeological production and consumption of a key borderland, an island that has found itself at the meeting point of three continents, at the centre of endless contestations and quests, and has been hailed as the 'cradle of European civilisation'. In addition, because of the specific historical circumstances in which the rediscovery of 'Minoan' Crete took place and its complex links with later Greek Antiquity (another cornerstone of European modernity), this island seems to offer a particularly intriguing case study.

This volume, which brings together the work of historians, archaeologists, art historians, anthropologists, and literary scholars, originates from our long-standing interest in the disciplinary history and reception of the 'Minoan' past, and from our belief in the need for a more reflexive and multi-disciplinary approach to these subjects. Our interests and beliefs were further stimulated by recent events and publications connected with the celebration, in the year 2000, of the centenary of the archaeological rediscovery of 'Minoan' Crete, as symbolised by the first systematic excavations at Knossos by Sir Arthur Evans, and at such sites as Phaistos and Gournia, by other archaeologists. This Bronze Age 'civilisation', named after the legendary king Minos (Evans 1906; 1921; Karadimas and Momigliano 2004), was immediately characterised as 'European' by local and foreign scholars involved in its unearthing (cf., e.g., chapters by Carabott, Morris, Hamilakis, and Sherratt; see also McEnroe 2002; Momigliano 2002; Preziosi 2002; Papadopoulos 2005; Fotiadis 2006). This 'European' characterisation of 'Minoan' Crete, together with other

conventional views, finds its origins in 19th- and early 20th-century nationalistic, colonialist, and imperialist discourses, and continues to find currency, both as a legacy of our disciplinary past and as a result of the economic and cultural policies adopted by the European Union, especially in the last two decades (see also below for further discussion).

The centenary of the rediscovery (or 'invention') of 'Minoan' Crete was marked by several important publications, which, despite their undeniable merits, were mostly of a nationalistic and self-congratulatory character, and did not provide serious challenges to stereotypical views of the 'Minoans'. For example, the volumes edited by Davina Huxley (2000) and James Muhly (2000) focused, respectively, on the remarkable achievements of British and American scholars and institutions, while the very first volume of the periodical *Creta Antica* (2000) was entirely devoted to papers on the life and work of Federico Halbherr, the 'patriarch of Cretan excavation', as Evans (1935: ix) dubbed him. This is not, perhaps, too surprising: after all, anniversaries are often seen as occasions for broadcasting the attainments of institutions or individuals in order to justify, perpetuate, and fundraise for existing academic/disciplinary structures and practices, rather than opportunities for critical reassessment and change (cf. also Davis 2002). In addition, we felt that these centenary celebrations and publications were mostly aimed at a relatively narrow public (e.g. the above-mentioned first volume of *Creta Antica* effectively catered for a selected Italian audience) and paid little attention to important questions concerning not only the historical background in which the 'Minoan' past has been produced, but also its reception, uses, and appropriations beyond the narrow confines of the scholarly archaeological community.

Since then, there have been, of course, several critical interventions focusing on 'Minoan' archaeology (e.g. Hamilakis 2002a; Papadopoulos 2005) or on Aegean prehistory as a whole (e.g. Cullen 2001; Cherry *et al*. 2005; Darcque *et al*. 2006). This volume continues the dialogue that these works started by posing questions such as:

– How has the 'Minoan' past been shaped by European modernity and by historical, social, and political contingencies?

– How does the production of 'Minoan' archaeology operate within the tourist industry and the media? And how is 'Minoan' archaeology, in turn, affected by them?

– How does the political economy of archaeological practice shape interpretations, representations, and appropriations of the 'Minoan' past?

– How has the 'Minoan' past been appropriated and deployed in the negotiation of local, regional, national, and supra-national identities, and how has it been used in the legitimisation of present-day agendas and concerns?

These important questions ought to be addressed after more than a century of 'Minoan' scholarship, and ought to stimulate the interest of practitioners in the field of Aegean prehistory, and archaeology more generally, especially in discussions concerning the constitution of Western archaeology as a modernist project. Moreover, engagement with these issues can contribute to significant current debates which are taking place in many other disciplines beside archaeology (e.g. history, anthropology, museum and cultural studies) and involve topics such as the socio-politics of the past, the role of material culture in the construction of identities, the entanglement of social and historical research with nationalism, colonialism, and imperialism, the position of material traces of the past in popular culture, and the political economy of disciplinary practices.

THE 'MINOAN' LEGACY AND THE CHALLENGE OF POST-COLONIALISM

Phiroze Vasunia (2003) has recently reminded us that any reflection on Classical scholarship and Classical studies which ignores the social context of their development, that is European colonialism and imperialism in the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries, is bound to be miserably incomplete and misleading. The disciplinary production of the 'Minoan' phenomenon developed within the broader context of Classics, although it always had an ambivalent relationship with it, and always communicated with other fields. Nevertheless, Vasunia's important point is of direct relevance to this project, not simply in its broader outlines, but also in a more specific way: as several chapters in this volume show, the 'archaeological colonisation' of Crete went hand in hand with its political colonisation at the start of the 20th century (cf. MOMIGLIANO 2002). A key foundation myth of European colonialism, which is directly relevant to our case, is Orientalism, defined by its most celebrated exponent, Edward Said, as 'the Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient' (1978: 3). Modernist archaeology, working at the start of the 20th century on an island that was part of the Ottoman Empire and had an ethnically and religiously diverse population, made a considerable effort to demonstrate that Crete had been 'European' since the Bronze Age, and indeed had developed the 'first European civilisation'.

The undeniable links with the cultures of the eastern Mediterranean could not, of course, have been completely suppressed; they were recast, instead, as the process by which the *ex oriente lux* was transformed by the entrepreneurial 'Minoans' into the free European spirit of capital, commerce, and trade. Evans was crucial in developing these ideas, and one of his pupils, none other than Gordon Childe, ensured that they were propagated widely (in his own, more ambiguous version) and became the staple of European archaeology (see SHERRATT, Chapter 7). These ideas do not simply constitute the orientalising castigation of the 'despotic' Orient and the glorification of the free, individualist West. They have also operated as the academic legitimisation of arguably the most powerful force of Western modernity: capitalism (cf. ROWLANDS 1987).

Colonial and imperial capitalism at the start of the 20th century saw in the 'Minoans' a mirror image of itself: free individuals, extensive trade, naval power, the desire to colonise and acquire resources and objects from afar. It is a mythology that finds its recent reincarnations in the late 20th- and early 21th-century attempts by the European Union to construct the Bronze Age as the first 'Golden Age of Europe', an era of extensive links and free enterprise (see e.g. JONES and GRAVES-BROWN 1996 for critical views). Moreover, it is not coincidental that discourses on the 'Minoan' phenomenon developed close links with discourses of other imperial and thus usable pasts, with ancient Rome as the most prominent (cf. HINGLEY 2000): it will be a fascinating project, for example, to examine the collateral development of the ideas of 'Romanisation' and 'Minoanisation' (the assumed expansion of 'Minoan' culture – colonial or not – into the rest of the Aegean and beyond, in the Late Bronze Age – cf. BROODBANK 2004 for a thoughtful analysis) and explore their respective and mutually reinforced links with the modernist colonial and imperial projects. It will be equally fascinating to explore the links between these modernist (archaeological, colonial, and imperial) discourses and the current broader neo-colonial and neo-imperial projects.

But the deployment of the Minoan past within these modernist discourses did not go unchallenged, nor was it without nuances and ambiguities. Partly due to the distinctive materiality of the 'Minoan' phenomenon, and partly due to the specific socio-political circumstances in which this phenomenon has been produced and consumed in the last 125 years, the 'Minoan' past was invoked by many other quests, beyond those of capital and

empire. As many chapters in this volume show, while for some the 'Minoans' were the precursors of modern capitalism and imperialism, for others they were the hedonistic art- and nature-lovers devoted to carnal pursuits, or the descendants of a 'superior' Mediterranean 'race', in opposition to the growing Indo-Germanic myth (cf. Poliakov 1974). For others still, the colonialist, Europeanist, and orientalist discourses, often modified and recast, contributed to the national awakening and to the unification of Crete with Greece, reminding us of the close links between colonialism and nationalism. In the academic arena, one of the most vociferous challenges has been Martin Bernal's Black Athena (1987; 1991), with its thesis on the Afro-Asiatic roots of Classical (including Bronze Age) Aegean cultures, a challenge that has not been seriously addressed by archaeologists of Bronze Age Crete (but see the dialogue in *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*, 3(2), 1990). Finally, the Eurocentric discourse on 'civilisation' in general has been challenged by post-colonial studies (cf. van Dommelen 2006 for a review), but its archaeological deployments and associations have hardly been addressed (cf. Patterson 1997 for an exception). The most influential book on Aegean prehistory of the last 30 years, Renfrew's The *Emergence of Civilisation* (1972), has been heavily criticised in terms of its cultural neo-evolutionist framework (e.g. Hamilakis 2002b) and its shaky empirical basis (cf. Barrett and Halstead 2005), but its ideological deployment of the singular concept of 'civilisation' (which 'emerged', of course, in Bronze Age Crete), has barely being touched upon. Our volume constitutes a further systematic challenge to some of these modernist colonial discourses.

ORGANISATION AND CONTENT OF THE VOLUME

The volume is divided into three sections: this introduction (Chapter 1), a section on 'the present in the past: producing the "Minoans"' (Chapters 2-8), and the third on 'the past in the present: consuming the "Minoans"' (Chapters 9-16). All chapters in this volume engage with or at least touch upon aspects of both production and consumption of the 'Minoan' past. Those grouped in the section 'the present in the past', however, focus on 19th- and 20th-century ideas, circumstances, and events (the 'present') shaping the contemporary production or historiography of the 'Minoans', while the chapters gathered in the section 'the past in the present' pay particular attention to the reception, uses, and appropriations of the 'Minoans' in various fields (from the construction of local identities to Freudian psychoanalysis, and from visual art and literature to pedagogy). Throughout the volume we also tried, as far as possible, to follow a chronological order, starting with the immediate historical setting in which the rediscovery of 'Minoan' Crete took place and ending with the 'future', as represented by questions about the possible effects of teaching the 'Minoan' past to 21st-century schoolchildren in Crete.

The present in the past: producing the 'Minoans'

The chapters included in this section can be seen as an illustration of the view of 'Minoan' archaeology as a typical product of European modernity, especially in its role as supplier of a past 'from which modern Europeans should wish to imagine their descent' (Preziosi 2002: 32), and as exercises in a critical and reflexive historicisation of the production of the 'Minoan' past. They focus on specific historical contingencies, ideas, and ideologies that have influenced Minoan historiography, such as the conflicts between

European states and the Ottoman Empire or notions of Europeanism, Orientalism, social and biological evolutionism, nationalism, colonialism, imperialism, just to mention some of the most significant and recurrent themes in these chapters and, indeed, throughout this volume. This section starts with Carabott's lucid assessment (Chapter 2) of the *Kretike Politeia* (1898-1912), the hybrid regime established on the island by the European Powers, which followed direct Ottoman rule and helped the convergence of nationalist (Cretan) and colonialist/imperialist (British, Italian, French, American) archaeologies, a process that resulted in the incorporation of the island into European modernity. This is followed by Whitley's chapter (3), in which the author argues that the 'Minoans' are partly the product of an 'imperialist mapping of British history onto the material record of Cretan prehistory', in the sense that late 19th-early 20th-century notions of 'romantic imperialism' (and an archaeological culture-historical paradigm) led to the 'invention' of the 'Minoans' as the precursors of the Homeric 'Eteocretans', and as a 'lost race'; the author also concludes with a plea for the abandonment of the term 'Minoan' and its derivatives, for these help to perpetuate a culture-historical paradigm at a disciplinary level, and essentialist notions in wider contexts. In a similar vein, Morris (Chapter 4) shows how the Victorian idealisation of motherhood (itself the result of a complex network of ideas about social and biological evolution, psychoanalysis, and historical contingencies) shaped Evans's and, consequently, later interpretations of 'Minoan' religion as being dominated by a Great Mother Goddess, whose maternal characteristics were emphasised at the expenses of her potential erotic attributes.

Duke (Chapter 5) illustrates how official constructions of the 'Minoan' past by professional archaeologists, which still largely reflect the 'mores and interests of Minoan archaeology's first practitioners', operate in the realm of heritage tourism: using Knossos as a case study, he suggests that, through the ritual of the tourist visit, this site can be read as a memorial to the origins of Western civilisation, and a metaphor for the '*naturalness* of class structure, the *naturalness* of viewing the upper classes as the most interesting element of society'.

Lapatin (Chapter 6) introduces us to what one might call the ultimate modernist production of the 'Minoan' past, with his detailed contextualisation of early 20th-century forgeries: as he convincingly argues, forgeries, when detected, can also be useful tools for historical analysis, often revealing 'how the past is continually reshaped to satisfy the needs and desires of the present'; this contribution also raises interesting issues, echoed in other chapters (e.g. by SHERRATT, SOLOMON, and ROESSEL), about authenticity and the role of reconstructions (and fakes) in the production and consumption of the 'Minoan' past. Indeed, a recurrent motive in our workshop discussions, and in various contributions to this volume, has been the observation that the production and especially the consumption of the 'Minoan' material past has made use of a rather limited imagery, in which modern reconstructions (of debatable accuracy) and even fakes have played a considerable part.

Sherratt's chapter (7) continues the theme of the Minoan past as a project of European modernity, by introducing the reader to Gordon V. Childe's construction of the 'Minoans', with its 'ambiguity between their "oriental" background and their role as the "first European civilisation"', an ambiguity echoed in several other chapters (e.g. by Carabott, Blakolmer, and La Rosa and Militello); in a fascinating appendix, Sherratt also examines the views on the Minoans expressed by two influential 'universal' historians, Toynbee and Spengler: for the former, the Minoans are precursors of Christianity, while for Spengler they assume an important role within his historical cycles as pioneers of maritime enterprise.

The last chapter (8) in this section represents a transition between production and consumption of the 'Minoan past'. Here Sjögren examines contemporary uses of the 'Minoan'

past in certain sectors of Scandinavian archaeology, and places these neo-diffusionist approaches and pan-European narratives in the context not only of the development of archaeology as a discipline, but also of the contemporary political agenda of the European Community/European Union (on recent constructions of Europeanism see, among others, Pieterse 1991; Shore 2000; on Europeanism as a disciplinary legacy in archaeology see also Graves-Brown *et al*. 1996; Fotiadis 2006).

The past in the present: consuming the 'Minoans'

It is our conviction that the disciplinary and social production of the material past should not be dissociated from its broader social and popular re-contextualisations, active deployments, and consumptions. Hence our decision to tackle both sides of this process in the same volume, and to show as much as possible their interconnections.

The first chapter in this section, by Hamilakis (9), illustrates these interconnections by (re)analysing the 1979 mass demonstrations outside the Herakleion archaeological museum to prevent the export of 'Minoan' antiquities for exhibitions at the Louvre and at the New York Metropolitan Museum. This chapter shows that the Eurocentric narratives and material realities produced by late 19th- and 20th-century colonial archaeology operated as an important symbolic resource for the construction of national identities, and the struggle for the unification of Crete with Greece. These realities, at the same time, contributed to the creation of strong, local and regional, Cretan identities, which maintain a relationship of ambivalent incorporation within the Greek national discourse and its dominant Classical heritage. As ethnographic and other data show, however, these Cretan identities are performative processes, mediated by key apparatuses such as tourism and the State Archaeological Service.

Chapter 10, by Solomon, covers similar ground through an ethnographic analysis of the construction of Knossos as a monumental landscape and of the contestations and reactions towards it by the people who live nearby and by some of the many thousands of tourists who visit the site every year. Like Duke (Chapter 5), Solomon suggests that Knossos constitutes a powerful solid metaphor open to various readings and negotiations. For example, local people contest the hegemonic management of Knossos; its projection as a picturesque and traditional landscape is resisted by local inhabitants, who bring to the fore their clashes with the Greek Archaeological Service, prompted by building and other restrictions, thus echoing the local reactions in the Mesara (south central Crete) discussed by Hamilakis.

A major arena of cultural production in which the 'Minoans' have a prominent presence is literature. The chapters by Beaton and Roessel (11 and 12) examine this phenomenon in Modern Greek and English-language literatures respectively, and contribute to the small but growing body of work on the links between the archaeological and the literary imagination (e.g. Finn 2004; Wallace 2004). Beaton shows that a number of major literary authors (who come mostly from Crete but are recognised as national figures) found in the 'Minoan' past a rich imaginary world, which can be brought to life by the evocative power of 'Minoan' materiality in its original and, mostly, reconstituted and re-created form. Beaton shows the gradual process of transformation of the literary 'Minoans' from brutal un-Hellenic others into civilised Greek ancestors from the middle of the 20th century onwards, a process that he attributes, among other things, to the impact of the decipherment of Linear B and the realisation that it corresponds to an early form of Greek. Roessel

turns his attention to the adoption of the 'Minoans' by a number of modernist authors as an Edenic idyllic society of peaceful hedonistic and playful people, a much-needed imaginary retreat, especially after the horrors of the World War I. In this literary imagination, the 'Mycenaeans' functioned as the 'Minoans'' alter ego, the warlike barbarians from the mainland, who eventually conquered the *sui generis* exotic islanders. The Edenic metaphor deployed by Roessel is particularly apt: after all, Evans's project was in many ways one of landscape gardening, which included tree-planting, introducing species such as peacocks (quite popular in the gardens of English medieval estates and manor houses), and even constructing artificial ruins, in a mode reminiscent of the earlier Western romantic fascination with ruins and decay (on the Edenic metaphor cf. also SOLOMON, Chapter 10).

Literature has not been the only stage on which the 'Minoans' have played an active role. One of the key intellectual movements of European modernism, Freudian psychoanalysis, developed a close dialogue with modernist archaeology, since they were both founded on the principles of stratigraphy and the epistemology of depth (cf. THOMAS 2004). Within that dialogue, the 'Minoan' past played an important role, as Gere demonstrates in her chapter (13; see also D'AGATA 1994), not only in providing validation for the Freudian method of analysis as a process of reconstituting the self out of the fragments of the past in a stratigraphic manner, but also, and more controversially, providing legitimacy for one of Freud's most extreme ideas: his belief in the theory of inherited memory. For him, 'Minoan' Crete represented the feminine, pre-Oedipal stage in human consciousness, a heritage that was transmitted through generations up to the present day; hence his portrayal of the fascination felt by one of his most famous analysands for 'Minoan' Crete as a symptom of her pre-Oedipal, mother-fixated heritage. Ironically, as Gere suggests, it may have been Evans's mother-goddess fixation (discussed by Morris and Lapatin in this volume) that led Freud to his conclusions.

The visual arts of Western modernity have been another privileged context in which the 'Minoan' materiality has featured. A number of scholars have pointed to the stylistic similarities between 'Minoan' material culture (especially in its reconstituted form) and trends such as art nouveau (*Jugendstil*), implying a two-way process of interaction between these modernist artists and the archaeologists, artists, and restorers of the 'Minoan' past. Blakolmer (Chapter 14) takes another look at this phenomenon and offers us a cautionary tale, suggesting that the extent of this link has often being exaggerated. While archaeological artists and restorers clearly participated in the traditions that influenced their modernist counterparts at the beginning of the 20th century, their reconstructions and reconstitutions were often closer to Bronze Age materiality than previously thought. Modernist artists were often attracted and stimulated by 'Minoan' material culture, but their sources of inspiration were more diverse, and many incorporated the 'Minoan' into broader artistic phenomena of the time, such as primitivism and the reaction to Europeanised neoclassical styles, reinterpreting and even rejecting the rhetoric of the high European civilisation. Blakolmer's analysis warns of a pitfall that constructionist positions often find hard to avoid: the refusal to acknowledge the resistance of materiality – in other words, the ability of past material culture to reaffirm its presence, despite the attempts completely to subjugate it to modernity's projects. La Rosa and Militello (Chapter 15) continue the discussion by examining the presence of the 'Minoan' past in modern Italian culture from popular historicising accounts to literature and painting, even to contemporary TV shows. They conclude that the 'Minoan' presence in Italy has been less pronounced than in other contexts, partly because of the various ancient cultural myths and heritage discourses that were available, from the Etruscans to the Roman Empire and more besides. But they do

point to an extremely interesting phenomenon that is worthy of further study: the deployment of the 'Minoan' past to construct a pan-Mediterranean identity by various authors and cultural agents, from the socialist Mosso, who saw the Bronze Age civilisation of Crete with its primitive socialism as a 'complete and perfect' society that had nothing to do with the 'Indo-Germans', to the Fascist Cipriani, who sought the roots of the 'Aryan race' in Crete, citing among other 'evidence' the blond hair of people from Sphakià.

The final chapter (16), by Simandiraki, deals with the role of the 'Minoan' past in the primary education in Crete. For pupils in Crete, the 'Minoan' past is not simply yet another cultural phase which they have to memorise as part of the obligatory school curriculum, but a physical, embodied, and daily reality, in the form of the extensive material traces of that past and their various reproductions and recontextualisations that surround them. While this embodied experience has the potential to undermine the hegemonic constructions of the 'Minoans' and the authority of the school textbook, it may also work in the opposite direction, as suggested by the author's case study, in which the pupils' participation in a number of embodied rituals (e.g. the reconstruction and launch of the *Minoa* ship) are firmly inscribed within the national dominant discourse. After all, national imagination is much more powerful when re-enacted and reproduced through rituals of bodily memory (cf. Connerton 1989; Hamilakis forthcoming). The challenge for educators is not only to engage their classes with the multiple, multi-temporal, and complex layers of the Cretan palimpsest (from the Neolithic to the Ottoman and beyond), but also to present the diverse worlds of the Cretan Bronze Age as an element within an ancient multi-cultural Mediterranean world, and connect this with the present-day return of multi-cultural reality brought about by the recent economic and other migrants from the Balkans, the eastern Mediterranean, and elsewhere.

AGENDAS FOR THE FUTURE

Obviously, this book has not exhausted the range of issues and the contexts of production and consumption of 'Minoan' materiality. We would have liked, for example, to have explored more systematically various topics, such as the role of foreign and local archaeological institutions as well as the funding structures and procedures of 'Minoan' archaeology and their effects; the role of unknown or sidelined scholars in the production of the 'Minoan' past, and their alternative re-castings of the phenomenon; and to have engaged in a meta-historical project of analysing the specific narrative strategies through which 'Minoan' archaeologists arrange and plot artefacts and features and weave them into stories (cf. White 1973; Pluciennik 1999). Similarly, we had planned to include studies on various other national contexts of production and consumption of the 'Minoan' past, and we wish we could have examined the 'Minoans' in a range of other literatures and artistic movements such as those represented, e.g., by the circle of surrealist artists and authors connected with the 1930s French magazine *Minotaure*. Other subjects that deserve further investigation are the process by which Evans's un-Hellenic 'Minoans' become more 'Greek' (even if of ambivalent nature) through ancient mythological connections or the deployment of writing systems such as Linear B; or how these discourses intersect with and produce distinctive museo-graphic practices, and how these museo-graphies are received by visitors. We hope, however, that others will take up the challenge and, stimulated by this book, will explore these and other issues. Despite these unavoidable omissions, we think that the breadth and the depth of the studies included in this book justify the effort devot-

ed to this endeavour and demonstrate how exciting, intellectually rewarding, and socially and politically important such a topic can be.

EPILOGUE: STORIES FROM THE BORDERS

The social and political construct that today we call 'Europe' is currently undergoing some drastic changes; large sectors of its current inhabitants are recent (or relatively recent) immigrants from Africa, Asia, and beyond, and many of them follow a faith different from the until recently dominant Christian one. The forthcoming entry of Turkey into the European Union will consolidate further this trend. On the one hand, these welcome changes already undermine the dominance of traditional Eurocentric ideas and their neo-colonial reincarnations, and may thus contribute to a more inclusive redefinition of Europeanness. On the other, xenophobic and racist attitudes are on the increase, and we are faced with the delusion (or the nightmare) of a 'Fortress Europe' which attempts to delineate, entrench, and police its now expanded borders, keeping its 'Others' out. The concept of 'civilisation' has re-emerged in the current political discourse, and it often acquires the missionary attributes of a new crusade to spread (often through colonial and imperial wars) 'democracy', of course in its neo-liberal capitalist variety, and one that is conceived of as quintessentially European and Western, dating from Greek Antiquity or even from the Bronze Age.

In view of these developments, the effort to demonstrate the historically contingent and socially produced (through archaeological and other devices) nature of current realities, and of identities and boundaries in the past and in the present, acquires immediacy, urgency, and social relevance (cf. Fotiadis 2005). This book, through the examination of a specific archaeological project of European modernity, contributes to this effort. Furthermore, it has shown how diverse the investments and claims of various European modernities upon this past have been – from the first European high civilisation as a modern-looking, naval colonising power to an idyllic, utopian, peaceful theocracy or socialist matriarchy, and from a barbaric 'Other' to a civilised Hellenic ancestor. Finally, it has demonstrated the inherently political and social nature of disciplinary inquiry, as well as the mutual constitution of scholarly, artistic, and popular constructions and re-creations of the material past.

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