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ROUTLEDGE FOCUS

A COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT APPROACH TO HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

From Values Assessment to Local
Engagement

Evangelos Kyriakidis



A Community Empowerment Approach to Heritage Management

This book presents an innovative approach to public archaeology in a rural community, which has had powerful results in terms of empowering a village community in Crete to become long-term guardians of their cultural heritage.

Highlighting the theoretical and local contexts of the Philioremos Peak Sanctuary Public Archeology Project, this book explores the methodology and the project outcomes, and assesses best practice in the field of public archaeology within a rural community.

As well as expanding the research on Minoan peak sanctuaries, the volume contributes to a greater understanding of how rural communities can be successfully engaged in the management of heritage, and is relevant to archaeologists and other heritage professionals wishing to understand the latest developments in public archaeology.

Evangelos Kyriakidis, PhD, is the founding director of the Heritage Management Organization and Senior Lecturer in Aegean Prehistory at the University of Kent, UK. Trained at UCL and Cambridge in Classical Archaeology, Linguistics and Anthropology, a fellow of the society of Antiquaries of London and a visiting professor at UCLA. Formerly Senior Leventis Research Fellow in Heritage Management and fellow of the Archaeological Society of Athens. Evangelos' research on heritage management has contributed to Kent being rated second for its impact in society in the UK. He is the founding director of the highly rated International MA in Heritage Management in Athens, Greece.

At a time when the voices of communities are becoming more and more important, for both funders and for those engaged in heritage management projects of all kinds, Evangelos Kyriakidis and his team offer a new and refreshing approach. This book is a wonderful, and powerful, case study of how our understanding of buildings and landscapes are deepened when we talk to those who know them best: the people who actually live there. When resources are scarce, we would do well to listen to the important message in this book that we should give voice to the community, and through them let the land blossom.

Roger White, *Senior Lecturer in Archaeology,
University of Birmingham*

A Community Empowerment Approach to Heritage Management

From Values Assessment to Local
Engagement

Evangelos Kyriakidis

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To Jenny, *sine qua non*



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Foreword

The climb up the Philioremos peak

It is April 2011, early morning; I have parked my car on a ridge of the mountain of Philioremos at the top of the village of Gonies, next to the village windmill. It is hard to forget the last time I made the short climb to the peak. That was back in August 2010, in the heat of the summer, but now it is cold and very windy. Down by the coast, in Herakleion, the weather is mild and sunny, swimming weather for some, but up here in the mountains, Mount Ida can be seen all white with snow, the winter snow that has not yet melted (Figure 0.1). The sun is up, but the cold is biting; it must be below freezing, or at least it feels like that with the strong, bellowing winds. I open the makeshift gate to the fenced area of the mountain and close it behind me; the sheep of a local shepherd are up the mountain, and he complains when we leave the gate open. The climb is not arduous for a person who is used to it, but this is the start of the excavation season, so it is my first climb of the year.

The peak I am climbing to is the site of a Minoan peak sanctuary. It is one of many such mountaintop ritual sites dotted across Crete and beyond, near areas of Minoan settlement. Though not impressive to look at – their exposure to the elements has eroded much of their fabric – these sites offer invaluable insights into the ritual system (probably the religion) and the local politics of Minoan society.

This very same path was taken in 1966 by Stylianos Alexiou, then Ephor of Antiquities in Herakleion, in order to conduct rescue excavations at the site. Those first excavations were prompted by a tip from the local community about finds on Philioremos in the form of clay figurines, some of which were later given to the Archaeological Museum in Herakleion. The village had decided the previous year to build a church on the peak in honor of Prophet Elias. The building work started in 1965, and the digging for the foundations revealed building and other materials from the Minoan peak



Figure 0.1 View of snowy Mount Ida with the village of Gonies in the foreground
Source: Photo: Andreas Smaragdis, Jr.

sanctuary. From October 10–18, 1966, Alexiou and his team worked almost without break to excavate the finds.

Several decades later, I was asked by the excavator to study and publish the material. Although the site was well-excavated, it needed to be revisited, especially in order to clarify the architectural layout. This is the reason that, 44 years after the first Alexiou excavation, I am hiking up the peak to begin the fieldwork season.

The climb is already tiring me; I feel 20 years older than my years. I hope that I will soon become accustomed to this exertion, because I will be making this ascent every day for the next few weeks. The track up the mountain may not be good for vehicles, but it is comfortable enough underfoot. It is the cold and the wind that make it arduous, chilling. I am not dressed for it. When I made the same climb last August the sun was too hot, now the wind is too cold. Of course, it is not always this uncomfortable on the mountain; the temperature is often more pleasant, as indeed it will be later on today. But the range of temperatures in the late spring is enormous, going from below freezing to 30 degrees centigrade within six to eight hours.

It is this wide range of temperatures that destroys any monuments around the world. Passing twice through the freezing point in one day means that the water expands in the cracks of the building materials when freezing, and

then, when it thaws again, more water or humidity is let in. Repeated year after year, this can raze the sturdiest of buildings. The building material at Philioremos has not been weathered as much as it would have been if it were any other rock: the millefeuille-like structure of the serpentinite does not let humidity penetrate deep into the rock, and hence the building has not suffered as much as it might have from the weather. With all this in mind, I try to keep a stable pace and to observe nature around me as I go, in order to take my mind off what is, for me, a strenuous hike.

The view is majestic; the higher I climb, the more impressive it becomes. The big rocky masses of the hills and mountains to the north define a fertile, undulating basin below. As the path takes me towards the western side of the mountain, I can see to the southwest the enormous white mass of towering Ida, the mythical birthplace of Zeus. When I reach that western edge, I can see nothing but Ida – the cultivable lands to the north, south and east of Philioremos have disappeared from my sight. Like yin and yang, one moment I am looking at a human landscape, and just a minute later I am faced with a superhuman terrain where few humans venture. I pause in awe, and catch my breath. The view has changed from a beautiful, familiar landscape in which I feel welcome – the cultivable land, the village of Gonies, the low pasturelands around Philioremos – to a scene that looks inhospitable and distant, foreign, sublime. Yet it is beckoning me with its power. The contrast is stark, and my feelings oscillate. The beautiful next to the sublime, the awe-inspiring landscape juxtaposed with the modest human cultivable land, and the incredible amount of information about nature, wildlife and human economy all make this experience very intense.

As I look around, I notice the spring flowers starting to blossom, mainly in yellow, with a few touches of pink (Figure 0.2). Almost everything else is green – the thorny bushes, the fresh and spiky wild artichokes, the yellow-flowered thistle that is endemic to Crete, the yellow dry-stemmed *Alyssum Baldaccii* that grows on this mountain alone. The soil is green from the disintegrating serpentinite and, in places, red from the rust-colored flint. These hues of yellow, green and red make a stark contrast to the grey phyllites of the surrounding landscape. No wonder I could discern Philioremos among many peaks from more than 20 kilometers away, from the peak of Mount Youktas.

As I continue my climb, the higher I get the more I can see – yet also the less I can see as the village landscape recedes. The path now leads towards the east, zigzagging up the mountain and revealing the snowcapped mountains of Lasithi, which block the distant part of my eastern horizon. I am nearing the peak; the wind is now howling and getting stronger as I lose the protection of the mountain. I can no longer hear the village below. I cannot even hear the sheep as I did on other calmer days. I can hear only the wind.



Figure 0.2 Alyssum Baldaccii, as well as erosion of red flint and green serpentinite

Source: Photo: Evangelos Kyriakidis.

Above me, giant Ida sits still, draped in white, not moved by this terrible wind she causes to blow.

Hiking towards the west again, I am a little more conditioned to Ida's imposing mass, and my eye can travel further to the west of the island, where the distant White Mountains, the ancient siblings of Ida, seem like a distant echo of Mount Ida almost hovering in the sky. The wind has dropped slightly, yet because I am at an exposed spot on the edge of the mountain, it is still quite formidable. The air is very clear and the view is stunning. From this height of approximately 800 meters above sea level, I can see the Aegean Sea to the north, and beyond the other peaks of Pyrgos and Evgasos to the east-northeast I can see Dia, the long island off Crete. Far in the distance, over 100 kilometers to the north, I can just make out three faint, gray patches that are the islands of Santorini, Askania and Christiana.

As I continue my climb up the hill, a flock of five grand vultures flies over my head, swiftly and effortlessly gliding on the cold, descending wind. Their shadows hide the sun momentarily, and I am envious of the skillful flight of these true kings of the skies. These birds have a wingspan that is greater

than my height. I have seen them even closer in the past, investigating my car as I was driving up Mount Ida. Like fabled sages, they have an incredible knowledge of navigation, wind currents and the landscape. They need to flap their powerful wings only a few times in every mile of flight. In Minoan Neopalatial east Crete and Knossos, these vultures inspired the imaginations of seal makers, who created seals depicting creatures that were half human, half vulture, and it seems that elements of the birds were incorporated into the emblems of family crests.

I can now see the church in honor of Prophet Elias (Figures 0.3 and 0.4), who, tired of the sea (like Odysseus), went in search of place where nobody could recognize an oar and, having found such a place on a high mountain peak, built a church there. The sun has risen above the Lasithi mountains to the east, and the temperature has risen a little above freezing. A second fence protects the church and some remnants of the walls of the Minoan peak sanctuary as uncovered by Alexiou in 1966. This fence hinders, yet does not stop, the goats and sheep of the local shepherd from climbing all over the walls and rummaging through the archaeological site and the church. April is the season for squill plants, gorse, thistle, and all sorts of



Figure 0.3 The mountain of Philioremos and the church of Prophet Elias over the village of Gonia, looking towards the west

Source: Photo: Evangelos Kyriakidis.

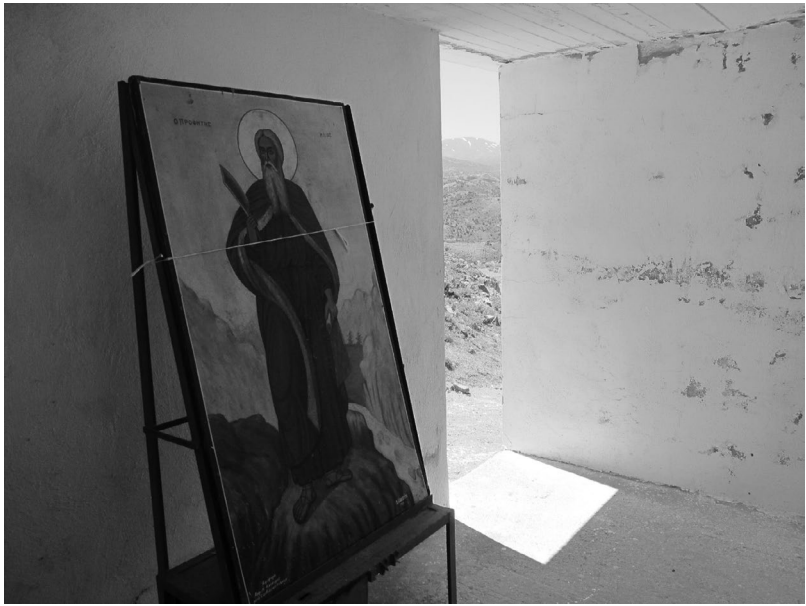


Figure 0.4 The icon of Prophet Elias in the side chapel at the peak of the mountain
Source: Photo Aris Anagnostopoulos.

herbs: sage, oregano and thyme are all fresh with new green shoots. As I approach the site and the peak of Philioremos, I can see two small birds hovering against the wind. They are larks, mating, against the white backdrop of Mount Ida, regardless of the strong wind. The wind continues to blow, somewhat abated, and I stand proud at the courtyard of the church, overlooking the unobstructed panoramic view below and beyond me.

Here at the top, I am fully exposed to the wind and its chilling effect. I am now standing at an altitude of approximately 850 meters. It is difficult to stand on the peak; the wind is coming in bitter gusts. I am freezing and I want to seek refuge in the small chapel on the side of the church. It occurs to me that this chapel may actually function as a shelter for the excavation too. I am humbled by Ida's dazzling white splendor, still rising high above me at 2,456 meters altitude. I have seen Mount Ida from Santorini, like a giant in the mist, towering over the sea; from here the mountain looks less fearsome but grander, prouder. This pride is contagious; the mountain looks proud and I, without any reason, feel proud myself, the wind filling my lungs. I am no freer than I was before, but the unfettered view of the landscape makes me feel free and unrestrained. That which I project onto the landscape, I

also project onto myself, without any real reason; these feelings are undirected and without intentionality.

I stand among the flower-sprinkled rocks and walls that are the remains of the peak sanctuary buildings. After 14 years of studying sites like this, I am keenly aware of the weight of responsibility of working on this site, which I know not only to be invaluable to Minoan archaeology but also to have great potential to impact the ‘real world’ – to contribute to education and tourism and to become part of the heritage of the local communities.

The site makes a perfect vantage point (see Figure 0.5). From here the surrounding landscape appears as a handwoven patchwork, full of details and great beauty: the rocky mountains dividing the village of Anogeia from Gonies to the south, the mountain masses of Ida to the southwest, the mountains around the Gonies basin, the plots within it, the winding roads, people walking and working, animals, both wild and domesticated. When I first saw this land, it was no less beautiful than I see it now, variable, colorful, productive, noisy. But now, after several years of working in the area and familiarizing myself with the landscape, I can see better, I can hear more, I can smell more scents than before. Because my senses are coupled with



Figure 0.5 The ‘patchwork’ from the peak of Philioremos to the N-NW

Source: Photo Evangelos Kyriakidis.

greater knowledge, I can now pay attention to the small details and extract more information.

I know, for instance, that the red spot in the far distance to the southwest is the landowner's car, and I know that he is there tending to his plot. Knowing he has planted vegetables and knowing the season, I can well guess what he is doing there. I know that at 11 A.M. I will hear sheep bells but not see the sheep, and I also now know who the shepherd is, how big the flock is, where they are coming from and where they are going. I can also tell much more, according to the speed they are going and to the frequency of the sheep bells, whether they are rushing to avoid the sun before it gets too hot, or going at a leisurely pace. I can tell the mood of the shepherd by how much he shouts at his sheep. The dynamics of the landscape reveal themselves like a Heideggerian hermeneutic cycle [(1927/1996), 315]: the more you revisit and the more you talk about the landscape, the more you understand; the more you understand, the more you see; the more you see, the clearer you see and the more you understand again and so on. This climb itself is a hermeneutic cycle and in this, the mountain feels like a philosophical allegory.

Gaining some familiarity with the landscape, I do not see only endless lands. I also see borders, local and regional. This knowledge is superimposed



Figure 0.6 The sheep of Euripides and Yannis Fthenos in their transhumance from Sklavokambos to Evdomos

Source: Photo: Andreas Smaragdis, Jr.

onto the landscape. With these borders I see geopolitical forces, competition between villages pushing the boundaries of each village to and fro, each side building fences, churches, retaining walls or shepherd's huts to secure their own version of the territory, conducting rituals or other crystallized forms of action such as flock-moving, house-building and cultivation to ensure that their land is secure, or even regularly trespassing over the boundaries of others' land to challenge their definitions. In this competitive environment, buildings, churches – even sheep and goats – become micro-geopolitical tools. These micro-geopolitical forces seem eternal; the competition between people, families and communities seems engrained into human nature. Their tactics also seem diachronic: activity that is repeated, regulated and easily associated with one community. Livestock movements (Figure 0.6), rituals and, even better, religious rituals that are associated with the gods and cannot be easily contested, are all excellent ways of claiming a patch of land. The sanctuary I am standing on must have been part of the same dynamic. Just as today, these sites must also have been significant in marking boundaries between Minoan settlements.

The density of the place names associated with this landscape reflects this geopolitical microcosm. In some areas they are denser than street numbers because every place name has an owner or a user, has stories connected to it, has people or animals passing through it and has other features such as special stones, plants, soil or water sources. The people of this village have an unsurpassable knowledge of this landscape. All their lives have revolved around this patch of land. I have long been aware that there is no hope for anyone from the outside to understand this place better than they do, but looking down on the landscape, the thought strikes me with new force: in order to learn more about the archaeological site, the surrounding landscape, its traits and uses, I must learn as much as I can from the villagers and their history.

The idea is in theory simple, but in practice daunting. For one thing, I know that few members of the local community have any interest in this site – the peak sanctuary is almost entirely absent from the local consciousness. Moreover, I suspect that many of them have an active distrust of archaeologists: too often we are outsiders who disrupt their land use while offering very little back to communities.

Standing alone on the peak in the wind, another thought occurs to me: the fate of this ancient site that I know to be so important is almost entirely in the hands of those same villagers who have such ambivalent feelings toward it, the people whose lives unfold in the landscape I see below me. Despite the strictness of the archaeological laws in theory, they are almost impossible for the state to fully enforce and monitor in this remote corner of the island.

It strikes me that perhaps the most challenging task before me is not the cleaning of the site and the analysis of the archaeological material, but to find a way to work with this community, both to learn from them and to engage with them so that, eventually, they want to protect this site as part of their own heritage. I realize that I urgently need to devise a strategy for such community engagement.

* * *

It was during that climb to Philioremos in April 2011 that I fully realized the importance of public engagement in archaeology, with a dual role of both informing research and of maximizing its impact by ensuring that the local community becomes a positive stakeholder in the protection of its heritage. This awareness, and my subsequent experience in developing and implementing the public engagement strategy for my work in Philioremos, has profoundly influenced my work ever since, both in my approach to archaeology and as Founder and Director of The Heritage Management Organization (formerly the Initiative for Heritage Conservancy), a non-profit organization enabling heritage managers to independently leverage heritage assets as a source of learning, community identity and economic development, which has since trained hundreds of individuals and organizations from more than 75 countries. Archaeology may be about the dead, about the past, yet it is for the benefit of the living, for the deeper understanding of the fleeting present, and ultimately for the better design of our future.

The seeds of my interest in public engagement had already been planted many years previously. I have always enjoyed interaction with local people, the living caretakers of an historic landscape. As a student, the most rewarding times for me were the times I spent chatting with local shepherds, the men in the coffee shop or the women in the streets or the courtyards of their houses. I always found the depth of local knowledge about their area exhilarating and often humbling. My familiarity with their background – due to my own family roots in Crete – made me want to get closer to them, to know some of what they do about their area.

My earlier experiences in this same area of Crete as an undergraduate participating in the unique excavation of Yannis Sakellerakis at Zominthos, above Anogeia (the large village visible to the south of Philioremos), also surely played a formative role in my views on community engagement. Sakellarakis skillfully rendered that dig into an educational event that brought students and local people together. The entire project was a success because of this engagement with the local community. They not only enriched the excavation, but also supported it financially: they were our hosts; they fed us, guarded the site, visited us and worked with us. Sakellarakis had great

insight and took many steps to help foster this engagement. He brought in visitors and publicity to the village; he employed their traditional technicians for the benefit of the village, restoring the shepherd's huts, or *mitata*, and their Venetian cheese-making units; and he built a fountain within the perimeter of the archaeological site, like the one described in a local medieval oral epic of Kallergis, where a dragon was slain while drinking water from a fountain. This whole approach was both ingenious and very inspiring. Sakellarakis had planted for me the seeds of community engagement, even though at the time they were not recognized even by him, as academic work and part of the research.

To some extent, therefore, the ethnographic element of my research has always been present. It was during the excavation (Figure 0.7) in Philioremos, however, that I first formally incorporated this into my research strategy. As part of the original research strategy there were a lot of questions that required an answer, such as those regarding the provenance of the artifacts found or the identity and origin of those who attended the rituals in the Minoan peak sanctuary. I also wanted to know more about the ways in which the peak sanctuary interacted with other similar ritual sites in the greater area, its strategic position as it commanded the landscape and thus economic activity and also the way it functioned as a potential boundary marker. I wanted to know more



Figure 0.7 The 2010 excavation of Philioremos

Source: Photo: Andreas Smaragdis.

about its relationship with Minoan first- and second-order centers, its role as an institution and its position in regional and intra-regional politics. Finally, I wanted to know more about its legacy as a site in later antiquity, the properties of the Minoan peak sanctuary that resurfaced in later periods and whether sacrality was one of them. I realized that ethnographic research was essential to my understanding of the site and of the area. Yet ethnography also quickly became a tool for the part of my strategy that focused on disseminating this knowledge, rendering it relevant and useful – not least to the local community – and engaging them in the protection of the site.

A first step for this engagement with the local community was to build a relationship of trust. I had met many people who were unhappy with archaeologists, not only because they prevent people from exploiting their own land if it contains antiquities, but also because there is a widespread suspicion that archaeologists hide their knowledge about sites from the local community. On two different occasions I had heard of local people who had happened to get hold of archaeological publications about their own area. They were upset to discover that they knew nothing about the sites on their own doorstep, and had to learn about them from the publications in a sanitized, distant, de-contextualized and disengaged way. This was a mistake I did not want to repeat.

This distrust that local residents often show toward archaeology and archaeologists is mutual; archaeologists tend not to trust the local residents with the protection of their sites. There are countless stories of illicit excavations and as many about theft of antiquities from museums, excavation storerooms or archaeological sites. Indeed, the unofficial policy of the Archaeological Service at Herakleion, for which I briefly worked whilst I was a student, was not to talk to members of the local community about the archaeological sites of their area in case they stole from them – which, indeed, they frequently did. This is hugely destructive to the heritage of Crete and a major concern for archaeologists.

As a prerequisite to engaging with the local community, this vicious circle of mistrust had to break. The people living near Philioremos could not find out about the site on their mountain from a publication in English, written by someone they had not knowingly met. They had to be approached in a constructive way that would ensure that their heritage would be protected by them as well as by the state. They had to learn to love the site and to care for it. This was particularly pertinent in this remote part of Crete, where residents were traditionally very well armed and the state could effectively do very little to police them. Traditional rules, and the social networks that ensure compliance with them, were much more effective than any state intervention. We had to learn these rules and help apply them to heritage site protection.

Another important aspect of public engagement work was making the site relevant to the interests and values of the local community. Initially, few of the local residents were interested in the site, and none considered it to be part of their heritage. This was partly due to the nature of this type of site. More than 40 peak sanctuary sites have been excavated in Crete, and many more identified; however, most of them are still pending publication.¹ Their very poor state of preservation and their general lack of stratification rendered the material not publication-worthy in the eyes of many Minoan archaeologists in the past. As a result, this type of site appears rarely in scholarly publications, and is absent from primary and secondary education, the tourism industry, and the sense of heritage of the local community. In part though, the lack of interest in the site simply reflects different priorities and the fact that other types of heritage are much more important to them. Through the ethnographic work, however, it proved possible to make the site and the research relevant and useful to the local community.

The ethnographic part of the project was originally designed to take place at the same time as the new excavation of the site. With hindsight, that was a mistake. The results of the ethnographic research were to change the research questions on which the approach to the excavation was based, as indeed previous haphazard, impromptu, ethnographic research that I conducted had already changed my understanding of the area and had refined my research questions. Since archaeological excavation is a very destructive tool for extracting information about the past, it must be done with the utmost caution and with very specific, well-formulated research questions. The maturity of these questions will have significantly improved after ethnographic research. An ethnographic project that precedes an archaeological excavation also raises awareness and engages the local residents, but also identifies allies among the local community and prepares the ground for what can be a major event in that community. I would not of course have understood this mistake, or how to correct it, had I not gone through this hermeneutic learning process first.

It was only at the end of that excavation season of 2011 that the benefits of the ethnographic research for the wider archaeological research became clearly visible. And it was after the end of the 2012 season that the impact of the public engagement aspect of our program became visible, as we employed specific tools for local community engagement through heritage; these tools also helped to foster grassroots heritage protection. We realized that our project was successfully becoming part of the local ecosystem, and was becoming relevant for local interests: a tool for the local community to achieve their own goals, quite independently of the research project.

Drawing on these experiences, this volume will recount some of the most important finds we made in the field of public archaeology within a rural

community, lessons that have stayed with us in subsequent excavation seasons and in the study of other sites. It is hoped that readers will find these lessons relevant to their own work and that they contribute to a greater understanding and engagement of rural communities in the management of their heritage.

Note

- 1 The most recent publication of the pottery of Vrysinas in the west of Crete by Tzachili (2011 and 2016), the figurines of Petsofas by Rutkowski (1991) and the pottery from St. George at Kythera [Tournavitou (2011), 117–140; Tournavitou and Sakellarakis (2012)].

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1 Introducing our approach

Old site, new perspectives

Since 2011, the Philioremos Peak Sanctuary Public Archaeology Project has been managed by our team of archaeologists and ethnographers from the University of Kent, in partnership with the Heritage Management Organization, and together with the community of the mountain village of Gonies in Crete and their Cultural Association. The project was initiated as part of the University of Kent's 'Three Peak Sanctuaries' project to study the archaeological material and the social, economic and geophysical context of three Minoan peak sanctuaries in central northern Crete, in the Malevyzi province of the county of Herakleion. Stemming from our work to clean and conduct secondary excavations at one such peak sanctuary – situated on Philioremos peak – the public archaeology project had the dual aim of informing the research on Minoan peak sanctuaries and of engaging and empowering the local community to become long-term guardians of their heritage, including the Philioremos peak sanctuary site.

Public archaeology and community engagement constitute growing fields of heritage related activity internationally. Several ideas and tools could be therefore adapted to the purposes of our project from existing approaches. However none of the existing approaches was entirely sufficient or appropriate for our aims and, as a result, the approach that we developed has several distinguishing features. This chapter gives a brief introduction to existing approaches to public archaeology, and to the context for such work in Greece, before presenting the key distinguishing characteristics of the approach that we developed. In doing so, the chapter also introduces some of the main themes of subsequent chapters, including the importance of heritage values for public archaeology, our concern with community empowerment in respect to engagement with heritage and how our project was interested in rendering heritage a tool for the flourishing of the local community.

The following chapter, Chapter 2, presents the specific characteristics of the Philioremos peak sanctuary site and the local community of the village of Gonies. Chapter 3 explains more about our understanding of heritage

values, while Chapter 4 presents both the methodology and the results of the values assessment conducted for the peak sanctuary site. Chapter 5 describes the methodology and tools used within our ‘community empowerment’ approach to the project, while Chapter 6 presents some of the outcomes of this approach, namely some ways in which the project promoted the protection of the site, became relevant for local interests and became a tool for the local community to achieve their own goals. Finally, Chapter 7 concludes the volume by drawing together some of the lessons learned from the project and their implications for public archaeology and heritage management, including the proposal of a better term to describe the flourishing of heritage than that of *sustainability*.

Existing approaches to public archaeology

Public archaeology, although often considered a subset of academic archaeology [McDavid (2002), 2], is a potentially larger field than its ‘parent’ [McDavid and McGhee (2010), 468]. It is often based on tenets such as that heritage is not an exclusive prerogative of academics, that local non-academic members of the public can be experts in aspects of heritage that non-local academic experts lack knowledge about, and that the management of archaeological heritage is partly exercised by the public in ways that academic archaeology cannot control. Therefore, *public archaeology*, broadly defined, refers to ‘any interaction between the public and their archaeological heritage’. Public archaeology is a growing academic field, with academic conferences, scholarly publications and journals, as well as hundreds of projects around the world [Marshall (2002); Moser et al. (2002), 220–248; Tully (2007), 155–187; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2008), 5–6; Byrne (2012), 26–27]. The field has mainly been developed in the Anglo-Saxon world, particularly in North America, Australia and the UK, with a number of pockets of excellence scattered internationally in Scandinavia, Mexico and elsewhere. As a result, most of the ‘good practices’ being promoted are those that have been developed to fit those specific communities and socio-political contexts.

Merriman [(2004), 5–8], Holtorf [(2007), 105–129], McGuire [(2008), 145–146], as well as Okamura and Matsuda [(2011), 5–7], have all attempted to identify different types of approaches to public archaeology. Okamura and Matsuda, synthesizing the findings of the others, note four different trends: the ‘education’ approach, the ‘public-relations’ approach, the ‘multiple-perspective’ approach and the ‘critical approach’ to public archaeology [see also Bonacchi and Moshenska (2015), Figure 1.1].

The *education* approach aims to inform local communities and to educate them on things they know little about. In many instances, excavation projects will initiate a series of lectures by academic archaeologists to members of the



Figure 1.1 A short seminar for the local population on how to source good clay soils in their area, July 2015

Source: Photo: Eleni Stefanou.

local community, informing them about the archaeological finds of their area, but also satisfying local curiosity about new discoveries or explaining the relevance of those to contemporary finds elsewhere. Although a limitation of the approach is that this didactic type of public archaeology is often based on the tenet that local communities are not themselves keepers of expert knowledge on their heritage, we believe that aspects of the education approach constitute a crucial element of any heritage preservation or management program, as local communities deserve to have access to expert knowledge about their area.

The second, *public-relations*, approach aims to render heritage important and relevant for local communities through various techniques, events and activities. The intention is to protect heritage and enhance its role as a potential source of education, culture and, possibly, sustainable development. For a heritage manager, increasing the importance and relevance of heritage is crucial for its management, protection and promotion. In such programs, experts may employ members of the local community as workers in the excavation and/or even train them [Hume et al. (2011), 15–19; Ricci and Yilmaz (2016), 41], thereby bringing some economic or other

4 *Introducing our approach*

benefit to the community and enabling them to share in the excitement of discovering the archaeological finds. The assumption is that such initiatives will encourage the local community to accept and adopt the program, thus promoting its sustainability. Indeed, such programs are often successful in gaining the endorsement of local communities for the duration of the excavations. Some more ambitious public archaeology programs also maintain further engagement with the local community after the excavation phase, usually with the aim of enhancing site visitation and increasing the revenues from tourism [see e.g. Tsaravopoulos and Fragou (2013), 94–108]. It is characteristic of such programs, however, that the archaeologists and experts maintain academic and decision-making control throughout all stages of the project. The main focus and priority is the heritage itself, and the role of the experts as managers of that heritage reflects that focus.

The third, *multiple-perspective*, approach recognizes the existence of many different groups and stakeholders who have different interests in and different priorities toward the same heritage. Through this approach, the views of the various groups are studied, and ways are found for these multiple perspectives to be voiced. The multiple-perspective approach is partly educational, in that it informs stakeholders about the multiple facets of the same heritage, and in some ways a public-relations approach, in that it helps people understand the views of other groups and the importance of heritage for them. This multiple-perspective approach is in many ways a tool for promoting social harmony and social integration.

Finally, there is a fourth, *critical*, approach, which asks questions like: ‘whose vision are we trying to establish?’, ‘for whom are we doing public archaeology (or anything, for that matter)?’, ‘why do we do things this way?’ and so on. This approach is very important because it provides space to reflect on practices and to refine and question our methodologies and motives.

Archaeology is closely related to the state both organizationally and ideologically in most countries. It needs state funding for excavations, teaching and research institutions; in return archaeology ‘can provide tangible remains from the past’ [Sommer (2017), 166]. The state authorities, however, are not always happy to include other stakeholders in the protection and management of heritage. Unfortunately, in most public archaeology programs, irrespective of type, non-academic or non-state¹ recognized expert communities or groups are only seen as external, and secondary stakeholders; engagement with them, moreover, tends to be only short-term, for the duration of the archaeological work. Local communities are rarely considered as long-term caretakers whose prosperity is intrinsically linked to the conservation and flourishing of the heritage site. Even in the few cases where a longer-term commitment toward local communities is demonstrated, for

example through the building of a local archaeological site museum, the projects still tend to have minimum community engagement. As Orange and Perring highlight, good intentions are not sufficient [(2017), 148–149]. Indeed the ‘ideals of community archaeology programs . . . often do not match expectations for the practical and perceived benefits for the communities’ [Simpson and Williams (2008), 86], even in countries with a clearly distinct role for such professionals [Aitchison and Rocks-Macqueen (2013), 54, 179].

Archaeology and public engagement in Greece

Archaeology has always been associated with politics and national identity. Although, as archaeologists, we may rarely consider our work in these terms, the discipline has always been closely connected with projects of state building and the construction of national identity [Yalouri (2001); Díaz-Andreu (2007)]. As a result, and often unknowingly, archaeological work frequently plays into these agendas and narratives. In a country like Greece, where the ancient past has played such an important role in the development of the modern state, this phenomenon is further accentuated.

Historically, the importance of the ancient past for modern Greek national identity was often reinforced by European romanticists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who saw Greece in a romantic light, calling the Greeks to revolt [e.g. Hölderlin (1804)], fighting for their independence (e.g. Thomas Gordon, Lord Byron), depicting atrocities against them, such as Delacroix in 1824–1825 [see Jobert (1998), 127] and even describing the Greek Revolution as the greatest cultural event of the nineteenth century [e.g. Fallmerayer (1835)]. As with the Renaissance, Romanticism also saw in the revival of Greek letters a sense of renewal through a return to its roots [e.g. William Morris (1867) and (1868–1870)]. As a result, the country gained friends around the world through promoting the idea that modern Greece was the heir to antiquity. The Greek state saw itself as the guardian of internationally important ancient heritage, and, in its effort to protect it, made itself the chief manager of archaeological heritage [Ian Morris (1994), 8–47; Hamilakis (2007), 74–85]. As a result, Greece established the first European Archaeological Service in 1833.

The idea of continuity with the ancient past both contributed to and was greatly promoted by the Greek War of Independence in the 1820s, which drew on the notion of a new Renaissance in the early nineteenth century. As a result such ideas dominated, with the counterarguments becoming extreme, completely refuting either continuity [Hasluck (1929)] or the origin of the Greeks [Fallmerayer (1835)]. However, the arguments in favor of continuity, which were prevalent in Europe at the time, shaped the beginnings

of Greek archaeology as a discipline and the stance of its main patron, the Greek state. Right from the start, the Greek state undertook the protection of Greek archaeology and, together with it, the protection of its narrative. This effort, it was believed, would help to foster the prestige of the Greek state among the important European states and, following the European trends, gave particular emphasis to the heritage of the Classical, Mycenaean and, later, the Minoan periods [see e.g. Hamilakis (2001), 5–12]. Many of the educated elite in the new Greek state had studied abroad in Europe, particularly in Germany, where classical philology and archaeology and, later, Mycenaean prehistory were the main fields of study. With the publication of the Palace of Minos at Knossos (1921–1935) by Evans, Minoan antiquity also came into vogue. This greater interest in particular periods led to specific approaches to conservation and the restoration of antiquities that were congruous with the ideas on national identity [Kotsakis (1991), 65–90; Hamilakis and Yalouri (1996), 117–129; Plantzos (2008), 11–30]. The relevant state authority – the Archaeological Service – became a powerful administrative branch of the government. Moreover, through inertia and lack of regular revision of the curriculum, the exclusively state-trained archaeological tour guides perpetuated older ideas about heritage into the late twentieth century [Touloupa (2010), 4–33].

The state monopoly on antiquities and the corresponding narrative led to an extremely strict legal framework – possibly one of the strictest in Europe – which allowed little room for the engagement of other stakeholders with the antiquities [see e.g. Alexopoulos and Fouseki (2013); Tsaravopoulos and Fragou (2013), 94–108]. Without explicitly setting out to exclude local communities from knowing about or even, in some cases, protecting their heritage, the Archaeological Service largely alienated local communities and the general public, seeing its role as the sole protector of the antiquities from these very communities and the destruction, looting or uncontrolled commercialization they often cause, partly because of this very attitude [Kokkou (1977), 72–78; Papaconstantinou (2003), 21–24; Fouseki (2008)]. In other words, it saw itself as the only stakeholder regarding heritage. A vicious circle was created therefore, whereby local communities are often seen as actual or potential perpetrators and as a result are not engaged with properly. This means that these communities are rarely informed of the importance of the heritage for their community as well as for their personal well-being, and, having a different view on ownership [McGill (2010), 476], they see it as a potential threat to the development of their properties. Consequently, local communities often indeed become a threat to heritage sites. There are, of course, also very many occasions where local communities have proven to be responsible and able managers of their own heritage,² but these examples tend to be overshadowed by the negative general impression. The illicit antiquities trade also

exploits local disinterest and lack of knowledge, tempting those who are potentially the best guardians of heritage to be accomplices and conspirators in its destruction. Thus, the stance of the Archaeological Service is validated, and the vicious circle is perpetuated. Sakellariadi even went as far as to say that the Greek Archaeological Service often functions as a mechanism ‘disinheriting people from a resource protected in their name and at their financial expense’ [Sakellariadi (2010), 518].

The general impression in Greece, as elsewhere, that cultural heritage is a major potential source of income for the country often also contributes to the resistance of the Archaeological Service to greater public engagement. This is because economic development around heritage has often been detrimental to its values, either because of overexploitation or ‘Disneyfication’ [Pugh (2012), 1–18]. As a result, heritage managers often view economic development with suspicion. Many examples of community engagement with heritage in Greece are indeed linked to tourism [Ikkos (2015)] and making money from visitors [e.g. Tsaravopoulos and Fragou (2013), 94–108]. It is true that heritage tourism is not evenly spread, but is concentrated mainly in a handful of top sites,³ often damaging the sites and what they stand for – a prime example being the tourist development in Knossos, which forms the greatest challenge to the preservation and management of the site. It is, of course, still more problematic when the exploitation of the economic values of heritage reaches extremes, such as those of illicit excavation and the clandestine trade of antiquities.

Furthermore, from a practical perspective, community engagement work can create an additional management burden for the already over-stretched Archaeological Service, which needs to oversee such projects, and there is often a lack of resources to engage with local communities in an appropriate manner [cf. Bintliff (2004), 147–152].

As a result of all the above, the Greek state is therefore often suspicious of community engagement with archaeology, seeing it as a hindrance, trying to control it and rarely encouraging it. Where community heritage projects have taken place, it is because of the ‘personal style’ of the local superintendents and their perception of the above issues.

Despite this general context, it must be acknowledged that the Archaeological Service has slowly become more open to community engagement in some respects. Some traditionally existing good practices, such as employing excavation workers from local communities, have been continued and expanded, and new initiatives have been undertaken, such as opening up sites and museums to local groups and creating educational programs both for the local communities and visitors. These developments are due both to internal factors, such as the high educational level of the Service staff [Alexopoulos and Kyriakidis (2014)], and to external ones, such as pressure

from the Greek nonprofit sector, local groups, local authorities as well as international bodies such as UNESCO and ICCROM, and international protocols and treaties [Sakellariadi (2008), 320–329]. Moreover, some nonprofits, including the Heritage Management Organization, have become active in areas that are either of limited interest to the state or are less regulated, and are thus working with local communities in heritage management without ‘trespassing’ on the ‘turf’ of the state. Examples include projects such as the recording of historic buildings in Athens by the Hellenic National Foundation for Research [Moschonas et al. (2008)], the work of organizations such as Monumenta and the Institute of Local History in Patras, the Kalaureia Research Program in Poros (www.kalaureia.org/), the community research strand of a project very similar to ours, the Argos Orestikon Project (<http://argosorestikonproject.org/en/index.php/excavation-and-local-community>) and the Koutroulou Magoula Archaeology and Archaeological Ethnography project [Hamilakis and Theou (2013), 181–194]. This dynamic is encouraging for the future.

A ‘values-obsessed’ perspective

Given the aims of our public engagement project, the particular context for public engagement with heritage in Greece and the specific characteristics of the site and local community we were working with (described in Chapter 2), it was clear to us that the good practices in public archaeology developed in other parts of the world could not simply be replicated for the purposes of our project. On the contrary, in order to design an appropriate strategy for our public engagement work, we first needed to develop a deep and comprehensive understanding of what it was that we were trying to protect and affect positively through the public engagement. In other words, we needed to understand the ‘what’ in what we wanted to manage through public archaeology, before we could consider the ‘how’ in how we wanted to manage it.

In order to do so, a first step was to conduct a thorough values assessment of the site, i.e. an assessment of what the site stands for to different individuals and stakeholders. Conducting values assessments of heritage sites has, thankfully, become an increasingly common aspect of heritage management internationally. Both scholars [see e.g. Avrami et al. (2000)] and relevant organizations, including ICOMOS⁴ and UNESCO have published extensively on heritage values and their assessment.

Our intention was to understand the site’s use and the ways in which people interact with it in the present or have interacted with it in the recent past. In this instance, a first excavation had already taken place, and therefore our preliminary understanding of the site and its distant past was also possible; we propose however that a community engagement program

should, ideally, take place prior to excavation and that this early phase of engagement and ethnography should take into account the developments in the emerging field of archaeological ethnography [see Castañeda and Matthews (2008); Hollowell and Nicholas (2008), 63–94; Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos (2009), 65–87; Mortensen and Hollowell (2009); Hamilakis (2011), 399–414].

The values assessment that we conducted aimed to be as comprehensive as possible, taking into account ethnographic evidence from the various stakeholders, gathered through a number of techniques, including one-to-one interviews, informal focus groups, public meetings and participant observation. Bibliographic and archival research also proved valuable. The results of the assessment were quite startling, and went a long way to explaining the apparent lack of interest of the local community in the site. In fact, the results showed that the community did value aspects of the site, but for reasons that archaeologists usually do not appreciate. And to our surprise, the values assessment also showed that the archaeologists and the local community had various shared values for the site without realizing it. Many of these values were related to ‘intangible’ aspects of the heritage that are often outside the focus of interest for archaeologists.

It became clear that the information gained – thanks to the open and comprehensive nature of this values assessment – was the key to the future success of the public engagement project. It was on the basis of the values of the site that we were able to communicate meaningfully with the local community in order to learn from them and to engage with them as stakeholders in the management of the Philioremos peak sanctuary. The values of the site, as assessed, therefore became central to our whole approach. Our experience also highlighted a number of limitations in the way heritage values are often assessed through approaches that purport to be ‘values-based’, but which are less open-ended and participatory. We call our approach a ‘values-obsessed’ perspective, placing values of heritage at the heart of managing it [cf. de la Torre et al. (2003), 1–2]. In this context, the fabric of heritage is consequently conserved as a key element upon which these values are predicated, rather than preserved for its own sake; values – what the heritage stands for – are what we want to protect, promote and manage.

A focus on community empowerment

As outlined previously, the responsible state authorities for heritage management in Greece, as in many other countries, rarely recognize individuals and communities as key stakeholders in the management of their heritage, and they do not often engage with them [Voudouri (2010), 555–556]. Where they exist, state-managed public archaeology programs tend to correspond

to what Okamura and Matsuda [(2011), 5–7] call ‘the PR approach’ to public archaeology.

It was evident to us from the outset that, in the case of our mountaintop project, at a site whose fate was intricately connected to the local community, the PR approach would be insufficient for the achievement of our goals. We did not aim merely at the participation of members of the local community, rather our project was planned both to learn from the local community and to engage and empower them to become long-term guardians of their heritage.

Empowerment here is thus used in the sense that power is distributed more equitably [Smith et al. (2014), 5–7] between the key stakeholders, be they academics, state authorities or local communities. Local communities are most often marginal groups when it comes to heritage protection; despite the fact that they are more populous and in some cases may have a louder public voice than other stakeholders, local communities are often relatively powerless in comparison to academics and the ‘official’, state approved, academic heritage services. An approach of ‘empowering’ communities in relation to heritage therefore clearly has the sense of giving power to the community as a marginal group and bringing it to the fore [cf. Batliwala (2007), 561–562].

Our ambition was to create an ever-growing community defined by inclusion rather than frequent exclusion [Carman (2011), 499], comprising all those who care about the Philioremos peak sanctuary site. Our ambition was not only to protect the site, but also to render it an ever-flourishing source of inspiration, education, culture and local pride. Of course, by achieving the latter, we would also achieve the former. Recognizing the local community’s importance in the understanding and the preservation of the values of the site, we wanted to instill a new, collective-citizen responsibility toward their local heritage [for a similar work with the environment see van Steenbergen (1994), 141–152; Newby (1996), 209–222], as well as to empower the local residents to use heritage to help their community flourish. This, we believed, would be the most important legacy of a successful public archaeology program. Our goals, therefore, were not only research-oriented, but also designed to effect social change. This is in stark contrast to the majority of projects in our field, which have almost exclusively narrow archaeological research goals [e.g. see Matthews et al. (2011), 484] and which often have unintended consequences for the local communities in question.

The empowerment of local communities requires a grassroots approach to engagement [see Dudley (1993), 8]. In order to achieve our goals we developed a multi-faceted approach that involved employing a wide variety of techniques in order to inform and raise the awareness of the local community, to make the site relevant to them while connecting it to their lives, and to foster and enable their engagement with protecting as well as promoting their heritage.

Our approach – which we call a *community empowerment* approach to public archaeology – goes beyond community participation as it is understood within PR approaches [Okamura and Matsuda (2011), 5–7]. However, it does draw on some aspects of these approaches, in order to disseminate existing knowledge and attach more importance to lesser-known aspects of the heritage site. Our approach also shares some characteristics with what Okamura and Matsuda [(2011), 5–7] call the *multiple perspective* approach, but it goes beyond this. Typically, in projects that follow a multiple perspective approach – which include those that use the term *collaborative archaeology* [Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2008), 9; La Salle (2010), 406] – archaeologists, researchers and/or authorities tend to maintain all their power, while treating all the other stakeholders equitably. By contrast, we wanted to work with the local community as equals, without undermining, and even enhancing their agency and authority. Our approach also employs aspects of the *education* approach, which aims to inform, although the information that we wanted to impart to the local community was not given higher importance than the information they already knew about the site, being complementary to, and not competing with what they knew. Finally, our approach also draws on aspects of the *critical* approach, to ensure clarity of scope and results; we regularly discussed our methods internally and we often tried to present them to others to get feedback and to clarify our purpose.

Aiming for ‘ever-blossoming’ heritage

Our approach to engaging and empowering the local community of the village of Gonies had results that exceeded our expectations. The local residents indeed began to see themselves as guardians of their heritage. They became active in protecting and promoting it, and even started using heritage for pursuing various community goals that were important to them. Thus, through promoting an understanding of heritage as something that lives through heritage values – including values that are carried by local communities themselves – the heritage came to be valued and protected by those who live closest to it, and started to become a self-sustaining resource for the flourishing of that community. We therefore realized that, in conventional heritage management and project management vocabulary, our approach has the potential to be called ‘sustainable’. However, as explained in more detail in Chapter 7, *sustainability* is a term that we found inadequate to describe the ambitions of this and possibly of several other projects. We therefore propose an alternative term, *aephoria*, meaning ‘the condition of “ever-blossoming”’, as the most appropriate term for describing what we hope to achieve through our work, and for what we should be aiming for in heritage management.

Notes

- 1 In archaeology contrary forces often give greater power to certified individuals, marginalizing ‘amateur knowledge’ [Duineveld et al. (2013), 148–149].
- 2 For example, in the greater Athens area recently, the Philopappou movement in central Athens managed to take legal action over various incursions against local heritage (www.filopappou.wordpress.com); at Keratea local citizens run an open museum that protects and promotes their communities’ local heritage (www.soma.org.gr); whilst in the Academy of Plato, locals have successfully lobbied the government and other stakeholders to protect their local heritage site (<https://akadimia-platonos.com>).
- 3 According to a press release published by the Greek Statistical Authority (www.statistics.gr/documents/20181/b5150ff1-6838-4b17-b831-e1b2c764e4ec) last accessed August 26, 2018.
- 4 See for example the Burra Charter, which was voted in 1979 and updated in 2013.

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2 The local context

By its nature, a public archaeology project always has a specific context, since each community is unique. It is only in its particular context that we can fully discuss this project and draw conclusions that could be potentially useful in other sites. In this chapter we will provide a little background information, placing the Minoan peak sanctuary site and the mountain of Philioremos, as well as our project, into a modern social setting by presenting a brief portrait of the community who lives at the foot of the mountain in the village of Gonies.

Situated below the peak of Mount Philioremos, Gonies is the largest of a series of villages in the Cretan highland plateau of Sklavokampos, approximately 600 to 700 meters above sea level and protected by the surrounding mountains. This fertile plateau comprises the villages of Gonies, Kamaraki, Kamariotis, Astyraki, and part of Aidonochori (Figure 2.1).

Today, a steep road leads away from this area to the south, toward the villages of Sisarcha and then on to Anogeia, Zoniana, Leivadia and Axos. Another road leads due north through Aidonochori and Astyraki. The crossroads, a large flat area called Kylistos, at the foot of Philioremos, is common ground that has long been used for all kinds of meetings, including as a meeting place for children from the surrounding villages to meet up on school excursions. To the northeast, a deep, inhospitable gorge called the Gorge of Ayia Anna or of Sklavokampos leads to the plains of the populous village of Tylissos, then on to the small town of Gazi and further on to the sea. To the southeast, a series of small dirt tracks lead from Gonies to the highlands of Krousonas, winding through no-man's land for miles through the outlandishly proud mountains of Eleprinos, Keria, Voskero and Gournos. Right up until the 1970s, however, the winding road that connected most of the other villages in the plateau bypassed Gonies; the only way into the village was through a cobbled path. *Gonies* – meaning ‘corners’ – was not even visible from most points on this main road, being tucked away in a hilly corner, and many locals consider this to be the explanation for the etymology of the name of their village (Figure 2.2).

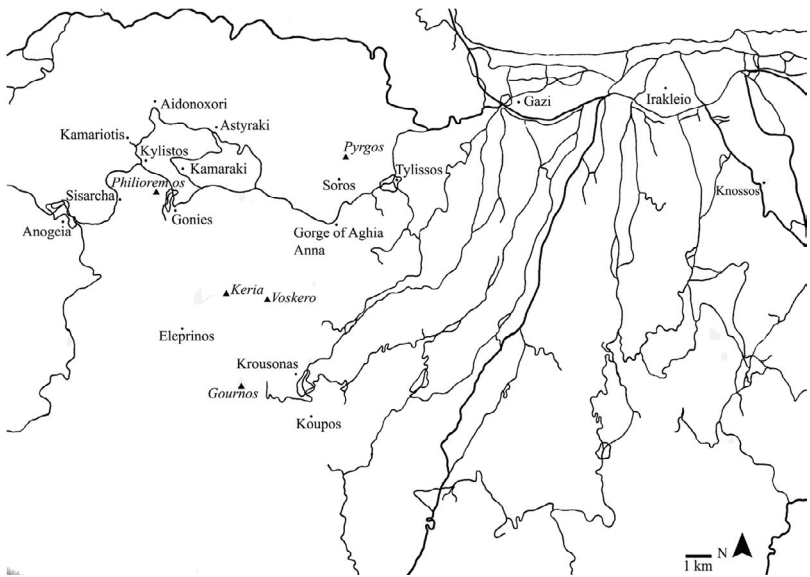


Figure 2.1 Map of the area

Source: Design: Celine Murphy, 2017.

Gonies through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

The historic development of Gonies in the nineteenth century differs from that of several other villages in the area because it did not have a significant Ottoman presence. Indeed,¹ a look into the village's school records and other nineteenth-century archives reveals a total absence of Muslim names, which means that few, if any, Ottoman Muslim first-class citizens were present in the village.

The locals attribute this lack of Ottoman presence in their village to its relative poverty and lack of good water. The soils around Gonies are unsuitable for the cultivation of much of the produce that is common in other parts of this region – including snails, greens and pulses – because the mountain of Philioremos is formed of serpentinite and therefore has very low levels of fertilizing calcium [see White (2005), 66–85]. The village was considered to be relatively poor in terms of its water supply too: although Gonies has three water sources, it is telling that the closest source is called *Avdeliaris*, meaning ‘leechy’, because of the leeches in it. The locals point out the contrast with the nearby village of Kamariotis, which had a good water supply and saw a significant Ottoman presence in the nineteenth century.²



Figure 2.2 A view of the village in 1947

Source: Photo: Andreas Smaragdis, Sr.

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the economy of the village was primarily based on agriculture and livestock production. Despite the poor quality of the soil, parts of the mountain were cultivated until the 1970s, as testified by the derelict retaining walls that created flat cultivable hillside surfaces, still visible today on parts of the mountain (Figure 2.3). These walls decorate Philioremos like jewelry, allowing wheat and vines to grow in its poor soils. Local accounts also testify to agricultural investment, citing how until the 1970s each family had at least one cow or bull used for traction.

Livestock production rather than agriculture has probably always been relatively more important to the local economy. Rearing livestock has left its mark on the landscape, not only on the well-grazed grasslands, but also in



Figure 2.3 The old terracing on Philioremos

Source: Photo: Celine Murphy.

the form of the shepherds' huts (*mitata*), sheep pens, dairies and shepherds' communal sitting and eating areas, all leaving their gray stony marks around the landscape. Every big pastoral family built one or more of these huts and pens, allowing for the transhumance of sheep from the lowlands in the winter to the highlands in the summer, where most of the milking and dairy production took place (Figure 2.4). Today these remains are evidence that the pasturelands belonged to Goniot families.

Stonemasonry was another local industry that must have complemented the villagers' income from agriculture and livestock. Beyond the late Byzantine- or Venetian-era buildings of the *Pera Geitonia* of Gonies, one can find a lofty yet hidden bridge, an aqueduct, a beautiful windmill as well as several eighteenth- and nineteenth-century stone houses. Today, the locals still joke that theirs is the most important village in the region for stone masonry, despite or perhaps because of the fact that they have the worst stone for building, since the local serpentinite is impossible to cut into square blocks.

From the end of the nineteenth century (1881) to the beginning of the twentieth century, Gonies was a small village of approximately 340 inhabitants.³ Interestingly, the village did not seem to follow the wave of emigration to



Figure 2.4 A *mitato* (shepherd's hut) situated on the top of the Loupis Hill

Source: Photo: Evangelos Kyriakidis.

urban centers and abroad that is seen elsewhere in Greece at that time. Indeed, around the time of the union of Crete with Greece in 1913, Gonicis saw several years of relative prosperity and population growth. In the 1920s, the Venizelos government built a school and a cheese-making unit in the village. This state

investment enhanced prosperity and further population growth, leading to localized ‘urbanization’, with the movement of livestock-owning families from the periphery of the village to its center. The village tripled or even quadrupled in size during the interwar years. Windmills and watermills enabled the basic processing of goods, facilitating the village’s economic independence.

This development, however, was brutally interrupted by the Second World War. During the German occupation, the Nazis held a very tight grip on this and many other villages of the area. This was due to the guerilla groups formed by the Cretan resistance in the greater area. It was these guerillas who kidnapped the German general Kreipe, who was in command of the occupation forces on the island.⁴ A remarkably detailed census, still extant in the village archives, demonstrates this tight control of the occupying forces: it records every single house in the village, listing all 1,011 inhabitants, their names, ages and occupations. The names of several senior, important men, one or two from each of the larger families, have been crossed out with a purple pencil and the chilling note ‘executed’ was written above each of these lines. Pictures taken in 1942 and during the war by Italian photographer Lidio Cipriani show misery and poverty (Figures 2.5 and 2.6): young people looking middle-aged, middle-aged people looking very old, people wearing ragged clothes and leathers instead of shoes. Hunger and exhaustion can be seen in their eyes [Corpis et al. (2014)].



Figure 2.5 Polyvios Christodoulakis and Gambas Markatomichalis or Michalis Markatatos

Source: Photo Lidio Cipriani 1942.

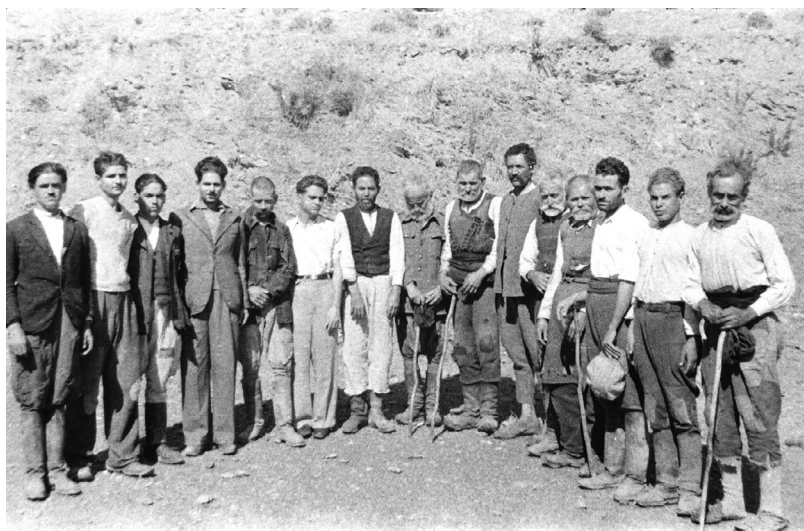


Figure 2.6 Some male inhabitants of poverty-stricken Gonia in 1942

Source: Photo: Lidio Cipriani.

Despite the losses caused by the Second World War, Gonia still appears well populated, with 1,039 residents in the 1951 state census [Kingdom of Greece (1955), 74].⁵ During the post-war years, the village experienced another period of growth. A construction boom saw the village almost double in houses, as is evident both from photographs and local testimonies. This construction boom was also experienced elsewhere in Greece, and Gonia builders sold their services all over central and eastern Crete, participating in construction of all types, including bridges, roads, hotels and houses, mainly in east central Crete. During this period, the local economy was further enhanced by the so-called *fabrika* (or mechanical mill) of the Smaragdis family, already working for some years (Figure 2.7).

The population growth modestly boosted the local internal market, feeding consumption. As a result, the local *raki*⁶-huts were turned into coffee shops – there were up to 20 of them. And they were subsequently transformed again into mini markets, selling gas bottles, foodstuffs, telephone or telegram services and more. Women's weaving work, initially for their own or their families' dowries, was turned into a business, supplying the expanding tourist industry in the coastal areas in the north of Crete from the 1960s onwards (Figure 2.8).



Figure 2.7 Smaragdis, Sr. and his mill, 1950s

Source: Photo: Andreas Smaragdis, Sr.

However, at the end of the 1950s, the collapse of agricultural prices and the persisting trauma from the uncertainties of war contributed to a mass exodus towards the Cretan cities, the Greek mainland and abroad, where there were more jobs, often in construction. The village's stone-masonry tradition gave work to several Goniots in hotel-building projects in central east Crete and elsewhere in the 1970s and 1980s. The Goniots left primarily for Tylissos, Gazi and Herakleion – the closest larger village, town and city respectively – from where they could commute back to the village while enjoying amenities that were not available back home. The prosperity of the 1950s had resulted in increased education levels, improved prospects and greater ambitions of the local people, and in a way precipitated this relocation to larger centers in search of more opportunities.



Figure 2.8 The textile bazaar in Gonies in the early 1960s

Source: Photo: Andreas Smaragdis, Sr.

The shift towards itinerant work, as well as the mass emigration of males mainly for work in the 1960 and 1970s, pushed down the marriage rate in the village. It is a legacy of this pattern that today, some 40 older men in the village (almost a quarter of the total population), now aged in their 50s and 60s, are not married. This contributed to the dramatic demographic drop that was seen in the village towards the end of the twentieth century.

Gonies today

Today, Gonies has the appearance of a poor, small village. The only remaining local businesses are a few family-run dairy workshops and butcheries, three surviving coffee shops, a gas station, and two very small shops with basic everyday necessities. The village has a surprising lack of basic produce such as bread, which is brought in from nearby villages. It also has very limited access to health services: a doctor visits only once a week, mostly to renew medical prescriptions. The village primary school (there has never been a high school) closed in the early 2000s due to the very small number of children attending.

A few years before the beginning of our project, in 2007, the local authorities estimated that the village was inhabited by no more than 200 people. A census that we conducted in collaboration with the Herakleion Polytechnic Department of Social Work revealed that Gonies had only 180 permanent inhabitants, of which 60 percent were over 65 years old, older women constituting the clear majority. The population of the village fluctuates, with a peak during the summer months, and a number of younger individuals visiting the family elders several times a week and during weekends throughout the year.

As a result of the lack of a school, only two families with children have remained in the village; they have to commute daily to the nearby towns for their children to attend school. Most families have preferred to move to Gazi or Herakleion to be closer to the schools, and they come up to the village once or twice a week, if at all, to tend to their properties. As a consequence, a large community of Goniots is to be found in both Gazi and Herakleion, people who identify with the village but do not spend most of their lives there. They feel foreign in both Gazi and Herakleion, yet not entirely Goniot when it comes to their own village.

Thus the ways in which people are connected to the village are constantly changing. One further recent development that has affected people's connection to the village is the spread of social media. The cultural association of Gonies and several individual Goniots (most of whom live now outside Gonies itself) regularly post photographs and information online about the village, its festivals, the weather in the village, worthwhile buildings, individuals' stories and accounts of life during previous decades, and also, in the summer months, news about our project and its activities. Apart from being alive as a physical place, the village also exists as an intangible place on social media and websites, much as it did through letters and rare telephone calls before; this 'virtual' Gonies also unites people, brings them together and renews their interest in and commitment to their village as well as the relationships between them. The Goniots are today a global community with diaspora in New York, Hong Kong, Toronto, Herakleion, Athens and elsewhere. Thus the community [see Kyriakidis (2007), 21] of Gonies is no longer confined to the geographical borders of the village but is distributed in space, using the village as a point of reference rather than a center of activity. The distributed community's identity is strong, as is their relationship with the village. Social media, mass media, regular visits to the village, shared heritage (mostly intangible) and social events help to keep this community identity strong.

Many of the *émigrés* of Gonies return regularly to the village, bringing not only their new resources but also their newly-found ideas and connections. With these come new habits, which are not always seen positively by



Figure 2.9 The health booklet of Ioannis Nathenas, noted as ‘leader of a family’ born in 1878

Source: Photo: Aris Anagnostopoulos.

the Goniots who have stayed behind. Some elder women of the village, for example, do not approve of the ways younger families conduct themselves today. For instance, one of our key informants, Mrs. Eleni, does not understand divorce. She does not understand that people ‘can be so selfish and

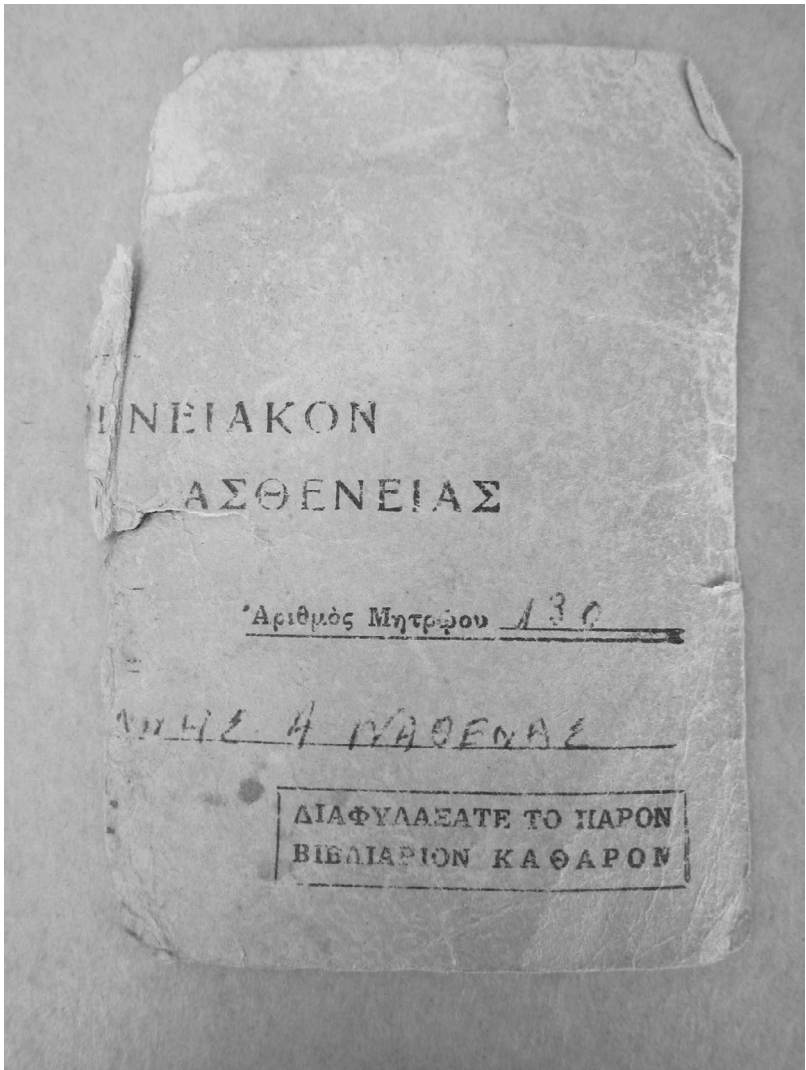


Figure 2.9 (Continued)

leave their families just because they no longer love their spouse'. She was raised in a society where young women would very often not choose their partners, but were simply told who their husband would be. If a couple fell in love without their families' approval, they would have to elope and flee the village, and the man was considered to have 'stolen' his bride. In a social context where marriage was not necessarily for love, but love was rather



Figure 2.9 (Continued)

found in marriage and was reified in children, Mrs. Eleni cannot understand how a family can break up because the couple were no longer in love.

For this older generation of women, the idea of being involved in the protection of their local heritage sites proved to be new and challenging, particularly at the outset of our community engagement activities. These women were raised in a society where adult women played an important role within the household, but where young women would hardly leave the house except to go to the church or to the fountain for water (Figure 3.2). Indeed, as we were told, young ladies used to be so shy about having to queue up for water at the fountain, in view of the men who would be sitting at the adjacent coffee shop, that their trembling hands often dropped their clay water pots and broke them. It is hardly surprising, then, that the women who grew up in this earlier lifestyle today express very little interest in public gatherings or collective initiatives such as the protection of their heritage sites. One of the greatest challenges during the first years of our work in the village was to find a way to engage with these women. Despite the fact that there were more women than men in the village and that they had a rich knowledge of many aspects of village life, they were more reluctant to talk to us, share their knowledge with us and show interest in the heritage with which we were concerned.

One of the first aims of our public engagement work was to find out what aspects of the local heritage were most important to the villagers themselves. They mentioned dozens of different aspects of their heritage, including their dialect, recipes, herbs, cultivars, raki distilling, livestock production, architecture, stonemasonry, music, instrument making, songs, folklore and poetry. It was striking that the peak sanctuary was completely absent from their responses.

The surrounding landscape

The landscape around Gonies has multiple dimensions and a fluid history, much like the village itself. The administrative borders oscillate, and so does individual property ownership. The family pasturelands, although rarely used as such today, are largely recognized by the villagers. Indeed, the density of place names shows a familiar, well-explored landscape that is still employed for a myriad uses. Older Goniots in particular know a great deal about the surrounding landscape, reflecting the fact that they and their ancestors have lived and worked on that land for centuries. Most place names are commonly known, which enables detailed and vivid descriptions about events that took place in many different parts of their landscape. As Gonies controls a relatively large amount of land in the local area, these place names enable a very accurate description of anything that might

happen at almost any given location, thus improving security and the management of livestock and agriculture.

The local landscape is dominated by the peak of Philioremos, which can be seen from far away and which overlooks much of the land owned by the village of Gonies and its residents. Regardless of the significance of the ancient Minoan peak sanctuary site, this peak has been of great importance to the local community in its recent past. When we asked the villagers about its significance, they said, among other things, that it is a viewpoint for their land, a place of independence, a place to escape from their mothers, a refuge from the occupying forces, a place to organize resistance. The wider mountain is also important to them for a number of reasons: it is considered to have medicinal properties, to protect their sheep from sickness as well as from bad weather, to be a place of peace during the summer full moon where music can be played and its echo heard, and to be a border vantage point that must be respected by the surrounding communities as Gonies property, since it defines the borders of their land.

However, the ownership of the local landscape is constantly in flux and is constantly contested. Illustrating this point, a young shepherd from neighboring Anogeia has recently started claiming some land on the other side of Philioremos for himself and his sheep. The locals resist, but also try to steer clear of trouble, knowing that sending the young man off could trigger a vendetta that they want to avoid. The young man's sheep occasionally go up to the peak, staking a claim on land that has long been the pastureland of a Goniot shepherd.

* * *

This very brief account of the recent history of the village demonstrates how, in the course of just a century, a village that was very poor can thrive and then nosedive toward extinction; how a community's success can contribute to its own decline; how wider regional and national phenomena, such as emigration, can often leave specific communities untouched; and how the acts of individuals, such as the Anogeia shepherd, can change the course of events, for better or for worse. This state of flux should alert us to that fact that when in archaeology we typically focus on one site and its immediate vicinity, we are not able to understand wide-scale phenomena, but can only see their local manifestations and can only recognize them as such.

Even more important for our project is an appreciation of the community, the surrounding landscape and its local geopolitics. An understanding of the toils of those who live there to survive, educate themselves and progress gives us an important insight into the possibilities for uses of the landscape by its inhabitants in the more distant past. Understanding the local community and the ways in which it interacts with the landscape is an important key in our understanding of the ancient site itself. Moreover,

understanding the concerns and priorities of the local community helps us understand the ways in which their heritage plays out in the local setting, how we can make it more relevant to them and more useful for their future.

Notes

- 1 There are, however, many Greek villages that falsely claim not to have had an Ottoman past.
- 2 Interestingly, the census of 1890 does not refer to any Muslim residents either at Gonies nor Kamariotis. The locals however do remember Muslims in Kamariotis, and we consider their testimony valuable.
- 3 N. Stavrakis (1890), *Στατιστική του Πληθυσμού της Κρήτης* [Census of the population of Crete], Athens: Τυπογραφείον “Παλιγγενεσία”, appendix 2, p. 43]. This census was completed in 1881.
- 4 The general was abducted near Arkhanes by Fermor, Moss, Tyrakis, Paterakis and others, who, with the support of locals travelled on foot over Mount Ida and through Anogeia (two villages south of Gonies) to the south of the island, and then sent Kreipe to Egypt.
- 5 In 1961, when the population had stopped growing, Gonies was still one of the larger villages in the area, with some 1,055 inhabitants, compared to 307 in Kamaraki, 503 in Astyraki, 1,372 in Tyliossos and 2,548 in Anogeia [Kingdom of Greece (1964)]. By 1972, the precipitous drop in population had begun, with Gonies having 794 inhabitants, compared to 184 in Kamaraki, 351 in Astyraki, 1,167 in Tyliossos and 2,820 in Anogeia [Kingdom of Greece (1972)].
- 6 Raki (Ρακή) is a highly alcoholic beverage distilled in the late fall to early winter from the already pressed and fermenting grapes (locals etymologize the word from *ράκος* – “worn garment” corresponding to the pressed grapes). Elsewhere in Greece the same drink may be called *tsipouro* (τσίπουρο).

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3 Values and the management of heritage

As outlined in Chapter 1, our approach to the Philioremos Peak Sanctuary Public Archaeology Project rapidly became ‘values obsessed’. Through taking a comprehensive and participative approach to assessing the values of the Minoan peak sanctuary site, we not only gained a deeper understanding of the site and what it represents, but we were also able to identify ways to make the site relevant to the local community, place it at the center of their interests and thus engage them in the long-term protection of their heritage.

This chapter discusses some of the theoretical issues that are relevant to such a values assessment, including how heritage values can be construed, their traits, what it means to speak of shared heritage values and how their relevance and importance can be assessed. This paves the way for the Chapter 4 presentation of the values of the Philioremos peak sanctuary site.

Understanding ‘values’ in relation to heritage

Before discussing how values can be assessed, it is necessary to set out an explanation of what we understand here by the term *values* in relation to heritage. This is especially important since there is much literature on heritage values [e.g. Mason and Avrami (2000), 13–26; Carter and Bramley (2002), 175–199; de la Torre et al. (2005); Tengberg et al. (2012), 14–26; Smith et al. (2017)] – reflecting their importance for heritage management – with many different meanings and interpretations.

In line with most of the existing literature on heritage values, the term *values* is here used in its broader sense, referring to ‘semantic content’, as opposed to other more confined senses of the term such as those referring to the ethical (moral values), the economic [e.g. van Wijngaarden (1999), 35–46, using Simmel (1900)], the mathematical (the value of a variable), the psychological [e.g. Cliffe and Parry (1980), 557–570] or the legal sense. In other words, the term *value* is used here as synonymous for the noun *meaning* or, according to semiology, *semantic content*.

More specifically, values are understood as representations, produced through the interaction of the mind with the rest of the world, which means that they do not exist in this world independently. We do not need here to rehearse the extreme skeptic argument – i.e. that there is nothing in the world outside our mind that corresponds to these values – since heritage management would be futile as a field if we were to follow this argument [contra Nagel (2002), 175–186]. Contrary to that line of thought, and following similar reasoning to that of Malafouris, for whom the mind is distributed in the world through artifacts [(2012), 230–231], I would argue that values are to be situated at least partly in the material world, both as the outcome of the interaction between our nervous systems and the physical world, as well as of the apses of physically existing neurons connecting in a particular way. The nervous system itself, its composite neurons, and the rest of the world are all physical entities. And although values seem immaterial, they are in some respects situated in the material world. We may not be able to see the connection between our very tangible nervous systems and heritage or have the ability to perceive the neurons physically connecting in our own brains, but there is no way we can entirely separate heritage values from the material world. For this reason, I will henceforth use inverted commas when I refer to ‘intangible’ heritage, or to the ‘intangibility’ of values. However, it is not useful for our purposes here to demolish the widely used categories of tangible and ‘intangible’ heritage, since they help to distinguish the fabric of a heritage site from its other aspects. It will suffice to say that these are analytical categories that do not represent the world in an absolutely accurate fashion.

‘Heritage’ is itself a value, ascribed to objects, practices, stories, buildings, ruins and so on (Figure 3.1). So when we refer to the values of heritage, we are attributing the very same value of being heritage to all the items and notions to which we apply this term. *Heritage* is yet another term that is used with many different meanings (as happens, for example, with the term *ritual*, or the term *conservation*). For the purposes of this volume, *heritage* is understood as ‘something that comes from or refers to the past’. But, most importantly, *heritage* also makes reference to the present. It is something that has an influence on people today; heritage is something that we inherit; heritage also usually has set or established characteristics, though this is not a definitive trait.

In summary, heritage values can be understood as ‘intangible’ representations – which are often based on both ‘physical’ and ‘intangible’ properties, which individuals associate with sites, objects, activities etc. In our category set of items that we call ‘heritage’, each member has its associated values; it is only in this way that we may talk of ‘heritage values’, i.e. of the ‘values’ of the members of our category ‘heritage’. The heritage site that



Figure 3.1 The windmill of Gonies

Source: Photo: Celine Murphy.

is the main focus of this volume is the peak of Philioremos, a location where villagers of Gonies and then archaeologists discovered a Minoan peak sanctuary site. Archaeologists (the author included) have also associated the peak with a number of ideas about rituals, sanctuaries and the Minoan period

that are 'intangible' projections ascribed to the location itself. According to them, therefore, this peak is a heritage site.

Values, volition and intentionality

As discussed earlier, values, whether heritage values or other, are produced through our interaction with the world. When individuals interact purposefully with the world, i.e. when there is volition, they are called 'agents' [McCann (1998)]. However, people also interact with the world even when they do not want to do so, or when they want to do something else. For instance, when I cut bread, I interact with the knife, the bread, the cutting board and the kitchen table with volition. But at the same time I also interact with the heater in my flat that keeps me warm, the windows that allow in the light so that I can see, the lamp that is switched off, and the floor on which I tread. While cutting the bread I am, therefore, an agent in some but not all of my interactions with the things around me.

It is thus not only as an agent that I interact with the world, and it is not only voluntarily that I acquire or assign values to the world, including to heritage. This is partly because a value is not necessarily only a belief but also a feeling, or an impression; feelings and impressions often do not include something that you *do* because *you want to* (though it should be noted that you do not necessarily have to *want to believe* in order to *believe*). Moreover, feelings and impressions may not even be *about something*, they may be undirected and lack intentionality (or 'aboutness'), which is clearly distinguished from volition [see Searle (1983), 141–159].

To give an example, I may have experienced the cave painting of the bovid in the Lascaux cave [Ruspol (1987)] in passing, during a visit there. I may have experienced fear or awe when I saw it, without necessarily understanding that it represents a bovid, or even thinking that this was a representation of anything. My fear may not have even been *of the bovid*, but rather an undirected fear I just felt when I was in the presence of the mural. That fear or awe will be associated with my experience in the Lascaux cave, even though it does not have any *intentional* content. Indeed, my second visit to the cave may be tainted by that first experience. It would not be surprising therefore, if I felt my heart pounding just at the thought of going into the cave. In other words, I was not an agent when I interacted with the mural, but I interacted with it nonetheless, and I do not have a belief about it, but rather a simple undirected fear or feeling of awe. The omniscient being, or the thinker, or even the critic, may think that it was something that created that fear or awe, but I myself may not be aware of what created the feeling. Having a value for that cave that relates to my undirected feeling of awe means I made an association between that feeling and that part of the cave (not specifically the bovid) that is still *about* that cave (i.e. there is

intentionality there); however if this feeling is so vague, then the intentionality of it will also be vague. In other words, values can be lacking volition, and may have only a very vague sense of intentionality.

But I could also have had a directed fear *of the bovid*, without wanting to see it. Thus I could have interacted with the representation by catching sight of it, and it could have caused me to have a fear *of it* without me actually having meant to see it; I could have merely wanted to pass through the cave, but in doing so I unintentionally saw the representation. In this case, I would have given a value to the bovid without having been an agent in my interaction with it.

Thus, both agents and non-agents have, acquire or assign values to the world, and thus also to heritage. Sometimes these values are not only beliefs about this heritage, but are also feelings or impressions. When it comes to a heritage site such as Philioremos peak, people who climb up to it may feel a sense of accomplishment, pride or freedom – as I did myself and as did many of the local residents whom we interviewed (see Chapter 4). These values become associated with the site, despite the fact that the people who have these feelings or impressions do not intend to do so, and may not even be aware of what it is that gives rise to these feelings.

Assigning values

Individuals may acquire or develop values in relation to, about, or because of heritage through their personal experience with it, through its physical properties, or through others and their beliefs, feelings and impressions (being told, taught or explained). Any heritage, being something set that was created in the past, will usually be related to a long history of these impressions of personal experiences as well as those of others, communicated between individuals, communities and generations, and so on. The greater the audience (the collective group of people who experience heritage directly or indirectly), the more associations, feelings and impressions there will be. The more diverse the audience, the more diverse these associations will be. Moreover, the greater the historic depth, the more historic associations and cultural contexts there will be that will be used as a background or habitus [Searle (1983), 141–159; Bourdieu (1977), 78–87] against which these impressions will be interpreted.

These values are assigned or associated to heritage by individuals who are inspired by the random or purposeful links within the aforementioned interactions. These individuals, the receptacles and co-authors of the values of cultural heritage, can be anyone: visitors, local residents or other stakeholders and groups [Clark (2005/2012), 105–114]. This is a process of individual fermentation, with an endless, creative host of co-authors, a process



Figure 3.2 A recently restored old fountain in Gonies village

Source: Photo: Celine Murphy.

where old and new meanings are (re-)produced through the continuous brewing of these aforementioned elements with time. Heritage values, and indeed all values, can be viewed in the same way as the meanings of statements are seen by Strawson [(1950), 320–344], contra Russell [(1919), 167–180]. Strawson distinguishes between a sentence, a use of a sentence and an utterance of a sentence [Strawson (1950), 325]. To illustrate this, a sentence such as *The King of Greece is valiant* is clear, however utterances of this sentence by different people, or at different times, in different situations will produce totally different semantic contents. Moreover, this sentence may have many uses that may conflict with one another. If the one speaking is the king himself, then this sentence has a different meaning than if it is spoken by a soldier fighting alongside him. If it is an actor who says *The King of Greece is valiant* while acting the role of the King of Greece, he is using the sentence to convey a different meaning than if he says the same words while acting the role of a World War I soldier. If my grandfather, who was born in 1907, uttered that sentence in 1912, 1914 and 1930, he would be making entirely different statements each time, since in 1912 the King of the

Hellenes was George I, in 1914 it was Constantine I, and in 1930 Greece had no king. Thus in the last instance he would be making a false statement, but one which could imply a political affiliation in favor of an exiled ex-king.

The way that Strawson understands the semantic values of a sentence can be applied to anything else with a semantic content, including heritage. Heritage fabric does not have a semantic content on its own; rather it is loaded with meaning only in relation to people, according to specific ‘utterances’ and ‘uses’. In other words, without our knowledge of what the Parthenon is and the history behind it, and without people admiring, visiting or simply beholding it, the stones comprising the Parthenon would be just a pile of rocks. The same applies to the peak sanctuary of Philioremos.

Traits of values

Values can be negative or positive; they can be personal, shared by certain groups or universal; they can be conflicting [Dunnell (1984), 62–74]; they can be relevant or irrelevant. Values can be graded or Boolean [Boole (1848), 183–198];¹ they can be definitive or non-definitive for a given piece of heritage. But, perhaps most interestingly, values are ever changing. This has to do with the individuals who may act as beholders, interpreters, audience and agents. It also has to do with changes in the physical properties, in the conditions (historical, political, environmental or other) in which the interactions take place and in the ways these interactions occur. All these interactions between things, their physical properties, individuals and their beliefs or impressions in multiple contexts are to be seen as a web [Ingold (2010), 91–102], rather than as an agglomeration of bilateral relations.

Values are fluid: not only changing from one person to another, from one community to another, or from one country to another; they also change over time.² That is to say that the values assigned by a person to any given thing at any given time may not be the same as those assigned by the same person for the same thing at another point later in time, much like Strawson’s earlier meanings of sentences. Values, themselves being a product of continuous fermentation, change constantly and ‘feel’ different given the ever-changing context in time, space and situation.

As Goodwin explains [(1994), 607]: ‘An archaeologist and a farmer see quite different phenomena in the same patch of dirt (e.g. soil that will support particular kinds of crops versus stains, features, and artifacts that provide evidence for earlier human activity at this spot).’ In other words, the archaeologist and the farmer (and this can be expanded to include anyone else – the shepherd, the geologist, the structural engineer and so on) will attribute different values to the same patch of soil because of their differing backgrounds, motives and specific circumstances. It is also possible for the

same individual to have differing viewpoints. For example, an archaeologist may be interested to learn about the fertility of the land or about the geological resources in order to better understand an area. At a different point in time, the same archaeologist may conduct excavations in the same spot, looking for different information³ and attributing different values to the same patch of land. In other words, values attributed to heritage have to do with who the beholder is and what he or she has in mind at a specific time; there are, moreover, future values that will be ‘revealed’, or rather created [Lafrenz-Samuels (2008), 85–87].

The Philioremos peak is today recognized both by archaeologists and the local community as being the location of a Minoan peak sanctuary ritual site (Figure 3.3). But what this means to archaeologists is very different from what it means to the local residents (see Chapter 4). Moreover, different members of the local community of Gonies, despite having grown up in the same context, have entirely different and even opposing values for the site. Some women see the mountain as religiously important; shepherds see it as a location for their sheep to graze; farmers see it as infertile land. It is possible that these values will change over time: because of the mountain’s



Figure 3.3 View of Philioremos mountain from the south

Source: Photo: Aris Anagnostopoulos.

distinctive geology, a few of the village residents believe that it may have been deposited by extra-terrestrial aliens, while most dismiss this idea. In a few years from now, it is conceivable that some of them may have stopped believing this story, and will have been convinced by the views of most of their neighbors.

New heritage, new values?

Given the above, the emergence of an archaeological site that is uncovered creates a new location, a type of Foucauldian ‘heterotopia’ [Foucault (1967), 1–9], a locus, a place that focuses attention and ‘gathers’ meaning. It is a place inscribed in memory for the participant, the local and the visitor, and it becomes relevant to them. This is an example of how heritage can acquire new values, or how old values can be brought to the fore and be realigned with a ‘new’ site. On many occasions, without the focus created through an archaeological excavation, the archaeological meaning of the place would not come to the fore, and new meaning would not be accumulated. This meaning may be retrospective, i.e. remembered and associated with the newly excavated site after the event of excavation (‘this peak was where we hid from our mothers when they were scolding us’). But it may also be new, i.e. stemming from scientific discovery, a chance find, new experiences or other.

Values that are confined to a small group of people, or even to a single individual, will not exist for the public until disseminated. For example, if and when experts choose to disseminate their research and ideas through a lecture, publication or a public education program, these values are disseminated to other beholders, i.e. students, readers or the public. In this sense, until disseminated, these values can also be seen as having the dynamic of potential future values. This was an issue with the Philioremos peak sanctuary: details about the archaeological site were mainly known to a few archaeologists. One of the aims of the public archaeology project was to communicate the archaeological values of the site to the local community in ways that would be more appropriate and effective than academic publications, which are by nature targeted to a specialized academic audience. We thought it would be inappropriate for the local community to be indirectly informed about their land and their heritage via an academic publication.

Values beyond material fabric

As mentioned previously, many of the values of a heritage item are based upon, related to, or affected by the material fabric and the way it is perceived by our senses [Dretske (1979), 10–15], which is also part of the basis

on which new values will be formed. But it is not only the fabric of heritage that is important when it comes to its values, rather it is a much wider sphere of interrelations between fabrics, impressions and narratives that constitute the heritage values. This includes both ‘tangible’ and, at least in some ways, ‘intangible’ aspects.

To give an example, gold is precious, but, contrary to what we may initially think, there is no direct relationship between this value and the material properties of the gold *per se*. Gold’s properties of being shiny, malleable and unreactive are only valuable because of certain applications that are useful to us – such as its ability to be crafted into intricate jewelry or stainless coins – which in turn drive a demand for gold, resulting in its relative scarcity and further increasing its value. Pyritic iron oxide (‘fool’s gold’) is not as precious, though it is equally shiny and has a similar appearance, because its properties are not so useful to us. Thus the value of gold is largely connected not only to its relatively fluid and malleable properties as Conneller suggests [(2011), 1–23], but also to ‘prestige’, ‘usefulness’, ‘rarity’ and ultimately ‘monetary value’, all of which are largely ‘intangible’ aspects [for *prestige*, see Plourde (2008), 374–388].

A stone statue may be beautiful or artistically interesting to someone, not only because it has a specific shape, but also because the beholder has specific individual values for what is beautiful, what is interesting and what is not. As mentioned earlier, these values may be only partly or indirectly associated with the material fabric of the statue, or they may not be related to its fabric at all, but rather be associated with its context, use or history, for example.

In fact, it can be argued that the values that are based directly on material fabric are only a minority. The Philioremos peak sanctuary site, for example, is a place that has been in use for millennia. It has been a place of worship, a place where meals were cooked and consumed; where agreements were made and quarrels erupted; where wishes, hopes and despair, love and hate were felt. It was and is a place of economic activity in the form of agriculture and livestock production, a meeting place for people from different communities, a locus of pride and freedom, a place of solitude. Most of these values are largely based on intangible aspects of the site and on local knowledge, as we shall further see in Chapter 4.

Shared values

Heritage values (and all values) may be shared to a greater or lesser extent due to a set of ‘coincidences’. These ‘coincidences’ may be temporal, spatial, educational, contextual, historical or other. Individuals with the same educational background, or the same history, or who are experiencing heritage

on the same occasion, or who share other ‘coincidences’ may have a large number of overlapping values for the same piece of heritage. This overlap gives a sensation of a shared perception and understanding to the respective individuals, despite the fact that no two people will have exactly the same values for the same example of heritage, due to the differences in their habitus or background [Searle (1983), 141–159; Bourdieu (1977), 78–87].⁴

In scholarship, individuals are often grouped together for analytical purposes on the basis of these ‘coincidences’. Examples of very different types of groups that share ‘coincidences’ include a tour group, Buddhists, the middle-aged and the Greeks – i.e. those who, respectively, share the ‘coincidence’ of being in the same place at the same time, of belief, of age or of nationality. Moreover, such groups often have other ‘coincidences’ in common; for example, the participants of a tour group may share similar interests or have similar income levels, and the majority of Greeks may share the belief that the Parthenon was built by their ancestors. Other individuals may speak the same language or at least nominally have the same religion. This means that groups often share a common denominator of ‘coincidences’, thus forming social groups or societies [Mann (1986), 2]. In other words, individuals sharing ‘coincidences’ may be grouped into societies, and it is thus possible to speak of socially shared heritage values, even if we merely imply the existence of an approximate common denominator of values attributed by a number of people to a given piece of heritage.

It is in this way that we can analytically treat the local community of the village of Gonies at the foot of Philioremos as both a group with a number of shared values regarding some of their heritage, but also as many smaller groups: the women, the stonemasons, the shepherds and so on. Similarly, we can also analytically treat the academic community as another group, with certain shared values regarding the heritage site, irrespective of other differences, such as the place of origin or the political views of its members.

Relevance and importance

For effective heritage management, it is essential to identify the shared heritage values. Without identifying these values, it is impossible to identify which aspects of heritage should be protected or enhanced, and in which order of priority. It is mainly in terms of its values that the material fabric of a site is worth protecting, because, in most cases, this fabric is the material on which many of the site’s values are predicated.

The relationship between the physical integrity of a heritage site or an item and its values [Jokilehto (2006), 1–16] is not as simple as it may appear. Parts of the material are more value-relevant than others; small parts may concentrate the majority of values, whereas the remainder may not be

very important. For example, one may lose only 5 percent of an inscribed plaque – the part containing the letters – but lose 90 percent of the values of that plaque. Conversely, one could lose 95 percent of the plaque – everything but the letters – and only lose 5 percent of the values. This holds not just for individual items, but also for heritage collections in museums, for archaeological sites with many buildings, and so on.

Moreover, there are some heritage values that are more important to preserve than others. To continue with the example of the inscribed plaque, the content of the inscription, i.e. what the text means, may give us invaluable information on the linguistics, history and politics of a given era; this would usually be more important than information on the material used for the inscription, whether it is, for example, of blue limestone of the later Cretaceous period. This is partly because the type of stone has little consequence, i.e. it affects only a few other values (such as the fact that this durable material has helped the stone survive the test of time and was perhaps chosen for that reason, or the fact that it may provide a quarry provenance for the stone), but also because this material is not scarce (because there are many similar stones in the world). Without the historical and/or linguistic values of the inscription, the plaque would not be what it is, whereas without the specific material, little would change. The former therefore are definitive values of our inscribed plaque. The latter is a non-definitive value. The clue in this of course, is that we are calling this item, ‘an inscribed plaque’, thus projecting our prejudice that this item is mainly interesting because of its inscription. Had we called it ‘blue cretaceous limestone’, it would be a different story.

A major factor affecting the relative importance of values is the individual who judges and ascribes this relative importance to them (Figure 3.4). If we were geologists, we would probably place more importance on the type of stone, simply because this is what we would be interested in. The values related to geology would be more important for us in that case. We are concerned here, however, with the inscription as heritage, and thus the importance of the opinion of geologists is only tangentially relevant, whereas the opinion of archaeologists, historians, epigraphists and classicists, etc. are far more relevant; the same holds true for the opinion of the local community and the museum visitor or other groups who *value* the above disciplines as ‘experts’. In other words, the relative importance of values has to do with the relevance of the various stakeholders and their own prioritization of values. Moreover, the fact that geologists do not consider this rock to be particularly unique, whereas archaeologists, historians, epigraphists and classicists do, means that the latter will study this item more, pronounce its importance and appropriate it for their sphere of knowledge and expertise. This complicated nexus of values highlights the complexity of identifying,



Figure 3.4 A Wicker plant, appreciated by some for its religious connotations, by others for its medicinal properties, and by others for its use in making baskets

Source: Photo: Celine Murphy.

classifying and prioritizing them for the sake of their successful management and protection.

In the case of the peak sanctuary at Philioremos, a challenge that we faced at the outset of the project stemmed from the fact that the archaeologists considered the primary value of the site to be that of its sacrality in the Minoan period, whereas the local community primarily valued it for other reasons, e.g. as a place of pride and freedom, livestock production and agriculture.⁵ One of the aims of the public archaeology project, without diminishing the relevance of the other important values of the peak, was to attempt to identify common elements between the values of the archaeologist and the local residents, in order to make the site relevant to the local community, as discussed further in Chapter 5.

Classifying heritage values

Both scholars and organizations, including ICOMOS and UNESCO, have tried to simplify and classify heritage values.⁶ Riegl, one of the most prominent scholars who worked on the classification of heritage values [(1928), 144–193], divided them into Historic values, Age versus Newness values, Commemorative values, Use values, and Artistic or Aesthetic values. Although I generally follow his classifications, I will not make reference to specific value categories for the purposes of this volume, so as to demonstrate their enormous variety that cannot be satisfactorily reduced into simplified categories.

The process of classifying heritage values should not detract from their richness as expressed through the multitude of stakeholders and their conflicting or varying priorities, experiences, impressions and motives. The process of classification is rather undertaken for analytic purposes and in order to make the heritage values widely understandable. We would argue that the exercise of identifying the values of heritage should always precede their classification into simplified categories; otherwise the process of value categorization becomes a mere box-ticking process, which, for the sake of simplicity, also simplifies the heritage at hand.

The importance of an open approach to the exploration of heritage values will be further illustrated through presenting the value assessment that was conducted for the Philioremos peak sanctuary site, as indeed will many of the other points raised previously. It is to this case study that we shall therefore now turn.

Notes

- 1 Boolean (in logic) is a system of thought that is used to create binary statements of truth and falsity. A Boolean value can express a truth value that can be true or false. George Boole in his work *The Calculus of Logic* (1848) introduced the concept.

- 2 For the issue of time cf. Weiner, A. (1992), *passim*.
- 3 For the distinction between the words ‘information’, ‘meaning’ and ‘belief’ see Dretske [(2000), 197].
- 4 No two individuals share exactly the same habitus or background [Searle (1983), 141–159; Bourdieu (1977), 78–87] and therefore no two individuals can have identical values about any example of heritage. This is despite the fact that it is possible for the core values associated with an example of heritage by two individuals to be shared. For instance, although two individuals may well be found who have the same core values about the palace of Knossos, there will also be some, albeit peripheral, values that they do not share. One of the two individuals may, for example, associate Knossos with owls and other birds of prey because of his or her specific interests. The other individual may associate Knossos with the place he or she used to go for romantic walks. Thus these two individuals may have a sense that they share the same values for the site, yet what they share are only the core values of the site, a common denominator.
- 5 Though it is beyond the scope of this volume, it is worth noting that some geologists primarily value the site as an ultramafic, serpentinitic knoll with interesting, ultramafic-tolerant flora.
- 6 For example the ICOMOS Burra Charter.

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4 The values of the Philioremos peak sanctuary site

The first aim of our public archaeology project was to inform our research on the Philioremos peak sanctuary. We wanted to learn as much as we possibly could about the site and its surrounding area from the local community living beside it. The values assessment that we carried out proved to be a key not only for improving our understanding of the site, but also for our goal of engaging with and empowering the local community. This chapter explains how our values assessment was conducted and presents the main findings, namely the values of the Philioremos peak sanctuary site. The chapter also explores the tangible and intangible bases of these values, and how these are related to academic knowledge as well as to local knowledge and beliefs. Finally, some observations are made about the implications of the bases of these values for researching, protecting and promoting heritage values.

Methods of data collection

As is common procedure for heritage values assessment, our research on the values of the Philioremos peak sanctuary site began with bibliographic research. Relevant academic publications were reviewed, including those relating to past excavations by Alexiou [(1966), 322; (1967), 480–488], the work of Rutkowski and Nowicki [(1987), pl. XI], the map of the Institute for Geological and Metallurgical Studies of Greece for the area, studies on the local flora [Brooks (1987); Cecchi et al. (2013), 269–289], as well as other studies on peak sanctuaries [e.g. Kyriakidis (2005); Peatfield (2009), 251–259].

We studied various archives, which potentially contained information about the site, the village of Gonies and the surrounding area. This included both Venetian and Ottoman archives, records from the local library, church and school, as well as sheep-grazing land records, registration documents for horses, donkeys and mules, and the detailed records of all the village inhabitants made by the occupying German forces during the Second World War.

Ethnographic research of the local community in the village of Gonies was a main source of data on the values of the site. This included more than 1,200 semi-structured one-to-one interviews with more than 230 individuals, including almost all of the inhabitants who could be interviewed as well as some of the village diaspora in nearby Gazi and Herakleion. Some individuals were interviewed multiple times. Among other things, these interviews gathered data on the significance of the peak for the local residents, the ways in which they themselves interacted with the peak and the surrounding landscape, the recent history of the site and surrounding area, the period of the independent Cretan polity (1897–1913), the German occupation, local geopolitics, borders, gender relations, as well as local stories and techniques of farming, building, livestock production, beekeeping, snail consumption, cheese making, local vegetation, place names, and so on. Some of the one-to-one interviews were conducted outdoors, often while walking or driving along a known path, to a well-known pastureland, different important locales or specific neighborhoods.

Many of the interviews were conducted by our embedded local anthropologist, Aris Anagnostopoulos, who spoke the local dialect and lived in the village during different seasons of the year, as well as by other team members (especially Eleni Stefanou, Céline Murphy and myself) at specific times of the year. From the third year of the project onward, interviews were also conducted by our summer program students, who attended our four-week summer workshop on public engagement in heritage management. Some trusted local informants also became active ethnographers themselves.

Another ethnographic research method that contributed to the data collection of the values of the site was the use of group discussions or informal focus groups with a few informants who had specific knowledge of a specific topic of interest (Figure 4.1). These often took place in the village coffee shop. For example, a discussion about how the peak was used for livestock production was conducted with a number of local shepherds, an exploration of local stonemasonry techniques was made with a number of stonemasons and builders, and the medicinal properties of the local plants were discussed with a number of women from the village who had knowledge of this subject.

Participant observation was another way for us to gain information on the values of the site, undertaken by our embedded anthropologist, who followed members of the local community in their day-to-day activities for several months, and after a point also by other members of our team and by summer workshop students. In particular, observation of members of the local community using material culture and their interaction with the landscape proved particularly valuable for gathering data that the community members may not have considered to be worth mentioning to us.



Figure 4.1 People arriving at the second public meeting of our project in 2011 at the Cultural Association of Gonies

Source: Photo: Celine Murphy.

Finally, we also organized a total of 13 public meetings in the first five years of the project. They focused on a number of topics, including the values of the mountain peak, the aspects of heritage that were important to the community, clay production, textile manufacturing, as well as on the problems of illicit digging for antiquities.

Detailed notes were kept of each session, with each ethnographer keeping a diary with information that was then centrally compiled. On occasions the interviews and meetings were audio recorded with the agreement of those present. Video recording was also used on a few occasions, including during some itinerant one-to-one interviews and special events, such as those involving music, sheepshearing and building.

All information gathered from meetings, interviews or archival work had to be cross-referenced by individuals who were not directly related to the initial informants. Closed questions (i.e. those that could be answered with a simple yes or no response) were largely avoided because the relatively small sample population would limit the validity of statistical analysis

based on closed questions. However, closed questions were used for cross-referencing information, and in such cases the closed questions were added to the main interview. In order to minimize any potential conflict or bias in the responses, and in order to ensure quality in the cross-referencing of information, we had to explore the ancestry of each individual and the relations between individuals at work, in friendships and in blood or marriage relationships. This was possible in such detail due to the small number of potential informants.

This engagement with the local community necessitated a good understanding of the different social, power and professional dynamics of that community. We needed to work with members of the community and their social structures without undermining their agency and authority. This was important for building a relationship of trust with the community members, which was crucial in all aspects of our public engagement work. The work of our embedded local anthropologist was particularly important in this respect.

Our research methods were refined over time, as we discovered that certain groups, such as the women, were harder to reach and certain types of information were harder to obtain, such as that relating to some supernatural beliefs. In order to ensure that the women were well represented in the data collection, we had to change our approach, including adding more women ethnographers to our team, adapting the structure of the interviews to begin with subjects that the women wanted to talk about in order to break the ice, and conducting additional outreach activities (see Chapter 5). It took five years of building trust before certain types of information were disclosed, including some matters that the community members avoid bringing up with one another.

The values of the site

As a result of this extensive bibliographical, archival, ethnographic and multidisciplinary research we were able to put together the main values of our mountaintop heritage site. These values are listed below.

1. Minoan ritual and religion

The Philioremos peak is a good representative of the category of Minoan peak sanctuary sites, especially during the Middle Minoan Periods II and III. Peak sanctuaries were primarily used for rituals and, because of their remoteness and separation from habitation sites, they are the clearest possible candidates for Minoan religious sites. They are therefore extremely valuable for offering insights into Minoan ritual and religious practice.

2. Sacrality

The site's significance as a Minoan ritual site relates to the value of sacrality. However, the peak is also associated with sacrality today, as testified by the presence of the church of the Prophet Elias, which was constructed in the 1960s. Even before the construction of the church, village residents remember that women would go to the peak to pray and burn incense (Patakogiorgis pers. com. 1998 and repeated 2011). The explanation given for this is that 'there was no better place to pray' (Eleni Fthenou pers.com June 2016).

Indeed, the very name of the mountain, *Philioremos* – meaning 'the one that likes solitude' – is a name associated with solitude, sacrality and sheep, as is argued elsewhere [Kyriakidis (2018), 205–210]. In early Christian times, when the mountain most likely acquired this name, the name was clearly associated with the Holy Spirit, and it therefore seems likely that *Philioremos* was also considered a holy mountain then.

The existence of the modern church in combination with the local lore makes locals believe that the hill has a diachronic sacral value. The archaeological remains, partly uncovered in the 1960s, are to them a confirmation of this sacred value. In other words, sacrality has been a leading value of the mountain peak through many phases of history.

The value of sacrality can also be linked to various other values of the site, including prominence, high visibility, freedom and medicinal values, described in the text that follows.

3. Visibility

The site enjoys incredible visibility over a large part of Crete and, perhaps more importantly, over the fertile surrounding area. For members of the local community, this visibility is linked to various historic events, both in the distant and more recent past. At the end of the nineteenth century, the revolutionary committee against Ottoman rule was for some time stationed either on the peak or in the village of Gonies. More recently, toward the end of the Second World War, a local band of guerillas organized sabotage attacks from the peak against the occupying German forces.

4. Prominence

Visibility from above also means great prominence from below. The peak is a reference point for the entire area, being visible from very far away, and a great point for orientation, even from as far away as the sea. This prominence – which is a characteristic of all Minoan peak sanctuaries – is, in the case of this site, uniquely enhanced by its geological features, the whole hill being a gray-green-brown serpentinitic knoll in an otherwise gray,



Figure 4.2 Geobotanist Roger Reeves in the area between Gonics and Sisarcha in an outcrop of *Alyssum Baldacii*

Source: Photo: Roger Reeves and Michael Stamatakis (1992).

phyllitic-rock landscape. The prominence of the peak is also increased by its unique flora [see Brooks (1987) and Figure 4.2].

5. Economic importance

The high visibility enjoyed by the site also associates it with economic interests, as from the peak one can oversee most of the economic activities taking place in the greater area. Moreover, the very fact that this is a peak sanctuary, and most such sites are associated with livestock production [Peatfield (1987), 92], also connects this site with economic activity. Indeed the majority of the peak sanctuary figurines discovered in the site represent livestock animals.

6. Strategic position

Its high visibility also gives the site a strategic importance, as from it one can see all movements in and out of this area. Crucially, the peak sanctuary is not too far away from human activity (it is not on the highest peak in the broader area) while being extremely prominent; in other words, it occupies the best possible position for monitoring the maximum area of human

activity. This superior strategic position is likely to have been central to the emergence of the ritual site in the first place.

7. Freedom

Partly related to the values of visibility and prominence, the notion of freedom is another value associated with the peak. As summarized in the words of local resident Nathenandreas, who was then 92 years old:

[T]he peak is all we have, it is our freedom, when our mothers scolded us, we would run to the peak to escape punishment, when the Nazis had come we would run up there to organize ourselves, . . . that is where we would hide; on every occasion we would see this as a place of freedom.
[pers. com. Nathenandreas (May 2012)]

8. Stonemasonry

This peculiar geology is related to the fact that Gonies is one of the most important villages for stonemasonry in northern central Crete today. Impressive stone buildings including houses, bridges, mills, small dams and a church are testimony to the skills of local stonemasons, who in the last few decades have been exported out of the village for several building projects around the island. Members of the local community attribute these skills to the difficult nature of the local serpentinite rock of Philioremos, which due to its nature does not lend itself easily to be carved into blocks.

9. Agriculture

The mountain is a testament to the agricultural history of the area, as it features historic retaining walls, one of the few windmills the area ever had, terracing for agriculture and threshing floors, located lower in the village. The ethnographic study revealed that the whole mountain was harvested until the 1970s. The high visibility of the peak is also linked to its importance for agriculture, as from the peak one can see all cultivations in the area, and who is tending them, as well as the main natural resources, including water and building materials (see Foreword).

10. Livestock production

Sheep and livestock have also been closely associated with the Minoan peak sanctuary and the mountain through the ages. Such a connection is supported through the presence of a large number of Minoan figurines of livestock



Figure 4.3 Small animal figurines from Philioremos: a group of sheep
Source: Photo: Yannis Papadakis.

animals (bovids and caprids), both on their own and in groups (Figure 4.3), which were discovered in the peak sanctuary. Moreover, the current importance of the mountain as a place to seek protection from bad weather during transhumance, and as a healing place for animals (see the following), may also apply to other periods. The mountain's possible diachronic importance as a neutral place for dividing pasturelands or viewing and surveying the livestock production in the greater area is also notable. These values may be reflected in the very name of the mountain, *Philioremos* [Kyriakidis (2018), 205–210].

11. Medicinal properties

The local community identifies the peak with powerful medicinal attributes, linked to the large number of herbs with medicinal properties that grow there. Indeed it is notable that at the end of the nineteenth century, the

peak was known locally by the nickname *Amabillo*, after Amabile Ittar (1852–1904), a famous doctor and vice consul of Italy and France to Crete, as it was believed that the mountain, like the doctor, was able to save lives. Some of the local shepherds still continue the nineteenth-century practice of taking the sheep up the mountain to cure them from illnesses including anthrax disease.

12. Unique flora

The unique geology of the peak has also resulted in some unique flora, which, unlike the surrounding area, blossoms mainly in yellow [for *Alyssum Baldaccii*, see Brooks (1987); Reeves et al. (1997), 205–207]. As already noted above, the flora of the mountain is also related to the medicinal values that the local community attribute to the peak, due to the large number of medicinal herbs that grow there.

13. Impressive fauna

Due to the decrease in the village population over recent decades and the associated decrease in cultivations, and therefore in the use of pesticides and herbicides used in the greater area, the wildlife of the area has increased. Birds of prey – including vultures and vulture eagles, owls, hawks and buzzards – are numerous. Colorful migratory birds as well as native larks, badgers, weasels, snakes and lizards, numerous coleoptera (including horned dung beetles), many spiders (some with local names), termites and scorpions can be easily spotted.

14. Natural beauty

Both the local residents and visitors to the area appreciate the wild beauty of the peak, thanks to the landscape and geology, as well as the diversity of flora and fauna (Figure 4.4).

The ‘tangible’ and ‘intangible’ bases of the values

It is evident from the prior descriptions that the values of Philioremos as a heritage site are often predicated on material aspects, including the fabric of the archaeological site, but also its geology, the surrounding landscape, the fauna and the flora, the inhabitants and their property, other heritage in the area and other tangible aspects of the site itself or the area around it. However, it is also clear that many of the values of Philioremos are also based on ‘intangible’ or less tangible aspects such as expert knowledge, religion, local



Figure 4.4 The peak of Philioremos as seen from the road to Tylissos and Herakleion
Source: Photo: Evangelos Kyriakidis

lore, history, family relations, stories, games and play, feelings of freedom, experiences of war and many others.

Table 4.1 shows that the main values of the given heritage site are all, at least in part, predicated both on some tangible material fabric as well as on intangible aspects. Depending on the value, however, the association with the material fabric may be more or less important. There are some values for which the material fabric is essential. For example, the geomorphology and the landscape are essential to the value of *visibility* (value no. 3). Similarly, sheep are essential to the value of *livestock production* (value no. 10) in relation to current times, and the Minoan movable finds of sheep figurines are essential for this value in relation to Minoan times. However, there are also other values for which the material fabric is not essential. For example, the physical presence of the church is not essential for the value of *sacrality* (value no. 2).

Conversely, several values are based primarily on intangible factors. For example, the value of *freedom* (value no. 7) is predicated in part on the landscape, but even more important are ‘intangible’ aspects such as local attitudes,

Table 4.1 The values of the Philiremos peak sanctuary and their ‘tangible’ and ‘intangible’ bases, as identified through our values assessment (in bold the archaeological material)

No.	Value	‘Tangible’ bases (archaeological material in bold)	‘Intangible’ bases
1	Minoan ritual/ religion	Minoan architecture , Minoan movable finds , landscape, location, visibility	Scholarship on Minoan ritual and religion
2	Sacrality	Minoan architecture , movable Minoan finds , and twentieth-century church architecture, landscape	Scholarship on various phases of the past and present, local knowledge of the recent past and the present
3	Visibility	Geomorphology, landscape	Local attitudes, local knowledge of the surrounding landscape that helps for greater detail in vision, scholarship on peak sanctuaries
4	Prominence	Landscape, geology, flora	Local history, local embodied knowledge, scholarship on peak sanctuaries
5	Economic importance	Landscape, Minoan movable finds , Minoan and post-Minoan architecture	Local labor, skills and professional history, current skills and professions, current knowledge of the detail of the surrounding landscape. Scholarship on archaeology and anthropology of the area and peak sanctuaries.
6	Strategic position	Landscape	Recent history of battles in the area in the oral tradition, scholarship about past battles, knowledge about the landscape and its strategic potential
7	Freedom [and consequently pride]	Landscape	Local attitudes, personal lives in the area, local history and knowledge, visibility, some minor written sources in scholarship
8	Stonemasonry	Minoan and post-Minoan architecture , twentieth-century church architecture, geology	Stonemasonry skills in the area, its local history, scholarship on Minoan stonemasonry

9	Agriculture	Retaining walls , landscape	Knowledge of agricultural technology of the recent past and on the recent uses and ownership of the landscape; scholarship on the greater political, economic, and social environment of agriculture in the past
10	Livestock production	Sheep today, Minoan movable finds , landscape, flora	Knowledge on livestock, dairy, leather, and wool technology of the area.; scholarship of the patterns of livestock production elsewhere and of the political, economic and social environment for the various periods of the past; knowledge of the landscape and its uses now and in the recent past
11	Medicinal properties	Flora	Local knowledge of the medicinal uses of the local flora and where or when it is to be found, science of plant pharmacology
12	Unique flora	Flora	Scholarship on flora of Crete/Greece and knowledge about the area through scholarship, local knowledge about the plants
13	Impressive fauna	Fauna	Scholarship on fauna of Crete/Greece and knowledge about the area through scholarship, local knowledge about the animals, insects, spiders and scorpions
14	Natural beauty	Flora, fauna, landscape, geomorphology	Local, regional, national, multinational perspectives on what is beautiful and how these are framing the landscape; knowledge about the landscape

local history and knowledge. Indeed, overall, the variety of ‘intangible’ bases is greater than that of their tangible counterparts.

Archaeological and non-archaeological material

It is notable that the archaeological material fabric (marked in bold text in Table 4.1), including both the ancient architecture and the movable finds (which are now largely stored or in some instances exhibited in the Herakleion Archaeological Museum), is associated only with a few of the values of the peak sanctuary site. Specifically, the archaeological material is related only to the values of *Minoan ritual* (value no. 1), *sacrality* (value no. 2), *economic importance* (value no. 5), *agriculture* (value no. 9) and *livestock production* (value no. 10). Moreover, this archaeological material is essential for only three values, namely those of *Minoan ritual* (value no. 1), *sacrality* during Minoan times (value no. 2) and *livestock production* during Minoan times (value no. 10). On the other hand, non-archaeological material fabric – including the landscape, the flora, fauna and the geomorphology of the area – is related to all values of the peak sanctuary.

In other words, in the case of the Philioremos peak sanctuary site, the non-archaeological fabric is associated with a far greater number of values than the archaeological fabric itself. It is possible that this specific site is exceptional in this respect, and that similar findings would not be observed in other archaeological sites to such an extent. Nevertheless, this finding highlights the potential importance of other types of fabric beyond the archaeological fabric, as well as of the ‘intangible’ aspects on which many heritage values may be predicated. The fact that the archaeological material is essential for only a minority of the values (in this and potentially in many other heritage sites) is perhaps startling. Yet it is possible that archaeologists have noticed this for decades now without openly declaring it. Indeed, King had noted in 1985 that archaeologists in the USA had to promote the relationship between values and physical fabric in order to counter agencies ‘that seek every excuse to avoid having to identify and think about historic properties that are threatened by their actions’ [King (1985), 171]. In some parts of the world, therefore, the threat from the way agencies acted played a role in how archaeologists laid more emphasis on the relationship between the archaeological material and values, at the expense of the relationship between the non-archaeological material and values, or between ‘intangible’ aspects and values. Although it is truly important for many reasons to stress the links between heritage sites and the archaeological material fabric, for the purposes of our analysis we have to see things in a wider perspective.

It can be argued that, precisely because the archaeological fabric *per se* may be essential for only a few of the overall values of a site, any strategy

for the protection of heritage values should include measures to protect the surrounding context, the landscape, other aspects of local heritage, and indeed all of the important ‘tangible’ and ‘intangible’ bases of the values that, over time, have become inextricably linked to a specific heritage site.

Values, constituent values and their bases

Having looked at the variety of both ‘tangible’ and ‘intangible’ elements upon which values are based, it is now important to elaborate further on these connections, as they are not straightforward.

As we saw earlier, there are elements that are essential for the presence of a value, others that are important and others that are merely tangential to a value. For example, the landscape as fabric is essential for the value of the location of the peak sanctuary at a prominent place of *visibility* (value no. 3). The same fabric (landscape) is important, but not essential, for the value of *freedom* (value no. 7) associated with the peak sanctuary, i.e. the central and prominent location in the landscape that permits a high visibility and prominence, but also helps defensibility and strategic importance, can also instill a feeling of freedom and therefore also pride.

The same goes for the ‘intangible’ factors too. There are ‘intangible’ aspects that are essential, important or merely tangential to a given value. For example, the knowledge of the local community is of limited importance to the value of *Minoan ritual* (value no. 1). This is to say that, as archaeologist academics are recognized today as being the most knowledgeable experts on *Minoan ritual*, the knowledge of the local community is not considered relevant in this case. Local knowledge, however, is of greater importance when it comes to the value of *visibility* (value no. 3), since only the local residents know how their lives revolve around the peak of the mountain, how one can survey the surrounding area and what can be seen; local knowledge enhances vision and makes it possible to accurately survey the land from the peak. Local knowledge, moreover, is essential for the value of *freedom* (value no. 7) associated with the site. In both these cases, the knowledge of the academics is considered of lesser relevance.

Indeed, many values comprise more specific or constituent values and can be expressed in different terms that are more or less specific to these constituent values. For instance, the *livestock production* (value no. 10) can be expressed more specifically as *livestock production in periods x, y and z*, thus making reference to a number of different types of livestock production in the various periods of history. This means that a specific fabric, and especially archaeological material, may refer to only one of those specific periods, and therefore to only one of the constituent values of the overall value of *livestock production*.

Moreover, it is possible for a part of a given category of heritage fabric to be associated with a part of a value category. There are several Minoan animal figurines that have been found at the Philioremos peak sanctuary. The figurines are mainly of three types: firstly individual animal figurines, secondly individual human figurines and thirdly figurine groups. Many examples of the first type of animal figurines have been found, and most of them represent bovinds or caprids, therefore being relevant to the value of *livestock production* (value no. 10). Among the figurine groups that have been found, one is clearly relevant to *livestock production*, as it represents a flock of sheep (Figure 4.3). It could be said that these figurines or figurine groups are associated only with the constituent value *livestock production in the Middle Minoan II-III periods* as they are dated to that specific period. The remaining figurines that have been found at the site are irrelevant to the value *livestock production*. This means that only a very specific part of the movable archaeological finds makes reference to or is associated with this specific constituent value.

This means that the loss of just a few relevant movable items (the relevant figurines) will lead to the loss of the material basis that is necessary to study and demonstrate the *Middle Minoan II-III* constituent part of *livestock production* (value no. 10), but not the rest of the constituent parts of that value.

If we wanted to quantify this with some greater accuracy, the proportion of the movable finds from the peak sanctuary relevant to the value *livestock production* (value no. 10) is approximately 5 percent of the approximately 3,500 movable items found at the site. Of these however, the single most relevant item is the group of sheep (Figure 4.3). While there are many examples of individual animal figurines, five to ten of them would be sufficient to represent all different stylistic sub-categories. So, once studied, out of the total number of relevant items, only five to ten figurines (one of each sub-type of animal figurine) together with the figurine of a group of sheep would be necessary to preserve the concomitant values. In other words, only a handful of archaeological finds are sufficient for the preservation of the *Middle Minoan II-III* constituent part of the value *livestock production* (value no. 10) or only 0.2–0.4 percent of the collection of the mobile archaeological finds. Moreover, photographs, sketches, and descriptions of these items will mitigate part of the loss, should these items be destroyed. And, as far as this particular value is concerned, the Minoan architecture and all the other finds at the site are entirely irrelevant. In other words, the role played by the archaeological finds in the preservation or enhancement of the value of *livestock production* (value no. 10) is important, yet only a small fraction of all the material discovered is essential for only one constituent part of this value category. This has important repercussions that will be discussed further.

On the other hand, the role of the landscape (another aspect of the ‘tangible’ material fabric of the site) through the ages is very significant for the same value of *livestock production* (value no. 10) because both the livestock production itself and its effects can be directly seen and monitored from the peak at any time, thanks to the layout of the landscape. Moreover, paths used by the shepherds, shepherds’ huts, pens, as well as grazing grounds (together with the animals themselves) are crucial for livestock production and are elements of the landscape. For this particular value category, a significant proportion of the landscape affects or has been affected by livestock production. If the landscape changes, the experience as well as the relevance of the value to livestock production also changes. Indeed this seems to be the case in many heritage sites whereby the surrounding area, the landscape and the natural environment are features that are inextricably linked with the fabric of heritage [Jokilehto (2006), 1–16].

Moreover, there are several local ‘intangible’ assets that are inextricably related to the same value category, such as knowledge about livestock production and the relevant technology associated with butchery, the dairy industry, leather production, the local history of livestock production, the stories of the local shepherds, their songs, the special way they communicate to one another from one mountain to another, their superstitions and beliefs. These are essential for the presence of the value of *livestock production* (value no. 10), especially its constituent part that pertains to the last two centuries.

This means therefore that many current approaches to managing heritage, for example through risk management [Baer (1991), 27–36; Antomarchi et al. (2005), 117–140], conservation work, education and tourism arguably do only a partial job of preserving and promoting heritage assets. Initiatives for the protection and promotion of this and other sites’ values have to include the protection of non-archaeological ‘tangible’ bases such as landscape, but also research and education for the protection and promotion of the ‘intangible’ bases, alongside the more standard conservation of architecture, artifacts and other archaeological finds.

The academic and the local ‘intangible’ bases of the values

When it comes to the ‘intangible’ bases of the various values, a further distinction can be made between aspects that are related to academic or other recognized ‘expert’ knowledge and aspects that are related to local knowledge, beliefs and experiences. Of course, the borders between the two are fuzzy and overlapping. There are often cases of scientific information, which is disseminated in the local community, as well as instances where

local scientists as members of the community itself are aware of both the relevant research and the local information.

As Table 4.1 illustrates and Table 4.2 elaborates, almost all of the values of the Philioremos peak sanctuary site are predicated at least partly on academic or recognized expert-based knowledge and partly on local knowledge and beliefs, though in varying proportions depending on the value in question. While academic research undoubtedly has an important role to play, for many of the values the importance of local knowledge is equal to, if not greater than, the academic expertise. This leads to the very important conclusion that the knowledge of the local community is an essential element of both the research as well as the preservation and management of heritage. Local residents are often equal to experts, if not more important in some respects, when it comes to specific heritage values.

On one hand, academic scholarship is responsible for putting things both into context and into a wider perspective. In our case, it may help us understand economic activity during various historical periods as well as to understand emigration from the village in the wider contexts of Crete, Greece and the world in that period. Scholars may be able to offer the creation of new knowledge through discovery, the dissemination of local beliefs far beyond the community, the contextualization of these beliefs and, occasionally, an intervention in the local community through the introduction of new ideas, as well as the weaving of old ones into new forms. Academic scholarship opens up entire new areas of knowledge and is essential for most of what we nowadays can claim to know at the supra-local level.

The values of the heritage site in question are much richer but also become more relevant to local stakeholders because of expert local knowledge, beliefs and experiences. Indeed, this richness of local knowledge very frequently becomes 'scientific' through academic research. And through this process, a local site, enriched and germinated further by academic research, becomes more relevant for the local communities. The local relevance of a site is truly essential for its protection and the dissemination of local heritage (see also Chapter 5). Without the 'intangible' bases of the values that are related to local knowledge, beliefs and experiences, a site would not only be less interesting, but it would also be irrelevant, disconnected from its environment.

In the case of our site, the values assessment made clear that, although the value that we were most interested in (*Minoan ritual*) was of limited interest to the local community, there were in fact many other values that were of great interest to them, values that were relevant to both their day-to-day lives as well as the Minoan site. For example *livestock production*, which seems to have been a key theme of the Minoan peak sanctuary (given the plethora of livestock figurines) is very relevant to the modern daily economy and

Table 4.2 The academic and the local 'intangible' bases of the values of the Philofermos peak sanctuary

<i>No.</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Academic or recognized 'expert' based</i>	<i>Local 'expertise' or knowledge</i>
1	Minoan ritual/ religion	Scholarship on Minoan ritual and religion.	[Scholarship impact on local lore]
2	Sacrality	Scholarship on various phases of the past and present	Local knowledge of the recent past and the present
3	Visibility	Scholarship on peak sanctuaries	Local attitudes, local knowledge of the surrounding landscape that helps for greater detail in vision
4	Prominence	Scholarship on peak sanctuaries	Local history, local embodied knowledge
5	Economic importance	Scholarship on archaeology and anthropology of the area and peak sanctuaries	Local labor, skills and professional history, current skills and professions, current knowledge of the detail of the surrounding landscape
6	Strategic position	Scholarship about past battles	Recent history of battles in the area in the oral tradition; knowledge about the landscape and its strategic potential
7	Freedom [and consequently pride]	Some minor written sources in scholarship	Local attitudes, personal lives in the area, local history and knowledge; visibility
8	Stonemasonry	Scholarship on Minoan stonemasonry	Stonemasonry skills in the area, its local history
9	Agriculture	Scholarship on the greater political, economic, and social environment of agriculture in the past	Knowledge of agricultural technology of the recent past and on the recent uses and ownership of the landscape
10	Livestock production	Scholarship of the patterns of livestock production elsewhere and of the political, economic and social environment for the various periods of the past	Knowledge on livestock, dairy, leather, and wool technology of the area; knowledge of the landscape and its uses now and in the recent past
11	Medicinal properties	Science of plant pharmacology	Local knowledge of the medicinal uses of the local flora, and where or when it is to be found
12	Unique flora	Scholarship on flora of Crete/Greece and knowledge about the area through scholarship	Local knowledge about the plants
13	Impressive fauna	Scholarship on fauna of Crete/Greece and knowledge about the area through scholarship	Local knowledge about the animals, insects, spiders and scorpions
14	Natural beauty		Local, regional, national, multinational perspectives on what is beautiful and how these are framing the landscape; knowledge about the landscape

interests in Gonia. Similarly, *stonemasonry* is relevant to both the Minoan site and the local community today. It is notable that the type of non-local stone that was employed for the corner blocks of the peak sanctuary building is in fact the very same type used for cornerstones in the region today. The identification of these continuously shared values played a crucial part in the community engagement work of our project, as discussed in Chapter 5.

Researching, promoting and protecting values

The fact that heritage values are based on both academic and local knowledge has implications for the ways in which they can be researched, protected and promoted.

In order to research the bases of the values that are linked to academic or recognized expert knowledge, interviewing the relevant ‘experts’ and conducting bibliographical research often suffices to gather the information necessary. However, in order to research the ‘intangible’ bases of the values that are related to local knowledge and beliefs, ethnographic research methods are needed.

When it comes to the preservation of heritage values, the academic ‘intangible’ has, by its nature, been written down, taught and communicated to an international community of scholars. In this respect it is quite protected from most threats. Once studied, measured, counted, recorded, photographed, drawn and published, material culture in its overwhelming majority becomes less essential to the preservation of the corresponding heritage values. The very act of classification, detailed study and full recording of the material culture discovered has multiple positive effects. It contributes to the creation of new and the propagation of old heritage values, while also protecting them, reducing their dependence on fragmented, perishable archaeological materials. These should be carefully conserved, of course, because other aspects of their material existence are essential for other current and future values and because they will be the object of further research that will help us understand or enrich our understanding of heritage in the future.

The frequent weaknesses of the academic study of archaeological material culture – namely that it is often one-sided, shared only among very few people and that it can occasionally be essentialist – can all be mitigated by including ethnographic research into our research strategies, by providing education programs to disseminate the knowledge and by the actively engaging of the local community.

On the other hand, the aspects of the values that are related to local lore, that which is to be identified through ethnographic research, are much more susceptible to change and are more affected by changes in the social,

political and economic environment than their studied and academically recorded counterparts. A changing environment may ultimately make a value entirely irrelevant. In the case of the Philioremos site, the local knowledge currently related to *livestock production* (value no. 10) is relevant due to the current sociopolitical and physical environment. If, however, climate change or other changes make other types of land use more profitable (thus also changing the sociopolitical environment), then that knowledge may become obsolete and may ultimately be forgotten. While academic research can play an important role in documenting local knowledge and beliefs, it cannot on its own preserve them in the sense of keeping them alive among the local communities themselves.

Thus, in order to protect and promote the ‘intangible’ aspects of heritage values that are based within local communities, education programs and awareness-raising activities and events have an important role to play in maintaining and spreading relevant knowledge. It is important that these education programs take into account and enhance the feeling that local knowledge is fluid, that local ‘traditions’ are varied and that local stories have many variants, so as not to impoverish the local communities’ ‘intangible’ heritage by adherence to an academic ‘standard’.

In summary, the values assessment for the Philioremos peak sanctuary site has helped to highlight the fact that many heritage values have ‘intangible’ bases, and that these are likely to be related to both academic and local knowledge, beliefs and experiences. This emphasizes how important it is for the preservation programs of heritage sites to include activities to protect and promote the locally held ‘intangible’ bases for heritage values, in order to complement conservation programs that are typically designed to protect only the relevant tangible fabric. Such programs should also include research on the ‘intangible’ aspects of the site’s values, as well as the more usual surveys of the tangible material. Such preservation programs should therefore not only include conservators but also anthropologists and educators. It is along these lines that we designed the public archaeology program at the Philioremos peak sanctuary site, and it is to the methodology of this program that we shall now turn.

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5 A ‘community empowerment’ approach to public archaeology

Our public archaeology project had two complementary aims: first to inform our research on Philioremos peak sanctuary, and second to engage and empower the local community of the village of Gonies to become long-term guardians of their heritage, including this site. The activities concerned with the first of these aims have already been described in Chapter 4; this chapter is concerned with the second aim. As noted in Chapter 1, our project developed a ‘community empowerment’ approach to public archaeology, whereby the local community, namely the residents of the village of Gonies, were involved as equals and given the tools to promote, protect and manage the values of their heritage as legitimate stakeholders in heritage management. As presented in Chapter 1, our approach combined aspects of a number of other existing approaches to public archaeology, including the ‘multiple perspectives’, the ‘education’ and the ‘critical’ approaches [see Chapter 2 as well as Okamura and Matsuda (2011), 5–7]. However, our approach differed from all these by aiming at a more equitable distribution of power [Smith et al. (2014), 5–7; see also Carman (2011), 490–501] between the key stakeholders. The purpose of this chapter is to explain our strategy as well as the activities and techniques we used with this approach.

The situation at the start of the project

At the beginning of our project, the views of the residents of Gonies toward the Philioremos peak sanctuary were, at best, ambivalent. The community was aware of the existence of the archaeological site. The activities of the Archaeological Service in their area were also recorded in their collective memory. And they did recall, though with some inaccuracy, some of the conclusions of that work. They remembered Alexiou’s preliminary belief that he had discovered an altar at the top of the peak sanctuary of Philioremos and, as a result, they began calling the entire site *Thesiasterion* – ‘Sacrifice Place’. Some remembered the site fondly as a place where they

would escape from their mothers and play as children (sometimes using the peak sanctuary figurines as dolls). Others recounted, with pride, the role it had played during the resistance efforts in the Second World War and during the civil war (see Chapter 4). But many also saw the archaeological remains as an obstacle to using their pasturelands or to building their church.

Indeed, it is telling that the villagers continued with their building of the church on the peak following Alexiou's excavations in 1966 [Alexiou (1966), 322 and (1967), 480–488], despite being aware of the existence of important archaeological finds there. Later on, they also expanded the churchyard, causing further damage to the site. More recently, they started using the remaining exposed part of the peak sanctuary as a place for dumping refuse or unwanted church paraphernalia.

As this suggests, the church was far more important to the village than the archaeological site. It is noteworthy that the village has a church committee that manages to fundraise for and maintain the church as well as to organize one of their most important local festivals, on the eve of the day of Prophet Elias. The village diaspora comes home that day, and a lamb is offered as a lottery prize, with proceeds going towards the maintenance of the church. The peak sanctuary therefore, was an important communal place, but not on its own merit as an ancient site with significant archaeological finds.

At the same time, as discussed in Chapter 4, the local community also valued the site for a number of other reasons, for its links with livestock production, agriculture, stonemasonry and medicinal herbs, among others. Yet they made no connection between these values and the Minoan archaeological site on the peak. In other words, they already knew many things about the site – indeed they were the only experts on many of the site's values – but they did not know that they knew. They already valued the site for many reasons, but they were not aware of how they valued it. Nor were they aware that their knowledge about the site could be of interest to others. So, although the community did acknowledge the existence of the site, and recognized that archaeology in general was important (mainly for others), the importance they attached to their particular archaeological site was minimal, as was its perceived relevance to things that mattered most to them.

The general lack of interest of the villagers in their Minoan past, which we noticed from the very start of the project, was a surprise to us. We soon realized that the Gonia residents were much keener to learn and recount stories about their more recent past. They were interested, for example, in the windmills, the houses, the bridges and churches, their springs and ovens, the threshing floors (Figure 5.1), *mitata* (shepherds' huts) and recent battle-grounds of their area. We gradually came to understand that this focus of interest on the more recent past was probably linked to the way in which



Figure 5.1 A threshing floor now overgrown with vegetation

Source: Photo: Aris Anagnostopoulos.

the inhabitants viewed their own history. There was a consensus in the village that all families were relatively new to the area and had moved to the village from elsewhere since the eighteenth century, for a variety of reasons. In fact, our archival research, conducted mainly by Aris Anagnostopoulos, suggested that some families have much older roots in the area. This shallow memory of the village residents regarding their ancestry, and their unexpected claim that they had all moved to this village in the last two and a half centuries – comparatively recently – may explain their relative disinterest in antiquity. Moreover, since it is true that events that took place in the last two centuries are more influential on local identity than ancient local history, it is more likely that those events feature in the oral history of the village as the community members recount it themselves. For these reasons, and unlike most other Cretan villages, they did not attach great importance to local Minoan antiquities, nor did they consider them to be an important part of their own history.

In order to achieve the aims of our public archaeology project, we had to face these challenges and change these perceptions about the lack of relevance of the archaeological site. To do so, we needed a set of interdisciplinary

tools that would allow us to inform the local community without turning them away, raise their awareness and make their heritage relevant to them so they would attach importance to it and empower the local residents to protect it. It was with these issues and challenges in mind, and building on the values assessment described in the previous chapter, that we developed our community engagement strategy.

Our strategy

Given the limited resources of our project, our aims had to be achieved in a way that did not create dependencies and did not require constant inputs from us in the long term. This was very important and had to inform the whole approach, because the creation of dependency by the community on external expertise, human resources or financing would have been detrimental to the long-term success of the project and to our aim of empowering the community. This meant that we had to achieve our aims with only a one-off investment of limited financial capital (a small amount of project funding) and limited human capital (expertise in archaeology and anthropology) from our side.

On the other hand, we were aware that the local community itself held important resources that would be the key to the success of the project. Although the financial capital of the community was limited, as is in many small communities, the village had valuable human capital in the form of expertise in important areas that we knew nothing about. For example, the shepherds had infinite knowledge about good pasturelands in their area, and they understood their landscape much better than we did; the builders knew much better than us which type of stones were used in the ancient edifice of the site, the properties of each rock, why they were employed and where they could be found; the women in the village knew, among other things, much more than we could ever know about the edible and medicinal plants of their mountain and the domestic economy of their recent past. In other words, and as we already saw in Chapter 4, the village residents were already experts about many aspects of the site.

At the same time, the local community were already the guardians – and in many cases the only guardians – of an extremely rich and diverse local heritage, which included 'intangible' aspects such as their knowledge of walks in the countryside, their shepherd's huts, their landscape, their own family heirlooms, their music and poetry improvisation, their making of musical instruments such as bagpipes and mandolins and their recipes, as well as their tangible built heritage, such as windmills, bridges, dams and of course the older ancient remains. Although they were proud of many of these aspects of their heritage, they had little appreciation of how interesting and important they could be for others.

The local community therefore already possessed many of the resources needed for the success of the project and were well placed to play a more active role in protecting and promoting their heritage. However, they understood little of the relative value of the archaeological heritage and as a result also cared little for it; they did not connect their existing values for the peak to the archaeological site and the aims of our project; they had no etic [see Lett (1990), 127–142] view or understanding of their own heritage, and, as a result, their priorities were not aligned with those of the project. It was important, therefore to connect the heritage that mattered to them with the heritage that mattered to us. This connection would make the latter more relevant to the community.

With this in mind, we set a strategy with several complementary objectives for our public engagement work. These were as follows:

- 1) to learn as much as we could from the local community about the site and the surrounding area (already discussed in Chapter 4);
- 2) to inform and raise the awareness of the local community about the Minoan peak sanctuary site;
- 3) to make the site relevant to the local community and connect it to their lives;
- 4) to foster and enable the community's engagement with protecting their heritage.

It should be emphasized that a crucial precondition for these aspects of our public engagement work was to develop and maintain a relationship of trust with the community, as already discussed in Chapter 4.

In order to achieve these objectives, we needed to draw on a wide range of techniques and implement a wide range of activities. Although we could draw on some aspects of existing approaches to public archaeology, we also needed to develop new approaches. For this we turned to different disciplines for ideas, including ethnography, psychology, cognitive science and marketing, as well as different fields in which community engagement techniques have been developed. Before describing these various techniques and activities, however, it is important to note a cross-cutting concern which was important for the success of the strategy, namely that of ensuring that our activities included all the major stakeholder groups within the local community.

Outreach to under-represented stakeholders

In the aforementioned 'multiple perspectives' approach to public archaeology, the aim is to recognize the views of the numerous stakeholders and groups associated with any example of heritage [Merriman (2004), 7]. This was also our intention in this project.

When it came to the state, representatives of the Archaeological Service were invited to our communal gatherings as observers, not influencing the procedure but making sure that we followed the Greek law. Moreover, regular updates were offered to the relevant officials.

During the early stages of the project, however, we noticed that there was one large group of the local population that was under-represented in our interviews and other activities, namely, the women of the village. For various reasons, women did not tend to take part in our activities and did not constitute a large number of our informants. It was revealing that, when we asked one of the women if she would be coming to a public meeting that we had arranged, her response was that “these things are for the men, not for us”.¹

We therefore created a strategy to reach out to the women and include them in various activities. A first step was to include more women in our team, thus enabling the women to talk to women ethnographers. A second step was for us to highlight how important the women’s input was to the project. An open-air exhibition was created to showcase different aspects of the stories of women’s lives in the village and then displayed at various points throughout the village. This highlighted the importance of the women’s stories to the whole village, and also enabled the women to see their narratives in public spaces that had been ‘out of bounds’ for them for a great part of their lives. Another intervention was to create a small art feature by painting footprints in front of the village fountain, representing the way that the women used to queue for water; in the past this was indeed the only public place apart from the church where women would be seen in the village (see Chapter 2).

The women were extremely positive about these initiatives. The aim was not only to highlight the value of their stories and viewpoints for our project and indeed for the village, but also to give them the confidence to participate in the public events we organized. There were immediate results: our subsequent meetings were readily attended by women, and we managed to reach a participation rate of 90 percent of the permanent population of the village, thus contributing to the success of the project.

Raising the awareness of the community regarding the archaeological site

The ethnographic research that began in parallel with the archaeological work in 2011 was initially conceived only with the aim of informing our research. However, it quickly became evident to us that the various types of interviews conducted as part of the ethnographic research were also playing a role in raising the local community’s awareness regarding the importance of the site and

bringing the site and the archaeological heritage to the fore of their consciousness. This was especially significant given that a very large proportion – over 90 percent – of the local community were included in the ethnographic research. Many key informants were interviewed several times, with the interviews focusing on different themes. As a result, the awareness-raising function of the interviews became a key tool for our public engagement strategy.

It was therefore important for us to reflect carefully on the mechanisms that were or could potentially be at play and to design our ethnographic research activities with our public engagement and empowerment targets in mind, as well as to serve our research interests. These mechanisms and the way that they were incorporated into our interviews are briefly described next.

Asking questions to inform

Awareness raising has two elements: the communication of new information and the 're-wiring' or 'making conscious' of old information, often coupled with the new, to make one or more people aware of an issue. Any question contains information. If I ask, 'Do you like my dog?' as I point to a dog, I make you aware that this dog, which happens to be standing by me, is relevant to our discussion (made relevant because of my pointing) and that it 'belongs' to me. Until the moment I asked that question, that dog was irrelevant, and you did not know I 'had' one. Moreover, by asking a question I imply that I want something from you, i.e. I expect you to respond, and in order to do that, you must process carefully the information that I gave you and voice your opinion or answer to my question. By processing the information that I gave you, you do not just listen to it. You take mental action on it, and you are much more likely to learn it. For example, I was recently asked at an airport if I knew whether a certain retailer offered a specific service. I was not aware of the existence of this service, so I answered no. Yet had I been asked a second time 10 minutes later, I would have answered in the positive, because the first question informed me of this service, and the question made me process the information. Asking a question, a common activity within ethnographic research, can also, therefore have an awareness-raising function.

A frequent question during our interviews was to ask village residents about the various uses of the location of the Minoan peak sanctuary. This was a good way for us to help them identify the peak of the mountain as the location of an important archaeological site. Many knew about the site and the excavations that had taken place there during the 1960s, but our question made them associate the peak they knew, and their memories of that peak, with the location of an ancient site.

Status and reliability

Given the relativity of knowledge, we are all interested to learn information that is trustworthy. We normally attach more importance to the words of a reputable expert than to the layperson's words. This means that a statement with the same words can bear totally different meaning depending on who is uttering those words (as discussed in Chapter 3). The same applies to the message imparted through questions, so that when these questions are asked during an ethnographic study and are asked by an outsider expert – someone recognized as a knowledgeable person – the relevant information is given greater reliability and status. The message conveyed through the ethnographic study itself, when outsider academics are asking the questions, is that 'expert, knowledgeable outsiders (*etics*) are interested in us (*emics*) and what we know, both generally and about this heritage site, in which they are experts. This means that *we* (*emics*) are important to *them* (*etics*); what *we* (*emics*) say is important to *them* (*etics*) and so is this heritage site' [on *emics* and *etics* see Lett (1990), 127–142]. Status and reliability are extra layers of meaning superimposed on the information that each question contains. An ethnographic study therefore, not only informs, but it also confers reliability and status to the information that it acquires, to a greater extent than most other types of dissemination, such as advertising or verbal campaigns.

In our particular case, we were not representatives of the state authorities, and as a result the effect of status and reliability could work without any influence from the opinions of the local community regarding employees of the state service (which were potentially negative). Nevertheless, we believe that this outcome would have been present even if they were the interviewers. Despite the fact that some members of local communities may view state archaeologists as people who are not interested in their welfare, and who do not consider the local heritage as being that of the local community, it would, arguably, still lend prestige to that heritage if such experts were to ask questions about it, and maybe in some ways even more so. The logic would be that 'state experts, who are usually negative toward local communities, are asking us questions about our heritage. This means it must be very important to them, as they very rarely ask us for our opinion on heritage'. Thus, our questions about the ancient site, alongside questions about the aspects of heritage that the community value, brought the two to the same status level, and rendered the locals crucial informants about the former, and experts about the latter.

Beyond what is described prior, asking questions may also bring previously known information to mind. It raises awareness of its existence and its importance, priming people to make relevant decisions about it. This is because of some additional mental processes that are at play called *highlighting*, the '*availability heuristic*' and *priming*.

Highlighting

Cognitive science often talks of *highlighting*, whereby an individual or a mechanism brings something to the fore and makes it salient [Goodwin (1994), 606, 609–611]. Highlighting can be done through speech and is often synonymous with pointing (either verbally or physically); for example, 'Look at that bus', or 'Mind the gap'. The same can happen with action, often using Gestalt laws [see Koffka (1922), 531–585]. For instance, the use of a different background color or high contrast for attracting attention to a certain part of a picture, pointing, or the use of flashing lights to attract attention to a point are all cases of highlighting. An outsider asking questions about something or talking about something highlights it and brings it to the fore. Highlighting is therefore a great awareness-raising mechanism.

Highlighting was used in both the physical and the verbal meaning in our project. For example, we asked Manolis Nathenas about the walling techniques of the old houses of Gonia, which involved both him and us pointing at the stones while we were asking questions and he was answering (Figure 5.2). We also pointed, metaphorically this time however, to the similarities of the walling techniques between the buildings in the village and at



Figure 5.2 Manolis Nathenas, highlighting with his staff some wall-building techniques

Source: Photo: Aris Anagnostopoulos.

the peak sanctuary, highlighting the existence of such an ancient site, but also the existence of three different walling techniques at the ancient site.

The 'availability heuristic'

The so-called *availability heuristic* [Tversky and Kahneman (1973), 207–232] in psychology implies that people attach relative importance to things that they can retrieve readily from memory. So when we asked informants, for example, 'What are the best examples of your local stonemasonry?' the topic of local stonemasonry was brought to the fore as an important topic, no matter what the answer. This question also brought the content of the answer to the fore and confirmed the mentioned examples as important local stonemasonry (Figure 5.3), which included houses of the further neighborhood (*pera geitonia*) of the village, the windmill, the bridge, the threshing floors, the church of the Virgin Mary and so on.

Through the availability heuristic, new information or information that we already knew becomes more available, gains relevance and thus importance. Highlighting and the availability heuristic are often concurrently at work and have a significant overlap in effect. Highlighting points things out, brings them to the fore; because of that the availability heuristic ensures that they are given a greater importance.

Priming

Another psychological effect, called *priming*, is also often active when we ask questions. Priming is a very powerful mechanism that has been used widely in marketing and other disciplines. Through priming, exposure to a stimulus 'primes' one for the experience that follows. The influence of the association between what comes first and what will follow is manifested physically, mentally and psychologically. A famous example, commonly known as the 'Florida effect', involved a group of people who had been previously 'primed' through their exposure to words that are commonly associated with the elderly. They walked more slowly to the next task than the group that was not 'primed', and much more slowly than the group that was 'primed' with words associated with the young [Bargh et al. (1996), 236–238]. Priming can evoke certain moods and can make one more likely to do things. Individuals who were 'primed', for example, by being in a church or a school, or by bringing such a place to mind (commonly known as the 'PPP effect'), have been found to be more likely to support Christian conservative values or a school initiative respectively [Blumenthal and Turnipseed (2011), 561–599].

For our project, this means that the individuals who were asked about the great stone-built edifices of their village were much more likely to feel proud

about them, and even to do something about these buildings, than if they had not been asked and therefore 'primed'. This may well have contributed to the local people subsequently taking action to restore their local windmill, as we will see in Chapter 6.

These tools and mechanisms, which are all related to asking questions, as well as to who is asking the questions and the way in which the questions are asked, mean that an ethnographic study itself, beyond its importance as a research tool, is also a potentially very powerful tool for awareness raising. It can successfully impart new information, highlight the importance of both old and new information, accredit it with status and reliability, as well as motivate or prime people to take action based on that information. Thus in relation to heritage sites, ethnographic research can highlight the existence of a heritage site to a local community, relay and increase its importance for them, as well as make it more likely that action will be taken to protect it. Ethnography is thus potentially a powerful awareness-raising multi-tool in the hands of the heritage manager.

We therefore used these tools and mechanisms consciously in the many activities that were conducted during our ethnographic and public engagement work, including one-to-one interviews, informal focus groups and public meetings (which are also described next). It is, however, likely that they have been unintentionally at play in much other ethnographic research. This means that as actors in any ethnographic research, we should be sensitive to the potential unintended consequences that an 'innocent' question may have when not planned carefully.

Making the site relevant

Beyond raising awareness of the local community about the site, a further important element of our strategy was to make the site relevant to them and their interests. In this respect we identified the following techniques as being particularly important.

Recognizing the community as expert stakeholders

As noted in Chapter 1, although various approaches to public archaeology – especially those following a 'Public Relations' approach [Okamura and Matsuda (2011), 5–7] – have included activities to involve members of the local communities, they typically retain power for the expert academics. As a consequence, any participation on the part of local communities tends to finish when the academic project comes to an end, as most action is guided by the academics themselves. By contrast, our inclusive approach to conducting the values assessment for the site (see Chapter 4) explicitly recognized the community as primary experts with regard to many of the site's values. At a

public meeting held in 2012 on the theme of 'The Peak Sanctuary and Why It Is Important', we emphasized that most of the important values of the peak sanctuary were predicated not on the archaeological material, but on the landscape and local knowledge – areas of expertise in which they were better versed than the expert archaeologists. This reconfigured the way they viewed their relation to the heritage site, as well as its relevance to them and consequently helped them realize that they are indeed specialists in this and perhaps other heritage sites in their area. The feedback that various members of the community gave us after the meeting was extremely enthusiastic. They told us that they should have conducted such a meeting years ago, and proposed that other similar meetings should take place in future (which they did).

This, of course, was only one of the steps that we took aiming to help the community understand our interest in their knowledge and our view of them as experts in fields that we know very little about (as we saw in Chapter 4). And there were many such steps, from the very simple act of asking them what they know about their area, as we saw earlier, to the collaborative design activities that we will outline below. Acknowledging the community as experts had multiple positive repercussions and meant that, although we detracted from the uniqueness and power of our team as the only experts, we also increased the effectiveness of our project by expanding the network of individuals responsible for its success and sustainability.

This echoes the distinction between the term *expertise*, defined as 'networks that link together objects, actors, techniques, devices, and institutional and spatial arrangements' [Cambrosio et al. (1992), 341–361] or as Eyal puts it, 'the sheer capacity to accomplish this task better and faster', and the term *experts*, i.e. the 'actors who make claims to jurisdiction over a task by "professing" their disinterest, skill and credibility' [Eyal (2013), 869]. In our case, enlarging the category 'expert' to include members of the local community, worked in favor of 'expertise' by increasing the participation and positively affecting the project, as it helped the local community see the heritage as relevant to them and take ownership of it, an issue we shall revisit. A similar early such move can be seen in the 1960s in the work of Rimland (1964) and Lovaas [(1993), 628], who greatly improved the diagnosis and treatment of autistic children by recognizing parents as key informants, thus removing the barrier between expert (doctor) and caregiver (parent).²

Sharing the conceptual framework

Whether deliberately or unconsciously, researchers often use a specific conceptual framework (i.e. a collection of commonly shared knowledge, jargon and conceptual tools to interpret the world) in a way that enables them to communicate more efficiently with one another, but that also excludes others [Goodwin (1994), 606–633]. When such a framework is used in

communications with the general public, they very often do not understand what is meant and consider language irrelevant to them. Indeed, very often, communication breaks down when jargon is used in public space. This can often be seen at museums and heritage sites that use very technical terms to convey the narrative to a general audience, who, in turn, find the language incomprehensible, irrelevant and therefore uninteresting. In order to highlight the relevance of the site to the local community, it was very important for us to create a shared conceptual framework that the village residents could understand and be included in. This was done in the spirit of recognizing the community as expert stakeholders who should be included in our work.

This technique was very effectively employed, for example, during the 2012 public meeting described prior, which started with a presentation of the peak sanctuary for the benefit of the local community (the first ever scientific presentation of the site). Much of the information that was presented was a 'repackaged' version of the information that the members of the community themselves had provided to us through the ethnographic research. Although scientific language was used, they could understand it fully because of their prior knowledge. Sharing this conceptual framework and understanding the scientific language, the community could, rightly, feel that they were experts regarding the site and, even more so, regarding the heritage that they were more interested in and we knew nothing about.

Connecting the site to the lives of the community

Having raised the awareness of the community about the importance of the site and taken steps to make it relevant to them, the next step for our strategy was to actively connect the site to the lives of local community members. The following tools and techniques were particularly valuable in this respect.

Collaborative design

In literature that evaluates the effectiveness of community-based participatory approaches in other fields, such as that of public health, it has been discovered that an important factor affecting the level of engagement of local partners in participatory projects is their degree of involvement in the design and implementation of relevant activities. Active participation increases the level of engagement and commitment of community groups to the project in question, since '[p]artners who are more active in partnerships perceive that they gain significantly more benefits than partners who are less active [. . .] and these benefits relate as much to their own mission and economic viability as to the partners' joint goals' [Lasker et al. (2001), 191].



Figure 5.3 An abandoned garden seen through its gate

Source: Photo: Katerina Kafantaridou.

Following a similar logic, in order to promote the active engagement of the local community in the project, we suggested a collaborative activity, namely jointly designing and creating an information sign about the archaeological site that would hang on the church wall next to the site. The idea was

enthusiastically received, and the text for the sign was drafted at a public meeting in 2013. The very act of jointly creating this sign was important, since for most of the members of the community this was the first time they had participated in an activity related to the promotion of the archaeological site. However, we also wanted the text itself to emphasize the connections between the site and the lives and economic activities of the community members, perhaps even enhancing those activities. We therefore encouraged the inclusion of the information that the local community themselves had provided regarding connections between the site and the village today, such as the relation to stonemasonry, livestock breeding, the medicinal properties of the mountain, the strategic location of the peak and the sense of freedom that the local community consistently associates with the mountain. As a result of this collaborative process, the community felt a sense of pride, ownership and connection with the site as well as a feeling that the site can enhance their own interests.

Through our participation, we proposed some content that would be relevant to external visitors and stakeholders (such as archaeologists), and also ensured the scientific integrity of the information included in the text by basing the content on research. We therefore ensured the local relevance of heritage values without alienating academic stakeholders [similarly see McGhee (2008), 580–593; (2010), 240]. Everything, however, had to be agreed to by a majority of the community members who participated in the relevant gathering.

The issue of academic integrity is quite a serious one, and often becomes a concern that hinders experts from collaborating with others whom they view as non-experts. It is possible, however, to ensure the academic integrity of the final product of collaboration without compromising the input of the local community. And vice versa, it is possible to include the content that the local community provides without compromising the academic integrity of the final result. When for instance, some members of the local community proposed that we should state on the sign that the mountain was brought to the area by extraterrestrials (due to its very different geology, being a knoll of serpentinite in a phyllitic landscape), we responded by adding the phrase: 'some locals believe that . . .', which made the claim accurate without taking away from what some of the residents wanted to state. In fact, when a vote was taken on the final wording, the majority of the community decided against the inclusion of any such reference.

The weaving of narrative

A further reason why the act of jointly creating an information sign for the site was effective in connecting the site to the lives of the community relates to the power of narrative. Humans relate easily to narratives and stories. We

remember stories well and our brains have the capacity to learn them better than, say, names or numbers [Bower and Clark (1969), 181–182]. Very often, the narrative that is created about any heritage site is largely irrelevant to local communities because, as mentioned above, academics and archaeologists construct, or rather 'weave' it [see Ingold (2010), 91–102], primarily for one another and not for local communities or the general public. This means that the narrative of heritage is usually not 'woven' together with those narratives that are important to the local community. It is therefore not connected to what is already relevant to them. This is a common reason for low interest and visitation on the part of local inhabitants in respect to the heritage sites in their area. The joint activity described above enabled the weaving of a narrative that was relevant to the local community, and that reinforced their awareness of the connections between the site and their everyday lives in an effective way.

Fostering and enabling the community's engagement with protecting the site and their heritage

The final, and in some ways, most important part of our strategy was to facilitate the community's engagement with protecting their heritage, including the archaeological site. This aspect of the project built on all of the previously described aspects. Indeed, in order to become involved in protecting their heritage, the community first needed to have relevant information about it, then feel that this heritage was relevant to them, and become connected to it. However, these factors alone were not sufficient to enable local initiatives to protect their heritage; a number of additional techniques were therefore employed and activities implemented with this specific objective in mind.

Creating space for discussions and ideas

As just mentioned, the community were very proud of many aspects of their heritage, but had little awareness of how valuable and interesting it was not only for them but also potentially for others. They had therefore given little consideration to how their heritage could be protected and promoted. Indeed, local communities very rarely have the opportunity to speak about their own heritage or to hear about it. This is because, in any community, everyone knows or is supposed to know about their shared heritage. Living all your life in a group means that the shared knowledge is employed as the basis of everyday life and conversation, and it is therefore taken for granted and not considered special or worth talking about. An important technique for stimulating community initiatives to protect local heritage was therefore

the creation of space for issues relating to local heritage and its importance to be discussed and ideas to be proposed at public meetings facilitated by an ethnographer. Like a group therapist, the ethnographer could ask questions to which the answers could be seen as common sense to the members of the group, yet there was information that was imparted [Yalom and Leszcz (2005), 8–13] from every member to the others. This was not only informative for the ethnographer, but also for those who answered and the others who listened. The participants voiced matters through their answers that were never otherwise heard, raising awareness and *highlighting* the information as valuable, relevant and important to others, and *priming* themselves to do something about it.

The first such meeting in 2012 discussed the heritage of the local community and how it distinguished them from other villages or parts of Crete; in the second and third meetings (in 2013) all of the various aspects of heritage were classified into themes, and a fourth meeting (also in 2013) focused on what the community was prepared to do to protect and promote their heritage. From the many ideas initially suggested, the community themselves reached a consensus on which ideas they wanted to take forward, including a musical event to promote the village's musical traditions and a proposal to rebuild one of the local windmills (some of the outcomes of these proposals are presented in Chapter 6). Many of the participants gave very positive feedback from these meetings, requesting more such events in the future. Great satisfaction came from hearing the reasons for which their village was unique, and from witnessing the emergence of a team spirit, for the benefit of their village.

Providing technical knowledge for heritage protection

Although the local community had unsurpassable knowledge about the landscape and its uses, we realized that they lacked some knowledge necessary to be able to effectively report any damage to the peak sanctuary and other archaeological sites in the area. For that reason, we organized a public discussion (during the third public meeting) that covered issues such as what to do if one finds antiquities, how to cooperate with the Archaeological Service and how the community could contribute to protecting sites from looting.

Encouraging the assumption of responsibility

It has been widely observed in psychology and in other fields that people are not likely to take part in a cause if they feel that a sufficient number

of others can take the responsibility [e.g. Nisbett and Borgida (1975), 932–943]. Many experiments have shown that people are happy to 'pass the buck' if they are given the opportunity to do so. Since our intention was to foster engagement on the part of the community in protecting its heritage, it would have been a mistake for us as 'outsider' archaeologists and ethnographers to assume responsibility for such activities, as this may have resulted in no one else taking responsibility. Thus it was important to take a 'non-committal' approach from our side, avoiding taking responsibility for initiatives to protect the heritage ourselves, and limiting our role to facilitating the relevant discussions between community members. An important aspect of this approach was to encourage the involvement of a local organization, the Cultural Association of Gonies. This organization became an important partner in the project, co-organizing and hosting the public meetings, and playing a leading role in some of the initiatives that the community subsequently organized to protect and promote their heritage (see Chapter 6). In other words, we were careful not to assume responsibility for things that we were not certain we could sustain in the long term. We were also careful to consistently use the banner of the Cultural Association in activities that we were involved with in order to produce a sense of real local ownership.

Follow-up activities

Given the small size of our project and our own limited capacity, we could not, as mentioned above, undertake activities that would involve a great amount of further investment on our part as far as resources were concerned. Nevertheless, we wanted to maintain our relationship with the community beyond the initial project period. We therefore had to think carefully about feasible follow-up activities that would strengthen the project. We decided to create a summer school in the village on ethnographic archaeology for international and Greek students, for one month each summer, in partnership with the Cultural Association of Gonies. This small-scale annual activity proved to be very successful for reinforcing all of the project aims and ideas among the local community. Hosting international visitors in the village renews the community's sense of pride in their heritage, and brings new visitors to the village, which was an important priority of the community (see Chapter 7). This follow-up of the main project has also been important for maintaining our close relationship with the village.

Outcomes

It became very obvious to us from the early stage of the project in 2011 that the ethnographic work was having a greater impact on our research than

expected. In terms of our objective of engaging and empowering the local community to protect their heritage, the outcomes of the public engagement strategy took longer to become visible, but when they did, from 2013 onward, they exceeded our expectations. After several years of engagement (2011–2016) at regular intervals, the local community now not only respects the local archaeological site as its own heritage, but also consciously protects it and even designs and implements activities for its integration into the cultural landscape of the area (discussed further in Chapter 6).

As noted in Chapter 1, our approach aimed to help power be distributed more equitably [Smith et al. (2014), 5–7] to the local community in relation to their heritage, in a context where local communities tend to play marginal roles in heritage management and protection. By recognizing and including the local community as experts in the values of the site and by enabling their engagement with protecting and promoting their heritage, we believe that our project achieved this objective.³ The fact that members of the local community even now use the archaeology, which they previously largely ignored, as a tool for achieving their own political, local community and other goals is also a testimony to this empowerment. It is to a more detailed discussion of these outcomes that we now turn.

Notes

- 1 For other examples of engagement of under-represented or marginal groups in archaeology see Kiddey and Schofield [(2011), 4–22] and Ainsworth [(2009), 26–27].
- 2 See Chapter 1.
- 3 We believe that encouraging the local community members to assume the role of the expert in areas of their expertise is more effective for their empowerment and their assumption of responsibility towards their local sites than training them in conventional archaeological skills. Without criticizing efforts to provide archaeological training to local communities, we believe that we better achieve what Reid calls 'archaeology by the people for the people' [(2012), 18] by acknowledging the relevant expertise they already have, rather than trying to put them in the shoes of other experts they are unlikely to adequately replace.

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6 The outcomes of the project

Community engagement and empowerment in practice

The strategy that we described in Chapter 5 for engaging and empowering the local community of the village of Gonies to become long-term guardians of their heritage, including the peak sanctuary, had wide-ranging outcomes in relation to the local community. These outcomes fall into three main categories. First, the community began to see themselves as guardians of their heritage, and became extremely active in implementing their own grassroots initiatives to protect and promote it in ways that far exceeded our hopes and expectations. Second, and related to this, the village also became partners in protecting the archaeological site, as we had very much hoped they would. And third, the local community began to use the project as a tool to pursue their own goals, quite independent of the project aims and objectives, and in ways that we could not predict. These varied outcomes will be presented in this chapter.

The community as guardian of its heritage

The first significant outcome for the local community was that village residents began to identify themselves as partly responsible for their own rich heritage and, as a result, took action with a number of initiatives to protect and promote various aspects of this heritage. At least in part, these activities stemmed from the various techniques employed and implemented in order to enhance the community's engagement with their own heritage, as presented in Chapter 5.

As already described in already Chapter 5, the project gave emphasis to creating space for the community to discuss their heritage and to propose and explore ideas on how to promote and protect it, through organizing a series of public meetings in partnership with the Cultural Association of Gonies, which took place in 2012 and 2013.

In the first of these meetings, attended by approximately 40 percent of the entire village community, the main question discussed was "Which aspects

of your heritage are important to you?” Many aspects of the local heritage were mentioned as being important to the community, including stonemasonry and local natural building resources, livestock and dairy production, the important flora and traditional cultivars of the mountain, local crafts including basketry, musical instrument making, local cuisine and recipes, the local dialect, the cultural traditions including music, dance and improvised poetry and local monuments. The monuments that were mentioned as important included local threshing floors, bridges, watermills, the Church of the Virgin in the old village center, some of the older village houses and the ruined village windmill.

A subsequent meeting focused on what the community wanted to do – and were willing to undertake – to protect the heritage that was important to them. From the many ideas that were initially discussed, the village residents themselves – without any intervention on our part – chose several proposals that they wanted to take forward.

One significant initiative to emerge from this process was a project to rebuild the village windmill. This idea was selected by the community for a number of reasons. The windmill was the most prominent monument in the village, and was directly connected with many aspects of their recent history – agricultural, economic and domestic. The restoration project would be an opportunity to showcase the local stonemasonry skills. Furthermore, the project would create a second village square out of the flat space around the windmill, which would be an ideal place for hosting village events.

Following this decision, the village members had to find the resources needed to implement the project, not least the necessary funding. An initial possible funding source was a European Union program that provided funding to local municipalities to restore their properties. However, this would have necessitated transferring the ownership of the windmill from the village itself to the municipality. For various reasons, the village decided against this option, preferring to collectively fund the project themselves, using local stonemasons and other technicians to keep the costs down.

The initiative involved many members of the village community who participated in all aspects of the restoration. It was very fortunate that the village residents included the last living miller of the village, Petro-Mitsos, then age 85, who was able to contribute valuable technical knowledge about how to rebuild the windmill, thereby passing on his expertise to the next generation. As it transpired, the initiative saved this aspect of local heritage from being entirely lost from village memory, since Petro-Mitsos passed away only six months after the restorations were completed.

The windmill restoration was completed in 2012 (Figure 6.1). As part of the ensuing celebrations, the windmill was put into action, milling locally sourced wheat into flour, which was baked using local recipes into pies,



Figure 6.1 The celebration of the windmill restoration in August 2012 continued well into the evening

Source: Photo: George Desipris.

sweets and pastries. These were served alongside locally produced meat, cheese and locally distilled spirits. Local music was also played on locally made musical instruments. At the end of the festivities, members of the village spontaneously walked up to the mountain peak of Philioremos, thus physically connecting this celebration of more recent aspects of the village's heritage with its archaeological heritage.

Thus, through this initiative, the villagers not only restored the windmill, but also renewed their contact with many other aspects of their heritage, which they showcased. Older and newer aspects of heritage were woven together in a way that reinvigorated and inspired the community to protect and promote the various historical aspects that made the village special. Because the local and regional media coverage was significant, the initiative also helped the village residents to connect with the wider village diaspora (national and international) and to bring life to the village, thus achieving one of the community's top priorities.

We were present at various stages of the restoration and at the celebrations but, importantly, only as observers. The whole initiative was implemented at a grassroots level (with a leading role played by the Cultural Association of Gonies), was funded entirely by the community itself and used local human resources and expertise. As a result, the community members had full ownership of the initiative and are likely to stay engaged with

maintaining the windmill, since they have a direct, personal interest in this initiative and are likely to want to protect the investment that they have already made in it.

The significance of this grassroots approach to protecting and promoting local heritage is thrown into sharp relief when the Gonies windmill restoration initiative is compared and contrasted with another very different windmill restoration initiative. The initiative in question is a much-celebrated restoration project of three windmills belonging to a monastery on a cosmopolitan Greek island. The project was engendered by a large generous donation from a wealthy Swiss banker who loved the island, and it was also supported by Greek funding foundations. The restoration, which was authorized by the Greek state, was conducted by an international team of experts coordinated by a British architect. Media coverage of the project noted that ‘a French millstone craftsman, Greek and Swiss millers, aerodynamics engineers from the University of Geneva, a Swiss sail manufacturer and many others worked together to repair the windmills’ mechanisms’ (Athens News Agency – Macedonian Press Agency 5.8.2010). The team also included a local carpenter and two Greek electrical engineers. Cutting-edge architectural designs were used to roof the three mills, which were equipped with French millstones to grind wheat, and fitted with custom-made mechanisms to generate electricity. The crowning moment of that project was an international accolade, a recognition that reinforces the idea that it followed best practice in all its elements.

This international project has clearly brought benefits to the island, not least of which are the wide media coverage and positive publicity for the island and all stakeholders involved. However, the intention of the project managers to involve the local community has not yet, to my knowledge, been coupled with a community engagement strategy. Judging from many other projects that follow a similar approach to planning and execution – which indeed is often considered to constitute good practice in heritage management – it will only be a matter of time before the windmills will need another similarly large injection of external funding for maintenance and restoration due to limited community engagement, the limited use of local human and other resources and the limited skills transfer to the community. In short, this ‘top-down’ approach is likely to be far less sustainable in the long term than the more modest grassroots approach of the Gonies windmill restoration and the other village-led initiatives (Figure 6.2).

Indeed, the value of grassroots action has long been recognized in various fields. Historically, grassroots action has long thrived in the environmental field, for example in the context of the UN 1992 Earth Summit community consultation framework ‘Local Agenda 21’ [Selman (1998), 533–553]. Grassroots action was seen as important to the protection of



Figure 6.2 The windmill restored, interior, August 2012

Source: Photo: George Desipris.

the natural environment for three reasons: first, because all people are affected by degradation of the natural environment; second, because grassroots advocacy is a key process for change through elections and individual changes of behavior; and third, because individual changes of habits and responsibility were seen as key elements of success. Yet, because the environment is a collective good, top-down approaches focusing on policy, the biggest polluters and technology also have an important role to play. Thus environmental conservation needs, and has received, both top-down and grassroots action.

When it comes to heritage, there is arguably an even more important role to be played by grassroots action. As with the environment, there is a need for awareness and individual action since the degradation of local, national or international heritage affects us all. Yet, compared to the environment, heritage has, arguably, much more to do with individuals and communities. Much of heritage is 'individual' or 'belongs' to small groups, for example biography, family history and property, the individual or group experience of history, local stories, recipes, dances and songs and indeed any aspect of local heritage. Even collective or national aspects of heritage are inherently tied to individuals, since it is individual or group attitudes toward it

that make heritage important and give it content. Moreover, as argued in Chapter 3, it is the existence of a shared set of individual ‘coincidences’ that creates the sense of shared heritage. As a result, it is primarily at a grassroots level that many aspects of heritage can be effectively protected and promoted.

Arguably, one of the reasons why these initiatives were so successful was that they struck a balance between wide local participation and working through existing local structures of representation such as the Gonies Cultural Association. This balance has been seen as important for successful grassroots action [Selman (1998), 538].

The success of these grassroots initiatives and their strong potential for sustainability is an issue that will be returned to and discussed further in Chapter 7.

Partners in protecting the archaeological site

As discussed in Chapter 5, at the outset of the project the local community of the village of Gonies had little interest in the archaeological site of Philioremos. It certainly was not a priority for the village to help protect it. This is something that gradually changed as the community began to play a more active role in protecting and preserving its heritage. The following few incidents are indicative of this change of stance.

A first incident ended up being resolved in a uniquely Cretan way. When the project began, the walls of the peak sanctuary were being damaged by the sheep of a local shepherd who allowed his flock to roam and graze at the top of the peak, beyond the fence that was supposed to protect the site. Following our awareness-raising activities, this became a concern to the village. However, the problem was abruptly resolved in 2012 when the entire flock of sheep was stolen; sheep-stealing – usually between rival shepherds and villages – is an old Cretan tradition. The villagers were upset for their neighbor but, as they told us, ‘Our problem is solved’. Significantly, since then, none of the village residents have allowed their own sheep to graze on the site. Lately, a young shepherd from neighboring Anogeia, taking advantage of the potential weakness of the aging village, has imposed his sheep on the site to the local community’s dismay. This shows that new problems arise when old ones are solved and that a continuous effort must be made by local stakeholders.

A second, potentially more serious incident occurred in 2014, when a local rumor circulated that someone had started to dig illegally somewhere in the area, had found antiquities and was seeking to illicitly sell them. As soon as this was heard, the community information network swung into action, with the result that, within two hours, the exact location of the

digging, the name of a potential perpetrator and his telephone number were known. More importantly, the word spread that archaeologists had been informed about what was going on, with the result that no further illicit excavations have been reported in the area since.

More recently in 2017, as part of a municipality project to plant trees across the region, local officials accidentally began to dig holes within the boundaries of the archaeological site, which obviously could cause serious damage to the archaeological remains. Members of the local community rapidly learned about this – via social media – and informed us straight away. The responsible official was immediately alerted, stopped digging before too much damage was done, and was extremely apologetic. The relevant archaeological authorities were informed, and they intervened to ensure that the error was resolved and the site protected in line with archaeological regulations.

As these incidents demonstrate, the community has become committed to contributing to the protection of the site and, moreover, has remained committed for over five years now, something that we hope and believe will also continue in the future. Given that a lack of resources is sometimes cited as a reason for the limited engagement with public archaeology in Greece, it is worth pointing out that this partnership with the local community has already proven to be an extremely cost-effective approach to protecting the site. On multiple occasions, this engagement with the community has already saved this and other sites in the region from potentially very costly damage. Given the highly remote nature of this region, there is no chance that such incidents would have been detected and resolved so quickly without this partnership with a community that now cares deeply about their heritage.

The project as a tool for local politics

The third main outcome of the project in relation to the local community was that the project quickly became a tool to further various ends of members of the local community, independently of our project goals and objectives. This is illustrated by a few examples of how the villagers put the project to the service of their own politics and goals.

Potential intermediaries

On several occasions it became obvious that the local community saw the project members as mediators between them and the state Archaeological Service. We were asked for our opinion on how the Service could be brought to conduct further excavations in their area, and we were told of

small finds they had kept at home and asked how best to formally submit them to the authorities. They also sought advice on how to declare an archaeological zone in their village, since the community saw that as a first step towards making their village famous for its antiquities. All these were beyond our remit, and so we constantly had to be cautious with our answers and limit our responses to explaining what the relevant procedures were and signposting the relevant services and authorities, which was, in itself, helpful to them.

Village revival

As a result of the dramatic decrease in population of the village in recent years (see Chapter 2) the average age of the remaining village residents is very high. There is therefore a sense that the village is gradually ‘dying’. Right from the start of our engagement, community members stressed their desire to revive the village, to regenerate their community and bring people back to visit and ideally to live there. In order to do so, constructive activity had to take place and work opportunities needed to be created so that the younger generation had a way to live in their village. The community wanted us to help achieve that goal. It was thought that our project could attract interest in the village, bring in younger people and external visitors, and could even possibly, by extension, create new jobs in the longer term. Although these aims could not realistically be met due to the small scale and limited resources of the project, the summer schools in the village that followed up the initial project period (see Chapter 5) were planned taking this desire for village revival into account.

Land recognition

A further concern for the villagers is the recognition of their communal land and respect of territorial boundaries. In a pastoral economy, which still is the main economic force of the village, communal lands are extremely important; these boundaries are therefore both markers of economic viability and vivacity as well as a symbol of village pride. It has long been a source of concern that various parts of the communal land of the village are challenged by shepherds and farmers from neighboring villages. The elderly population of the village is not often able to confront perpetrators. This concern has become more urgent recently, in the context of the creation of a national land registry in Greece, which is currently ongoing. This process has raised serious concerns within the village of Gonies, as they fear protracted legal battles for the formal recognition of their community land boundaries.

The potential impact of the project on the sensitive nature of the issue of land recognition was something we had been alerted to right at the start of the project. When the project social media page initially made reference to Keria Krousona – another peak sanctuary in the area – it was only a few hours before we received a telephone call of protest. We were told that the peak sanctuary of Keria was located within the land that traditionally belonged to Gonies, and the term *Keria Krousona* wrongly implied that it belonged to the neighboring town of Krousonas, potentially undermining the claim of Gonies to the land. We quickly verified the Gonies residents' account (it transpired that the toponym had been given by earlier archaeologists merely because the approach to the sanctuary during the initial collection of finds from the site was made from Krousonas¹), apologized and changed the name that we were using for that peak.

The project continued to be relevant to the issue of land recognition, since the ethnographic work that we conducted brought to light various pieces of information relating to village land boundaries. We have identified stories demonstrating that community boundary protection was a major theme for the last 200 years at least. For example, a dispute over the Sykia spring between the villages of Gonies and Korfes, to the east of Gonies, was often recounted to us and was cross-checked through our archival research. The village residents asked us to provide them with any evidence from our research that could help them demonstrate that their borders are ancient; they also wanted us to give them access to the relevant bibliography or maps from more recent periods. They encouraged our resident anthropologist, Aris Anagnostopoulos, to pass on, highlight and publicize any relevant information from his work in the Gonies and the Herakleion archives. They also found my paper on the borders of neighboring Tyliossos [Kyriakidis (2012), 115–144] relevant to their interests. Most recently, the local community were able to negotiate the formal delineation of their borders with one of the most important neighbors, the town of Anogea, thus diminishing their border concerns.

Staking a claim to a Minoan path and past

Following some excavations in the early 2010s in the neighboring small town of Krousonas, the late Minoan to Hellenistic town of Koupos was uncovered, adding to other archaeological remains in the area, including the Minoan peak sanctuary of Gournos and other minor sites. This created expectations that the new archaeological finds could contribute to the development of Krousonas and attract visitors and tourism.² The municipality of Krousonas, in collaboration with the neighboring municipality of Anogea to the southwest of Gonies, decided to highlight a walking trail, which

would connect Koupos and Krousonas with the nearby Minoan ‘villa’ in Zominthos,³ located up mount Ida and above the village of Anogeia, and then to the so-called Idaean Cave, the mythical birthplace of Zeus. The municipality branded this as the path used by mythical King Minos to reach the Idaean Cave, where Minos is said to have renewed his mandate to rule and received laws from his mythical father⁴ (see Figure 6.3).

This development angered many Gonies residents, however, since an interpretation of the various sources would more easily support a reconstruction of the mythical route as passing through Gonies and not Krousonas. Moreover, this interpretation is also supported by the existence of a medieval path that follows the Gonies route. It was felt that this evidence had been deliberately ignored, in order to favor the tourist development of Krousonas. The Gonies residents asked us to provide any relevant archaeological evidence in favor of the argument that the Minoan path would have

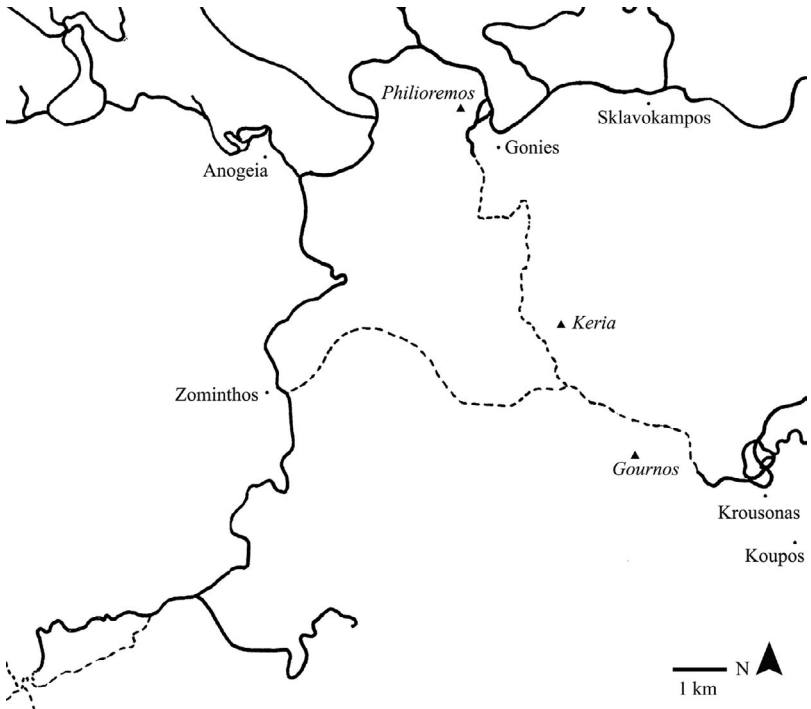


Figure 6.3 The paths up to Zominthos and the Idaean cave (Idaeon Andron) showing Gonies’ double access to the site, as opposed to one single access from Krousonas

Source: Design: Celine Murphy.

been more likely to pass through their village, which we did. When the Cultural Association of Gonies organized an event to trace the medieval path and to clean it, we participated as observers.

Rejecting an unwanted solar park

Since 2008, the Greek government has been pursuing a policy of aggressive expansion of renewable energy parks around Greece. In this context, Crete is a favored location because of the very high winds that prevail all over the island, as well as the very high number of hours of sunshine. As a result, the creation of wind and solar farms has been planned all over Crete, and large swathes of land have been provisionally earmarked as potential grounds. All over Crete there was a backlash against these plans, as they were perceived to be destructive to the traditional and natural landscape without offering any tangible long-term benefits to individuals or communities.

In 2012, one of these areas close to Gonies, an area called *Soros*, was marked as a potential solar park, and the mountain of Pyrgos, between Gonies and Tylissos, was marked as a potential wind farm. The local communities of this area fear that, if the various projects go ahead, private companies will exploit land for their interests while paying a minimum rent, and will spoil their landscape without bringing any tangible benefits to their livelihoods. This reaction was supported by local civil society organizations. The community of Gonies want to use our project, as well as other archaeological finds, to highlight the importance of the ancient sites in their area and to provide evidence for the state Archaeological Service that the developments should be stopped on the grounds that they would be harmful to antiquities.⁵

These issues, and many more, concerned the local community and created a perspective in which they viewed our project as potentially useful, as a tool to help their causes. By expressing their concerns to us, they also pointed to which parts of our project would potentially be useful to their causes.

While it is likely that many archaeological projects are used by communities to further their own ends, we would argue that our approach is distinguished first by the fact that this was actively promoted through our efforts to empower the community in relation to their heritage, and second by the fact that we were very conscious of these processes and viewed them as a way to ensure the relevance of the project to the community and even as a measure of its success.

* * *

The starting point for this project was a local community whose members were only marginal stakeholders in their heritage – as is the case for countless other rural communities throughout Greece and the world. The

villagers were thus uninterested in their archaeological site and had little appreciation of the value of this and other aspects of their heritage. After more than five years of engagement through our public archaeology project, the picture today is very different. The residents of the village of Gonies express a great sense of pride in various aspects of their heritage and, even more importantly, they view themselves as its guardians. They also recognize that their heritage is a resource that makes their village unique and can promote its cultural and, in the longer term, economic health. Drawing entirely on their own resources, community members have undertaken some excellent grassroots initiatives to protect and promote various aspects of their heritage. In doing so, they have partly achieved the important community goals of bringing new life to the village and also of making their village better known.

As part of the shift in perspective toward their heritage, the villagers have also become partners in protecting the archaeological site, a development that has already saved potentially costly damage to the site on several occasions. Moreover, heritage has become a useful part of the lives of members of the community, something they want to protect, preserve and enhance, and a resource that they can dynamically use to further their own goals and promote their own well-being.

We believe that these outcomes demonstrate that our project succeeded in its goal of empowering members of the local community by distributing power more equitably to them [Smith et al. (2014), 5–7] in relation to the local heritage. It is thus for this reason that we believe that the approach described in this volume can aptly be called ‘community empowerment’ public archaeology. Yet empowerment is not a one-off event. Continuous efforts will need to be made, primarily by local stakeholders, to pass on the tools gained to new generations, in order to help them continue to preserve their heritage and creatively use it for their own futures.

Notes

- 1 Antonis Vasilakis, personal communication with Aris Anagnostopoulos, June 2015.
- 2 See the full Kriti TV feature at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=5BnyMWWU2lo, last accessed 29 February 2016.
- 3 Excavated by Yannis Sakellarakis until the 1990s and now continued to be excavated by his wife Efi. Together with the ‘Minoan villa’, a thriving late Bronze Age small village was discovered.
- 4 E.g. Minoistas. http://minoistas.blogspot.gr/2012/05/blog-post_09.html, last accessed 11 January 2017.
- 5 Y. Markoyannakis (2012), “Sorós: The Minoan Light-Posts and the Planned Enormous PVC Park, Unanimous Rejection by the Upland Malevizi”. www.patris.gr/articles/225060?PHPSESSID=tr8fa13k17ljrtpng9s5evvbb5#.VBqokpR_v4s, last accessed 11 January 2017.

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7 Conclusions

As should be evident from the preceding pages and chapters, our experience of planning and implementing the Philioremos Peak Sanctuary Public Archaeology Project was a rich learning process. To conclude this volume, I would like to highlight some of the main lessons learned and their implications for public archaeology and, more broadly, heritage management.

The benefits of a ‘values obsessed’ approach

As set out in Chapter 1, and discussed further in Chapter 3, our public archaeology project rapidly became ‘values obsessed’, and these experiences have various implications for the ways that heritage values are understood and managed.

The success of the public engagement aspect of our project was certainly due, in large measure, to the open and comprehensive nature of the values assessment that was conducted for the Philioremos peak sanctuary site. Our approach, which included the local community as expert informants, highlighted the diversity of the values of the site, many of which were based on its non-archaeological fabric, such as the geology and the landscape, but also based on various ‘intangible’ aspects, often related to local knowledge, beliefs and skills. The knowledge that we gained through this process changed our understanding of the site and led us to modify our research agenda. Moreover, thanks to our open and inclusive approach, the values assessment provided us with a basis for communicating effectively with the local community in order to raise their awareness about the site, make it relevant to them, and ultimately to engage and empower them to become long-term guardians of their heritage and their local archaeology.

The diversity of the values that emerged from our open-ended process highlights the risk posed by efforts to simplify heritage values into a limited set of categories. Such efforts potentially diminish our appreciation of the full spectrum of heritage values and their richness as expressed through the

multitude of stakeholders and their conflicting or varying priorities, experiences, impressions and motives. There is a real danger that values assessments that are based on a pre-existing list of categories become a mere box-ticking process, which risks detracting from the richness of the heritage in question.

We learned through our experiences – and indeed through our mistakes – that it is preferable for a detailed values assessment, with a significant academic and inclusive ethnographic element, to *precede* destructive archaeological excavations and other heritage management work rather than being implemented during or after excavation. I would additionally argue that this process should go far beyond the values assessments that are sometimes prescribed by funding institutions, and which tend to be treated as formalities; rather this process should be instrumental to the whole heritage management and public engagement endeavor.

This project and its results also highlight how important it is for heritage management planning to include activities to protect and promote the whole spectrum of values of heritage sites. Conventional conservation programs tend to give disproportionate emphasis to protecting the tangible fabric of heritage sites. It is, however, at least equally important to conduct activities to protect and promote those heritage values that are primarily related to the non-archaeological fabric of the sites and those based on intangible elements, not least those that are connected to the knowledge, beliefs and lives of local people who live in and around heritage sites. This implies that heritage conservation programs should include not only archaeologists and conservators but also anthropologists, environmentalists and educators, and it highlights the important role of academic research, education programs and other non-physical conservation activities in heritage conservation and management programs.

In sum, with our ‘values-obsessed’ approach, we argue that when we study, protect and promote heritage, we should above all be studying, protecting and promoting what the total spectrum of heritage stands for, including what it means to local people, with all the diversity and variety that this implies.

The significance of community engagement

Various approaches to public archaeology have emphasized the value of community participation, but the approach that we followed differed from much work in this area because the project engaged with the local community not only as one of many stakeholders, but as experts in the values of their heritage. Our experience highlights that acknowledging the relevant expertise of local communities in relation to their heritage is not merely ethical, but also serves various practical purposes. First, the engagement of local communities as experts opens access to a wide range of important data

that would usually be off the radar for conventionally recognized heritage experts such as archaeologists and conservators. As explained in Chapter 5, by enlarging the category of ‘experts’ to include members of the local community, we also expand the pool of expertise on which heritage managers are able to draw and the number of people who have an interest in the success of the project. Second, our experience showed that it was through their engagement as experts that their heritage became relevant to local community members and that they were ultimately empowered to pursue their own initiatives to protect and promote it. Third, thanks to this relationship with the local community, the project became much easier in logistical terms, as community members were extremely hospitable and willing to help in many practical aspects. And it was certainly more enjoyable for everyone involved.

Of course, the approach to ‘community empowerment’ public archaeology that we advocate for in this volume brings with it responsibilities, not least because one outcome of the process of empowerment is that the power gained by local communities in relation to their heritage will go beyond the control of the stakeholders who originally created the process. As we saw in Chapter 6, the local community of Gonies quickly began to use the project and the peak sanctuary site to pursue ends and objectives that were quite independent of the project. We would not have been able to maintain the close engagement with the community if we had not been willing to listen to their needs and priorities and to adapt our activities to take their priorities into account, where possible, while maintaining our academic integrity.

In other words, our project was not a one-way street, whereby we taught the local community members about their site and how they should protect it. It was not even a two-way street, whereby we informed the locals and the locals in turn gave us information about the site. The project enmeshed itself in village social dynamics and became part of them, using them for its own ends while also recognizing the fact that the project was being used by the local community members for their own endeavors.

Our experiences therefore taught us that projects that follow such a ‘community empowerment’ approach to public archaeology should not be prescriptive in terms of their expectations, but should be sufficiently flexible to be able to adapt their approaches and activities in response to the characteristics and priorities of the local community in a creative fashion that enables the overall project goals to be achieved in ways that are also beneficial to the community.

By advocating for greater community engagement in heritage management, we do not in any way detract from the essential role of the relevant state authorities. The role of state authorities as guardians, law enforcers, adjudicators between conflicting interests in relation to heritage, and, ultimately as the key stakeholders in the protection of heritage cannot be replaced. Quite the contrary, we believe that public archaeology can help state

authorities fulfill their missions better and more efficiently. Our experience suggests that engaging with local communities does not detract from the power of the state to enforce the law, but rather creates a larger network of individuals who will help enforce it.

Towards ‘ever-blossoming’ heritage

The common denominator between both this obsession with values and the emphasis on community empowerment is, of course, a focus on people. People are both the bearers of heritage values and the guardians and beneficiaries of heritage sites. This may sound like stating the obvious, but very often heritage managers (and particularly archaeologists and conservators) are so absorbed in their efforts to conserve the remnants of the past in the form of the physical fabric of heritage sites that they neglect this human, living dimension of heritage. Yet, as we have argued at various points through this volume, the very term *heritage* makes reference to the past and its impact on the present, since it is something we inherit from the past that has an influence on us today. The discipline of archaeology may often be about the dead, and their remains, but it should be conducted for the benefit of the living.

As can be testified through countless examples of undervalued and damaged heritage sites across Greece, and certainly in many other places throughout the world, this frequent failure to pay sufficient attention to the living, human dimension of heritage almost inevitably contributes to the vicious circle of mistrust between archaeologists and local communities. Since it is difficult to imagine that archaeological services will ever have sufficient resources to protect all heritage sites, approaches that alienate communities from their local heritage are effectively condemning sites to neglect, at best, and often to damage and destruction.

Heritage is often conserved only for what it was, rather than for how it can contribute to our present and our future. Conservation has an important role to play, of course, as it ensures the continuing existence of physical heritage for present and future generations. But if present and future generations ignore it or fail to engage with it, heritage becomes neglected, irrelevant, and ultimately dies. Heritage can only be relevant when it is useful, and it can only be useful when it helps people understand themselves and the world, inspires them and helps them to create the future.

Our experiences through this project demonstrate that when heritage is understood as something that lives and evolves through heritage values, many of which are carried primarily by local communities, it is not only valued and protected by those who live close to it, but it becomes a self-sustaining resource for the flourishing of those communities. This is testified by the grassroots initiatives of the community to protect and promote their

heritage, including the restoration of the village windmill, led by the Cultural Association of Gonies, which was funded by the community itself (even though external funding was potentially available) and drew almost exclusively on local materials and skills (described in Chapter 6). Because the village residents now view themselves as the guardians of their heritage, they are not only engaged in protecting their ancient and more recent heritage, but they are also using it to mobilize other resources for the good of the village, to re-engage with their diaspora and to bring visitors from near and far to celebrate the uniqueness of the village, thereby contributing to their goal of bringing new life to the village.

The remarkable accomplishments of this very modest rural community demonstrate how a people-centered approach to heritage management, which gives emphasis to protecting and promoting heritage values and to empowering the communities that bear those values, is an approach that, in conventional heritage management and project management terminology, has the potential to be highly ‘sustainable’. This point is emphasized through the comparison, made in Chapter 6, between the grassroots Gonies windmill restoration initiative and another extremely costly windmill restoration project that drew on external funding and, predominantly, on foreign expertise and materials, and that will almost inevitably need further sizable injections of external resources in the not so distant future in order for those windmills to be maintained.

Sustainability is a rather unsatisfactory term, for a number of reasons. Not only has it been overused with many different meanings, generally ‘adding to a conceptual muddle [Carswell et al. (1997), 10], but it is also a rather conservative word. It is etymologically related to the Latin word *sustineo* – meaning ‘to hold up’, ‘support’ (Oxford Latin Dictionary *s.v.*) – and it gives emphasis to the maintenance and conservation of past elements, but it fails to capture the creativity, dynamism and forward-looking elements that are, in our view, at least equally important components of a successful heritage initiative that will continue to have a positive impact in the long term.

An alternative term that I propose as being much closer to capturing the essence of what, in our view, we should be aiming for in heritage management is the Greek word *aephoria* (ἀειφορία), today meaning ‘ever-blossoming’, and etymologically derived from the word *φέρω* – *phero* – ‘bring’ or ‘blossom’, and the word *αἰ* – *aei* – ‘forever’.¹ In other words, by choosing the term *aephoria* over the term *sustainability* as an ideal for heritage management, we shift the emphasis from heritage as something that we need to ‘hold up’ or hold on to, toward something that, under the right conditions, can keep ‘blossoming’ or ‘bringing’ benefits to people and society.

Aephoria implies a condition of continuous blossoming and thriving, of relevance, creativity, dynamism and innovation. By making *aephoria* our goal



Figure 7.1 Spetoulo-Christos showing Aris Anagnostopoulos the land near his village
Source: Photo: Aris Anagnostopoulos.

in heritage management, we give emphasis to conserving heritage while also making heritage relevant and using heritage to benefit people and society (Figure 7.1).

* * *

This volume has focused on describing the approach, methodology and outcomes of our public archaeology project. There are many aspects of the research that have emerged from this project and that could not be accommodated in the present volume. Further reports about this project are forthcoming, including a volume dedicated to exploring the interplay between heritage projects and local political dynamics in greater detail.

As every site and every local community is unique, there is, of course, a limit to which the tools and methods developed for our project can be directly replicated for the purpose of other projects. However, we believe that, as a case study, our project not only contributes to the currently very limited portfolio of public archaeology studies in Greece,



Figure 7.2 The foundation of a church

Source: Photo: Andreas Smaragdis, Sr.

but also makes a needed addition to the relatively limited literature on public archaeology outside the Anglo-Saxon countries that have largely dominated this field.

Moreover, several characteristics of our project will be familiar to heritage managers working on countless sites throughout the world. The site we were working on is very small, the location is remote, visitors are few and the available funding is very limited. This is the situation of many, if not the majority, of heritage sites worldwide. We therefore hope that, through the small contribution the project has made to knowledge in this field, this volume may become a useful resource for those who are interested in public archaeology in rural communities, wherever they may be.

Above all, we hope that our experiences and the results of our project inspire those working in heritage management to adopt *aephoria* as a goal and to strive to make heritage truly relevant and a benefit to local communities and to society. This, we feel, has been the greatest achievement of our public archaeology project, and this, we argue, should be a key aim for heritage management more generally.

Note

- 1 This is used in preference to the alternative Greek word 'βιωσιμότητα' (*viosimoteta*) meaning 'survivability', 'keeping [something] alive', which is the best equivalent to 'sustainability', which is also associated with conservation, preservation, maintenance much like its English counterpart.

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