

## Pagai Reformed: Law, Politics, Heritage

Community involvement in professional archaeological practice is a relatively new area of scholarly research (Marshall 2002), aligned with the post-processual turn in the 1980s and 90s, although by no means was it absent in the field prior to this period. Issues surrounding the convergence of archaeology and community have been ever-present, from notable instances such as Lord Elgin and the removal of the Parthenon Marbles from Greece, the Ozette Archaeological Project allying with the Makah Indian Nation, and Ian Hodder allowing Mother Goddess worshippers into Çatalhöyük. There has always been a contention between different groups with vested interests in the practice and products of archaeology. Proponents of community archaeology wish to include the viewpoints of the historically-marginalized and most heavily-impacted groups, the people for whom the site is a daily reality.

This paper will take these concerns in the context of Pagai, and Greece on the whole where the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) (Smith 2006) creates and presents a particular narrative. The AHD is an extensive concept made up of the opinions of heritage experts, international and state-sanctioned organizations, Western-centric ideas, and dominant aesthetics - all problematic when implemented in a standard over a broad cultural milieu. Even within an ethnically-homogeneous country such as Greece, there are social and cultural divergences relating towards the preservation of their own antiquities (Hamilakis 2007). Few scholars have discussed the relation between local Greek communities and nearby archaeological sites and examining the ways in which cultural heritage law, a creation of the AHD, mediates and defines this relationship has gone particularly underexplored. In order to examine the gains and losses which come with the enactment of a national heritage law at a local scale, I will be using the case study of Pagai.

*Η Ακρόπολη των Παγών* (The Akropolis of Pagai) is an archaeological site situated in what is now Alepochori, a modern Greek vacation town in the eastern part of the Corinthian Gulf. Ancient references to Pagai consist only of passing mentions by Pausanias (1.41.8, 44.4) and Thucydides (1.103, 115), whom note its importance as a coastal harbor during the Classical period. Relative to other noteworthy acropoli, such as Acrocorinth and the Acropolis of Athens, the site fails to inspire with its material remains now consisting of only a few lines of stone, the remnants of walls, towers, and gates. These conspicuous artifacts line the slopes of a low, flat-topped hill in the center of town, the acropolis proper, on which a modern neighborhood rests. This space entangles the local community and the ancient remains along with the national legislation which protects them.

This residuum of the Classical past stands as a physical reminder to a shared idea of Greekness to the local populace. Greece labels itself a “superpower” of culture (Hamilakis 2007) and therefore the preservation of this Classical past is a necessity - not only on nationalistic grounds, but also on economic ones. Tourism and related industries make up a significant portion of Greece's GDP (OECD 2012) and the national and international image of its cultural heritage plays a major factor in this. On the other hand, the newest comprehensive ordinance, Law 3028 which passed in 2002, follows the tradition of Greek cultural heritage legislation (Voudouri 2010) by calling for harsh sentencing and fines on anyone interacting with these material remains in an unapproved manner. I argue that this protection involves a weird chronopolitics (Witmore 2013) because it separates the site from the present in which it resides in a double sense - by framing the site in terms of the past and by offsetting it as a projected futurity that ignores community concerns, placing it aside for strangers yet to come. To this end, I conducted a preliminary survey this past summer of Alepochorians and the ways in which they relate to this

site. By examining these responses, as well as the history of preservation at the site and the imposition of the current archaeological law, I will position their concerns against the predominant narrative of the AHD in this limited, localized situation.

### Bibliography

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