

Ancient Greece in the European Community

The Narrative of Ancient Greece and Greece's Membership of the European community 1979-2015

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List of Abbreviations

EC	European Community
Ec	European Commission
ECB	European Central Bank
EEC	European Economic Community
EMU	European Monetary Union
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MEP	Member European Parliament
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
US	United States

Introduction

In November 2016, former president of the United States Barack Obama said his farewells to Europe in his last speech as president. He delivered his final speech in Athens, Greece, where he ended his tour through Europe. Talking on the strengthening of democracy in particular, and the challenges future generations will face, he also addressed the importance of Greece as a country by referring to her ancient legacy:

I think we all know that the world owes an enormous debt to Greece and the Greek people. So many of our ideas of democracy, so much of our literature and philosophy and science can be traced back to roots right here in Athens¹.

The love or admiration for ancient Greece is a recurrent phenomenon throughout the ages. Many societies looked back to the fifth and fourth century BCE, when ancient Greek societies flourished. Especially Athens was associated with the development of philosophy, the invention of democracy, and above all the creation of civilization. Greece in the era between the Great Persian Wars (479-478 BCE) and the death of Alexander the Great (323 BCE) is mostly referred to as Classical Greece.² The fascination for Classical Greece is reflected in the history of the discipline of classical studies, which began in antiquity with the study of Greek text in the Hellenistic period.³

Traditionally, the Hellenistic age starts with the death of Alexander the Great and ends with the battle of Actium (31 CE). However, before his death, Alexander conquered a major area which was

¹ Huffington Post 'the Revenge of the Acropolis', https://www.huffingtonpost.com/justine-frangouliargyris/the-revenge-of-the-acropo_b_13043856.html. [retrieved: 11-05-2018]., and Obama Whitehouse 'Remarks by President Obama at Stavros Niarchos Foundation Cultural Center in Athens, Greece' <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2016/11/16/remarks-president-obama-stavros-niarchos-foundation-cultural-center>. [retrieved 11-05-2018].

² Walter Uwe 'the Classical Age as a Historical Epoch' in: Kinzl, Konrad, H., (eds.) *A Companion to the Classical Greek World* (Oxford 2006) 1. 'Classics' deriving from '*Classicus*' refers to the highest class of citizens in Rome. However, by the second century CE, the connotation changed. From this moment on, 'classics' also points to the writers and their work that was of the highest quality. See for more information: Ziolkowski, Jan M., '*Middle Ages*' in: Kallendorf, Craig, W., *A Companion to the Classical Tradition* (Oxford 2007) 17. Even though I am aware of the complexities of the use of the term 'classical', I choose not to concentrate on this debate, due to the focus of this work.

³ Christopher Stray, 'the History of the Discipline' in: Bispham, Edward, Harrison, Thomas, and Sparkles, Brian, A., *the Edinburgh Companion to Ancient Greece and Rome* (Edinburgh 2006) 3.

inhabited with non-Greek speaking people, and those inhabitants needed to learn Greek. Despite the fact that the Romans conquered several parts of the Mediterranean, including areas which were Hellenized before, the admiration for Greek literary work remained. Roman scholars kept the tradition of studying Greek texts, next to their own.⁴

The tradition of the study of Greek and Roman literature never perished, and was continued, particularly by the Christian Church. From the sixth century onwards, monks produced manuscripts in the scriptoria of monasteries, which were spread all over Europe. These manuscripts, together with texts and knowledge from the Arab world, created a rediscovery of classical Greek. Combined with historical events, such as the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the study of Greek literature continued and therefore the tradition of admiration for classical Greek society.⁵

Eventually, in the eighteenth century, the appreciation for whatever linked to Classical Greece came highly into fashion. From this moment, the modern study of Classical Greece is characterized by its association with aesthetics and qualitative and normative ideas. This 'rediscovery of Greece' reached its pinnacle under the influence of the Enlightenment.⁶ Eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe, was highly involved with Classical Greece in several different disciplines and movements, such as neo-classicism and humanism. The most striking example that reflects Europe's fascination with Classical Greece is the philhellenic movement which came into existence during the same time.⁷

Philhellenism, or 'the friends and supporters of the Greek cause', could be seen as a political-romantic movement, which supported the Greek War of Independence (1821-1833) and thus the struggle for liberation from the Turks. Public opinion in the West was highly characterized by a shared solidarity towards the Greeks and affected a broad range of domains – from political activism to art and literature.⁸ Hence the classical, or the Hellenistic, became highly respected and in the long run her values affected political thinking after the French Revolution.⁹

The values derived from Classical Greece supported different political perspectives. Order and self-discipline for example served conservatives, whereas the principle of active citizens matched liberal ideals. A more radical political statement is found in the idea of republicanism and liberty. The 'classical' in this context represents something very old, but in this time proliferated more easily because of its cherished qualities. The sentiment that was established is well captured in the words of

⁴ Stray, 'History of the Discipline', 3.

⁵ Stray, 'History of the Discipline', 3.

⁶ Uwe, 'The Classical Age', 1.

⁷ Uwe, 'The Classical Age', 1-2.

⁸ George Tolia, 'The Resilience of Philhellenism', *The Historical Review*, XIII (2016) 51-52.

⁹ Traditionally the end of the Age of Enlightenment in historiography.

the English poet Shelley: 'We are all Greeks. Our Laws, our literature, our religion, our art, have their roots in Greece'¹⁰.

It is in this age that a romanticized, ideal narrative of Classical Greece came into existence. Moreover, it seems that even today the sentiment of Classical Greece as the foundation of civilization, democracy and philosophy still lingers. Even more so in the connotation of the word 'ancient'. This term seems to replace the word 'classical'. The whole of ancient Greece, seems to be narrowed down to merely two centuries: the fifth and the fourth century BCE.

While this view is characterized by the search for continuities between the ancient Greeks and contemporary societies, in current traditions scholars are also looking for whatever that is 'alien' or peculiar about the ancient Greeks. This process could be described as 'defamiliarizing' in order to reduce the identification, which is easily made with ancient Greece. In this way the ideal image of ancient Greece becomes historicized, in a sense that new light is shed upon the ancient civilization. Take into account, for example, the suppression of slaves, women and other minorities or the rivalry between west and east – the orient and occident.¹¹

Anyhow, the sentiment of ancient Greece as the cradle of civilization still holds a rather strong symbolic place in western societies. Ancient Greece seems to be the origin of complex civilization. The ancient Greeks provided Europe with philosophy, knowledge on medicine, mathematics, astronomy and so on. Moreover, the Athenians established democracy, and promoted active citizenship. This Greek 'ideal' is captured in the image of ancient Greece, which is ever present and has a positive connotation. Consequently, the image of ancient Greece can be regarded as a dominant narrative¹² that attracts attention in different periods over time. Having started in the Roman era and continuing in the Middle Ages, it eventually peaked in eighteenth century Europe. Furthermore, it seems that after the Greek War of Independence the classical legacy of Greece was appropriated by Europe.

The narrative of ancient Greece is present in contemporary political rhetoric and recently emerged in the debate on the Euro Crisis, which started in 2008. The financial and economic problems that Greece faced during the crisis became a catalyzer for questioning her membership of the Monetary Union and in addition, the European Union.¹³ In response to the question why Greece

¹⁰ Thomas J. Wise (eds.) *Hellas a Lyrical Drama* (London 1886) VIII.

¹¹ Uwe, 'The Classical Age', 3-4.

¹² I will address the topic of narratives and grand narratives more extensively in another part of this section and discuss this phenomenon in relation to the study of memory.

¹³ In order to clarify the used terminology considering the abbreviations of European institution, I will use the official abbreviations. However, there is a slight nuance I would like to add into this usage. Europe was unified in the institution of the European Economic Community (1957-1993), and subsequently the European Union

accessed the EEC in 1981, Jean Claude Juncker, president of the European Commission since 2014, replied 'Greece joined the European Community in 1981 because we didn't want to see Plato play in the second division'¹⁴. He reminded his audience of the cultural value of Greece's ancient heritage.

Juncker recalled the memory of ancient Greece, which is an example that shows how the narrative of ancient Greece still slumbers in the cultural memory of European society. The narrative of ancient Greece is employed in the twentieth and 21st centuries to legitimize Greece membership of the EEC. In other words: Greece's ancient past was used and appropriated in later times. To study this employment¹⁵ of the past, two theories are particularly relevant: that of memory studies and that of classical reception studies. Both approaches are relatively recent developments in the academic field, but still an abundant amount of work has already been published in both fields.

Cultural memory as a field of study entered the humanities as a concept opposed to history. The origin of the concept can be traced back to the 1920s, to the works of two scholars. Maurice Halbwachs developed a theory on 'collective memory' in his sociological study *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (1925), in which he argued that memory depends on social structures. In a study that concentrates on a European memory of images, Aby Warburg attempted to explain the concept of '*Bildgedächtnis*'.¹⁶

Halbwachs' collective memory can be understood as a mechanism that works through collective historical experiences and notions from the past, which consequently shape the common identity of certain groups. However, Halbwachs makes a sharp distinction between history and memory. In his view, both terms refer to the past but are irreconcilable. Central to history is its universal character and the ruptures and contradictions that define the past. In short: history deals with the past. But, opposed to history, stands collective memory, which is characterized by particularity. Collective memory deals with the needs of groups in the present, and

(1993-present). That leaves the European Community as a term which appoints a unified, institutionalized Europe in more broad definition. Hence the term 'EC', points towards the European community as a whole, without referring to a specific institution. I will use this term to avoid confusion with the word 'Europe', which also points to a definition in terms of geography or an idea.

¹⁴ The Guardian 'Greece in Europe: A Short History', <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/03/greece-in-europe-a-short-history>. [retrieved: 03-05-2018].

¹⁵ I prefer 'employment' over 'use' of the past. The latter verb carries a more negative connotation and it is not my aim to judge about the 'usage' of the past. I rather intend to understand the employment of a selective part of the past.

¹⁶ Astrid Erll, (transl. by Sara B. Young) *Memory in Culture* (New York 2011) 12-13.

therefore memory is no faithful reproduction of the past but rather a selective though functional mechanism.¹⁷

The concept of cultural memory subsided for a few decades, but in the 1980s, the concept of collective memory as a field of study acquired more attention from the academic world. In her work *Memory in Culture*, Astrid Erll aimed to explain this new interest for memory in different fields of study. She explained that the 'memory boom' of the past decades is a result of the social relevance of memory studies. Furthermore, she stated that remembering is a practice that stretches across time and space and thus is highly dynamic and dependent on its context.¹⁸

During the memory boom, Pierre Nora entered the discourse on memory studies with his work *Les lieux de memoire* (1984-1992). With his 'places of memory' he provided a concept that fills the gap between history and memory. However, he emphasized the differences between history and memory. With his work, Nora offered inspiration for other scholars to engage in memory studies.¹⁹ By the end of the 1980, Jan and Aleida Assmann became involved in the topic of memory studies.

Jan Assmann presented memory as a phenomenon that is either internal or external. The first form of memory is characterized by how memory was originally approached: as part of the human brain, studied through biology and neurology. The second form, however, corresponds with individual memory, because the content, order and their maintenance are products of social and cultural context. In this field of external memory Assmann distinguished four types, and cultural memory is one of them.²⁰

According to Assmann, there are two phases in cultural memory. The first phase is characterized by the memory that is communicated and interpreted between participant and eyewitnesses. He labeled this type of memory as 'living' or 'communicating memory'. Opposed to this concept, Assmann proposed the concept of proper cultural memory. This type of memory stretches further in time, across generations until only relics and stories are left as a reminder of the past.²¹ Cultural memory can proliferate longer because the handing down of meaning to memories creates the conditions for memory to resurface in the present.²²

¹⁷ Erll, *Memory in Culture*, 16-18.

¹⁸ Erll, *Memory in Culture*, 1-3.

¹⁹ Erll, *Memory in Culture*, 23-27.

²⁰ Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich 1992) 5.

²¹ Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (Cambridge 2011) 48-51.

²² Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 5-7.

Aleida Assmann saw 'proper' cultural memory as an externalization and objectification of memory, which is communicated and reflected in cultural representations. Furthermore, cultural memory is an uncontrolled bottom-up process, but could be controlled by top-down institutions. Finally, cultural memory is a type of memory that has the largest time range; especially western cultural memory could stretch back for over 3000 years. Moreover, human memory is related to time and the conception of time is interwoven with human identity. Humans have the ability to experience time – this capacity is called *autonoesis* – and this human faculty enables people to place themselves in the past and the future.²³

Ann Rigney presented another nuance in the ideas on cultural memory by proposing the idea of vicarious recollections. To Rigney cultural memory is mediated through cultural representation and not through direct experiences. Cultural representations communicated vicarious recollections and with the passing of time the vicariousness of those indirect memories increases. She therefore saw collective memory as a social constructivist process, because collective memory is a shared construction of the past in the present. Hence, to Rigney cultural memory is a shared construction of the present, instead of a product from the past.²⁴

In addition, David Lowenthal had an interesting view on the relation between memory and heritage (in which heritage functions as a cultural representation). In his work *The Past is a Foreign Country*, he emphasized how the past is conjured and remembered and how the past is different from the present. By recognizing this idea, the past became something to preserve.²⁵ However, the past is omnipresent, regardless whether that past is celebrated, ignored or rejected. 'Relics, histories and memories suffuse human experience'²⁶, as Lowenthal stated. Nonetheless, heritage is not history, because even though heritage uses historical traces, it connects with tales and associations of the past, which are not necessarily testable or plausible. Heritage affirms the belief in a certain past, attests identity, and is therefore biased. Whereas history attempts to reduce bias, heritage strengthens bias.²⁷

Opposed to the division between history, memory, and heritage, another view is presented by Jay Winter. He discussed how the past is performed in contemporary societies and how this relates to memory and history. Memory and history are not absolutely divided. Stories are components of history

²³ Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad (eds.) *Memory in a Global Age: Discourse, Practices and Trajectories* (New York 2010) 122.

²⁴ Ann Rigney, 'Plenitude, Scarcity and Circulation of Cultural Memory' *Journal of European studies* 35 (2005) 12-14.

²⁵ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge 1985) XVI-XVII.

²⁶ Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, XV

²⁷ Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 7-8.

as a discipline, but they also recall memory, according to Winter. Furthermore, stories are situated in the domain of historical remembrance, which constructs a shared past. In this manner, a story tells the collective who they are and where they came from. Moreover, stories about the past that people still remember form webs, which together form a narrative.²⁸

The narrative of ancient Greece is first of all a story. However, this story shapes other narratives, especially 'foundation truths', which are part of a grand narrative. A meta narrative contains stories such as foundation myths, for example the idea in which ancient Greece functions as the origin of modern European democracy. Most often such grand narratives proliferate for centuries and have a highly mythical nature.²⁹ According to Vincente Della Sala, grand narratives tend to legitimate practices or smaller narratives and moreover they provide a narrative for society which is based on myths. He argues that every society needs a narrative to give meaning to, and a reason for its existence. Furthermore he claimed that the EU lacks political legitimation due to the absence of myths.³⁰ However, the image of ancient Greece may implicitly provide a myth, albeit somewhat less explicit than a grand narrative normally does.

The narrative of ancient Greece has a place in western cultural memory. This narrative is communicative in origin; for its proliferation it needs to be shared and a certain meaning needs to be handed down. Recalling the memory of ancient Greece is a form of reception of ancient Greece. Classical reception studies accommodates an approach which centers around meanings that are attached to ancient heritage in different contexts. This discipline derived from the classical tradition, which focusses on the perpetuating value of antiquity in western history. Reception studies stands opposed to the idea of this tradition. In this view, the classical is constantly received and re-appropriated in different context by different societies.³¹

²⁸ Jay Winter 'Introduction. The Performance of the Past: Memory, History, Identity' in: Tilmans, Karin, van Vree, Frank & Winter, Jay, *Performing the Past: Memory, History and Identity in Modern Europe* (Amsterdam 2010) 12-15.

²⁹ Callum G. Brown, *Postmodernism for Historians* (Edinburgh 2005) 97-98. Without going into too much detail on Jean-François Lyotard and his theories on the mistrust of grand narratives and postmodernism, it is of importance to address the theory on (grand) narratives concisely.

³⁰ J. M. Bernstein, 'Grand Narratives' in: Wood, David (eds.), *On Paul Ricoeur, Narrative and Interpretation* (London 1991) 102-103, and Sala, della, Vincent 'Political Myth, Mythology and the European Union' *CMS* 48 (2010) 1-2. I will not participate in the debate whether grand narratives still function or not, as this is a different research topic than the one addressed in this thesis.

³¹ Maarten de Pourcq, 'Classical Reception Studies: Reconceptualizing the study of the Classical Tradition' *The International Journal of the Humanities* 9 (2012) 119.

Maarten de Pourcq presents a concise history of the developments in classical reception studies and in his work he sketched the paradox which occurs when it comes to the appreciation of the classical. There is a strong admiration for the classical, especially in cultures which have been colonized by the Greeks or Romans or the ones that called themselves inheritors of the classical past. However, a recent widespread skepticism of the value of the classical antiquity is traceable. Direct knowledge on the ancient past is shrinking, and our 'communicative memory' that holds the classical is fading.³²

Nevertheless, there are still elements, concepts, and stories that reflect traces of the ancient past, whether they portray a direct or indirect reference to Roman and Greek antiquity.³³ These traces are not static or traditional in an absolute way. Moreover, they are of great value in order to examine the cultural processes in which these ancient references are functioning.³⁴ Reception studies do not only engage with individual aspects of the past, they rather focus on the context and the cultural process in which different elements from the past are received. Lorna Hardwick emphasizes the wide range and diversity of reception studies. Even though she focuses more on the reception of classical texts in her work *'Reception studies'* (2003), some elements and approaches she described are of value for this study.

According to Hardwick, each element from classical antiquity bears its own reception history and this requires appropriate methods of investigation. However, in general, reception studies are about the context of ancient works, their subsequent interpretations, and appropriation in modern times.³⁵ Besides this process, she presents a working vocabulary for analyzing different reception studies. I will address a few concepts that are relevant for the narrative of ancient Greece.

First, there is the concept of appropriation, which is when scholars study an ancient image or text and use it to support subsequent direct or indirect ideas. Second, Hardwick describes migration. A source moves through time and space, and this affects the characteristics of the source. Finally, adaption is the process in which a version of the source is adapted for various purposes.³⁶ In *A Companion to Classical Receptions*, Hardwick and Stray introduce classical reception as follows: the

³² Pourcq, 'Classical Reception Studies', 120.

³³ As recent as 2016, the *Classical Receptions Journal* dedicated a special issue on the legacy of Greek political thought. This is just one example of the abundant and growing field of academic studies on ancient receptions. See for more information: Goff, B., and Leonard, M., 'Introduction: the Legacy of Greek Political Thought' 10 *Classical Receptions Journal* (2016) 1-10.

³⁴ Pourcq, 'Classical Reception Studies', 120

³⁵ Lorna Hardwick, *Reception Studies* (Oxford 2003) 1-2.

³⁶ Hardwick, *Reception Studies*, 9-10.

study of Greek and Roman texts, ideas, myths, visual and physical culture, and how this material is transmitted, translated, excerpted, interpreted, rewritten, re-imagined, and represented.³⁷ In the introduction they hint at the debate which includes reception studies in the context of the so-called 'democratic turn'. This would pose the question whether the ones who are receiving have a role in the construction of meaning at the moment of reception.³⁸

In any case, reception studies cover a broad field of topics, methods, and approaches. But in the search for more specifically the reception of ancient Greece, the volume edited by Haagsma, de Boer and Moormann provides some insight into this field. This volume focuses on the impact of Classical Greece on European and national identities. Within this volume a broad range of topics is presented, such as the roots of the fascination of ancient Greece, both internal and external. In addition, there are contributions on the different influences that play a role in the appreciation of the classical, like humanism, classicism, and romanticism.³⁹ The most interesting part is the way in which the appreciation for ancient Greek society changes over time and which elements from ancient Greek history are put forward in different contexts.

In a very recent work Johanna Hanink scrutinized the continuing admiration for Classical Greece in present times. She addressed the movement of philhellenism and how this phenomenon created idealized ideas about Ancient Greece and in particular Ancient Athens. Moreover she examines how the ideal image of ancient Greece, constructs the symbolic 'debt' that Western Civilization owes to modern Greece in context of Greece's financial problems, which occurred after 2008.⁴⁰

In conclusion to this introduction, there is an ideal image of ancient Greece. This image considers the narrative of Classical Greece as being the cradle of civilization and the birthplace of philosophy and democracy. This specific narrative of ancient Greece was constructed around the nineteenth century. Her story proliferated in western cultural memory. Greece ancient classical past is appropriated by Europe as part of her own and this narrative reflects values that are norms in contemporary Europe.

However, modern Greece was not always associated with Classical Greece. Even though modern Greece gained official accession to the European community in 1981, she is known for her economic and political instability. In fact, it is rather remarkable that Greece is part of the EU as Greece

³⁷ Lorna Hardwick and Christopher Stray, *A Companion to Classical Receptions* (Oxford 2008) 1.

³⁸ Hardwick et al., *A Companion to Classical Receptions*, 3-4.

³⁹ Haagsma, Margriet & den Boer, Pim (eds.), 'The impact of Classical Greece on European and National Identities', *Proceedings of an International Colloquium, held at the Netherlands Institute at Athens, 2-4 October 2000* (Amsterdam, 2003) I-IV.

⁴⁰ Johanna Hanink, *The Classical Debt: Greek Antiquity in an Era of Austerity* (London 2017) IX-XIV.

is situated on the border of the western and eastern world. While ancient Greece culturally attributed to western civilization, geographically she was not part of the west. If the Renaissance, Reformation, and the development of secular states are what defines the construction of western civilization, then Greece is not part of this all. Before the World Wars, Greece was thought to be a Balkan state rather than a European country. It was part of the 'Eastern Question' in the context of the decline of the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, Classical Greece as part of the West was a propagandist view of Cold War politics. Unlike the states which shared a border with Greece, Greece was never a satellite state of the USSR and therefore part of 'the West'. In conclusion, Greece can be classified as either Near or Middle Eastern, Balkan, Mediterranean or European, depending on the one who makes the classification.⁴¹

Nevertheless, when negotiations on Greece's accession to the EEC started in 1974, the narrative of ancient Greece made her way into political rhetoric. In this context a paradox is reflected. There is an admiration for ancient Greece, though notions of modern Greece do not have such a positive connotation. This results in a questions that may be formulated as follows: *How is the narrative of Greece's ancient past employed in her contested membership of the European Community (ECC & EU) between 1979 and 2015?*

I will answer this question by addressing three main themes. Chapter one will focus on the construction of the image of ancient Greece in the nineteenth century. Also, the movements of classicism, humanism, romanticism, and philhellenism are addressed in the context of the Greek War of independence. In this century, the admiration of ancient Greece was first an internal Greek phenomenon, but also became an international European occurrence. The second chapter will concentrate on the historical development, which led Greece to enter the EEC in 1981. Eventually, chapter three will present an analysis of references to ancient Greece in political rhetoric in the EC between 1979 and 2015. By examining the context of these references I hope to show how a constructed narrative of ancient Greece is selectively used in the twentieth and 21st century in the context of Greece's role in the EU.

⁴¹ Keith R. Legg, and John M. Roberts, *Modern Greece: a Civilization on the Periphery* (Oxford 1997) 2-4.

1. The Construction of the Image of Ancient Greece: Philhellenism and the Greek War of Independence

Nowadays the world of the ancient Greeks is frequently connected to concepts such as 'the West', 'Europe', and 'civilization'. Also, modern Greece is now geographically part of Europe and member of the EU. This is rather remarkable however when taking in consideration Greece's history between the second century and the fifteenth century CE. After a period of Roman occupation, Greece became part of the Byzantine Empire in 324 CE and when Constantinople fell in 1453, Greece became under Ottoman control.⁴² Consequently, it seems not entirely logical that modern Greece is associated with Europe and the West.

Nevertheless, the image of Greece, whether ancient or modern, as a western, European country is partly a product of various mechanisms and movements that occurred in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe.⁴³ Greece (officially the Third Hellenic Republic, since 1974) is culturally, politically and economically part of Europe and the European Union. Greece's membership of the latter institution was established through the Treaty of Accession in 1979. Besides geopolitical motives for her membership, another form of legitimization functioned as a force for the inclusion in the (then) EEC. The narrative of ancient Greece and the ideal image that clings to this story form a mechanism of legitimization.

A strong admiration for the ancient Greeks is a recurrent phenomenon throughout different ages and contexts. The dominant view of ancient Greece as the primordial birthplace of civilization, democracy and philosophy was constructed in the nineteenth century. Movements such as (neo)classicism, neo-humanism and romanticism in the Age of Enlightenment provided the base for the 'construction of ancient Greece'.

The construction of the ideal image of ancient Greece is clearly reflected in the Greek War of Independence (1821-1833) and in the philhellenic movement that supported the Greek cause on a cultural and political level. Therefore, this chapter will focus on the making of ancient Greece by presenting a historical overview of the formation of modern Greece and the role of the philhellenic phenomena, which are embedded in the context of the Enlightenment and subsequently the movements of classicism, humanism and romanticism. This part will chronologically follow the events and developments from the proclamation of independence in 1821, up to the reign of King Otto. In

⁴² Legg, et al., *Civilization on the Periphery*, 2-4.

⁴³ Yannis Hamilakis, *The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archeology, and National Imagination in Greece* (Oxford 2007) 57-58.

this timeframe, I will focus on the dynamic character of philhellenism and how this phenomenon functioned as an internal and external reapplication of the image of ancient Greece.

1.1 The Construction of Ancient Greece

In order to comprehend the Greek War of Independence and the concept of philhellenism, a notion of the context in which both occurred is of great value in the process of understanding the admiration for the ancient Greeks. Therefore, in this section I will present a broad overview of the Enlightenment and the movements of humanism, classicism and romanticism. Furthermore I will address the attribution to Johann Joachim Winckelmann concerning the invention of classical antiquity and how this, in combination with broader European movements, affected the dominant idea of what classical Greece represents.

The Age of Enlightenment is traditionally classified as an European intellectual movement, a unitary phenomenon, which includes the canon of great philosophical thinkers from the eighteenth century.⁴⁴ During this age, revolutions in arts, science, politics and philosophy took place, all supported by the idea of 'reason'. The concept of reason was originally explored by the ancient Greek philosophers and subsequently by Roman thinkers.

The work of Roman, but especially Greek, authors was intensely studied by humanists in Europe. The term humanism first occurred in the beginning of the nineteenth century which describes a pedagogical program based on the reading of classical authors. However, by the end of the nineteenth century the study of classics was influenced by modern nation building and the connotation of 'humanism' changes.⁴⁵ Paradoxically, the study of classics became a traditional obstacle for the pedagogically better appreciated modern national education. However, national education was based on the idea that each nation was a continuum of classical antiquity. For this reason, individual identification with the classical is translated to national identification. This process of dealing with the classical in a nationalist way could be defined as neo-humanism.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge 2013) 3. Outram presents the Enlightenment as a multitude of processes and developments that interlink and conflate with one another. However, I will not debate the topic of the definition here, as it should be sufficient for now to concisely address only certain developments during the Age of Enlightenment.

⁴⁵ Pim den Boer, 'Neohumanism: Ideas, Identities, Identification', in: Haagsma, Margriet en den Boer, Pim, *The Impact of Classical Greece on European and National Identities: Proceedings of an International Colloquium, held at the Netherlands Institute at Athens, 2-4 October 2000* (Athens 2003) 3-5.

⁴⁶ Boer, den, 'Neohumanism', 3-5.

Neo-humanists study the classical in the light of national identity in different European countries. This is a very practical example of how the classics were revalued during the Age of Enlightenment. This sensibility towards the ancient Greeks is most often described as neoclassicism and its precedent 'classicism' is frequently coined in opposition to romanticism. The latter movement was a reaction to the 'over-rationalized' character of the Enlightenment.⁴⁷ As a consequence, during the Age of Enlightenment, different forces were at work which influence the ideas of people. When in 1821 the Greeks revolted against the Ottomans, the movements of humanism, neoclassicism and romanticism provided the context in which this war took place.

All this contributed to a European sentiment which supported the Greeks' fight for freedom in the first half of the nineteenth century. The admiration for the ancient Greeks could be captured in the concept of philhellenism. This movement stretched along nineteenth century Europe, infiltrating cultural and political ideas, which influenced public opinion on the Greek War of Independence.⁴⁸ However, before turning to the Greek Revolt, it is of use to shortly describe the three phases that can be distinguished in the philhellenic movement.

Even before philhellenism came to rise, the (re)valuation of the classical became firmly established in art. Painters, writers and scholars were inspired by the glorious ancient Greeks. Exemplary are studies by Johann Joachim Winckelmann, especially his *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (1764). Winckelmann's chronological overview and analysis of ancient and classical art deeply influenced contemporary views on the superiority of Greek art. In addition, his works are mechanisms in the construction of modern European discovery of antiquity.⁴⁹ In this way, Winckelmann contributes to the ideal image of ancient Greece within an art history context.

The first phase in philhellenism can be traced back to the realms of intellectual thinking, deriving from the study of classical texts. The idea of a 'free Greece' came into existence and contemporary Greek realities were viewed in relation to ancient Greece. In this idea, Greece should revive through the rebirth of past classical glories. This ideal colored the ideas of patriotic upheavals between 1790 and 1820. This period was also known as the 'Greek Enlightenment'.⁵⁰

Whereas the first phase still lingered in the field of academics and therefore was still more part of an idea, the second phase was characterized by practices concerning philhellenism. In this central phase, the philhellenic movement became a matter of action. People spread throughout other

⁴⁷ Boer, den, 'Neohumanism', 5-6.

⁴⁸ George Tolias, 'The Resilience of Philhellenism', *The Historical Review*, XIII (2016) 51-52.

⁴⁹ Katherine Harloe, *Winckelmann and the Invention of Antiquity: History and Aesthetics in the Age of Altertumwissenschaft* (Oxford 2013) 1-28.

⁵⁰ Tolias, 'The Resilience of Philhellenism', 63-64.

European countries actively supported the Greeks in their struggle for independence. The last phase of philhellenism occurred after the War of Independence and focused more on the cultural aftermath of the War. As I will point out later in this chapter, external forces such as Great Britain, France and Russia became moral guardians of philhellenism.⁵¹

The Age of Enlighten covered the European continent with changes in different aspects of society. With the reinvention of classical texts, a subsequent appreciation for the classical new ideas emerged. Combined with influences from humanistic, romantic and even nationalistic movements, an ideal image of ancient Greece was constructed. This image contains the narrative of the ancient Greeks as the founders of democracy, developers of ratio, philosophy and therefore civilization. In this context, Ottoman rule over Greece began to crumble, and the Greeks started their revolt.

1.2 Greek Independence

On the 25th of March 1821, Metropolitan Germanos III of Old Patras proclaimed the national uprising against the Ottomans by planting the flag of the revolution at the monastery of *Agia Lavra*. His actions are still honored in present-day Greece, since the Greeks still celebrate their national day on the 25th of March. However, the Greece insurgence against to Ottomans cannot be dated precisely.⁵² As early as 1770, isolated revolts occurred - and attacks on the Ottomans intensified in the months before March 1821. Nevertheless, motivations and aspirations for these revolts were different in various geographical areas and changed over time.

Yet, for this rebellion to be successful both internal and external factors played a significant role. The most important internal cause was the decline of the Ottoman administration and the subsequent rise of local administrator's independence. First of all, the Ottoman administration had to deal with unsettling activities at the borders of the empire. There were other resurrections in Arabia in the Southeast and in the west as well, in contemporary Albania, where Ali Pasha declared his territories independent. Furthermore, there was a war with Persia, which distracted the Ottoman administration from the activities on continental Greece.⁵³

As a result of the Napoleonic Wars, the people on the Greek islands suffered economic disruption, and on the mainland peasants were burdened with high taxes issued by local landlords.

⁵¹ Tolia, 'The Resilience of Philhellenism', 65-67.

⁵² Legg, et al., *Civilization on the Periphery*, 25.

⁵³ Legg, et al., *Civilization on the Periphery*, 25-26.

Furthermore, the territories of the Peloponnesus came into the hands of a few Turkish and Greek landlords and together with a growing demographic pressure the administration of the Ottomans became contested.⁵⁴

Moreover, external influences provided aid for the successful Greek War of Independence. For several decades', relations with Russia, also an orthodox Christian country, were strong and Western Europe found its way into Greece. The latter was due to increasing commerce between Europe and Greece, which made it possible not only to exchange goods, but to share ideas as well. This strengthened the close ties with western, 'progressive' European countries.⁵⁵

1.3 External Philhellenism

Meanwhile, other European countries supported the Greek War of Independence. The enthusiasm for the Greek cause is strongly related to the concept of philhellenism, which could be defined as 'those sympathetic to Greece', though an absolute definition is hard to give.⁵⁶ Philhellenism in a historical context especially occurred during the Greek War of Independence. The concept affected various domains in the nineteenth century, such as politics, art and literature. This wide-ranged characteristic of philhellenism reflects the resilience of the concept. The dynamic quality of philhellenism becomes clearer when considering the modern definition of the concept as presented in the Oxford Dictionary, where philhellenism is described as: 'The love for Greece, or Greek culture'.⁵⁷

However, admirations for 'ancient Greece' can be traced back to the Roman Empire. Emperors, such as Nero, Hadrian and Trajan could be described as 'philhellenes'⁵⁸, which shows that philhellenism has deep roots and the idea itself is not unique for the eighteenth or nineteenth century. Nevertheless, in the period between the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 CE and the Fall of Constantinople in 1453, the idea of philhellenism seems to be less present in politics and culture. However, the

⁵⁴ Legg, et al., *Civilization on the Periphery*, 25-26.

⁵⁵ Legg, et al., *Civilization on the Periphery*, 26.

⁵⁶ Tolias, 'The Resilience of Philhellenism', 51-52.

⁵⁷ Oxford Online English Dictionary 'Philhellenism',

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/237140?redirectedFrom=philhellenism#eid>. [retrieved: 24-04-2018].

⁵⁸ For more information on philhellenism in the Roman Republic- and Empire, see: Eric, S., Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* (Berkeley 1984), and K., Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks: 350 BCE – 200 BC*, (London 1993), and Eric, S., Gruen, *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome* (Ithaca 1992). Due to the focus of this research, I will not further elaborate on philhellenism or admiration for ancient Greece in the Roman period in this work.

admiration for ancient Greece and her culture grew rapidly in nineteenth-century Europe, as well as in Greece itself, even before the War of Independence.⁵⁹

Anyhow, in 1821 the Peloponnesus revolted against Turkish rule and in January 1822 the area had declared itself officially independent. Ottoman forces, however, attempted to invade the Peloponnesus several times between 1822 and 1824, but without any success. During this period, various rebellious leaders were unable to extend their control due to internal rivalries and in 1823 a civil war broke out between Theódoros Kolokotrónis, leader of the guerilla forces, and Geórgios Kountouriótis, head of government since 1822. However, after a second civil war, Kountouriótis was able to establish a secure rule and was firmly established as leader. Nevertheless, in 1825 the revolution was threatened by Egyptian forces lead by Ibrahim Pasha, who was called for aid by the Ottomans (lead by Mohamud II), and in 1827 they had recaptured Athens and the Acropolis.⁶⁰

All this eventually led up to Western and Russian intervention. The continuing Greek war and the deadlock the Greeks created forced the great three powers – Russia, France and Britain – to mingle in the conflict. The Western intervention was the outcome of a rather long period of deliberation and contemplation, because initially the governments of the great powers lacked enthusiasm for interference. However, Russia, France and Britain did have their motives to mediate between Greek and Ottoman forces. The main cause for the intervention was traceable to shared geo-political interests.⁶¹ With the authority of the Ottoman Empire crumbling, a power vacuum lured at the horizon. Especially Russia's expansionism at the expense of the decaying Ottoman empire formed a geostatic threat for the other Western forces, especially France and Britain, who had strong trading interests in the Balkan area and around the Black Sea.⁶²

Besides political motives, socio-cultural elements influenced the decision to interfere in the Greek struggle. First of all, European motives were stooled on Christianity and in Russia's case orthodox Christianity in particular. Furthermore, in the aftermath of the French revolution, prevailing values such as freedom supported the Greek cause. The same applied to the movement of philhellenism.

When the Turks rejected the plan for negotiations, as described in the treaty of London (1827), the Great Powers sent their naval forces to Navarino, situated on the Western shore of the

⁵⁹ William, St. Clair, *That Greece might still be Free: the Philhellenes in the War of Independence* (New York 1972) 14-15.

⁶⁰ Richard Clogg, *A Short History of Modern Greece* (Cambridge 1979) 53-64.

⁶¹ Russia's ambitions for expansion are reflected in the Russo-Ottoman antagonism, in the eighteenth century, but in the nineteenth century as well. For more information see: Ian D. Armour, *A History of Eastern Europe 1740-1918* (London 2006) 29-32.

⁶² Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece* (Cambridge 1992) 41-43.

Peloponnesus. On the 20th of October, their fleet destroyed the Egyptian forces and consequently established Greek autonomy under Turkish supremacy. However, the Peloponnesus area remained unstable and in an attempt to build a modern, more centralized state, Ioannis Kapodistrias was chosen as first governor of the first Hellenic Republic (1827-1832) and was succeeded by his brother Agustinos, after his assassination in 1831.⁶³

Eventually, with the treaty of Constantinople of 1832, the great powers installed Otto von Wittelsbach from Bavaria as monarch and Greece was established as an independent kingdom under the name 'Kingdom of Greece'.⁶⁴ The Greek War of Independence and the following establishment of Greek autonomy constituted the first time that a Christian area within the Ottoman Empire managed to free itself from the Turkish yoke. In the following decades, Greece's history was characterized by nation building and continuing struggles on national and international level.

1.4 Internal Philhellenism

When Otto was installed as a monarch, it became quite clear that he would be confronted with complex problems which were constantly present. First there were the difficulties of creating a state where none had existed yet and in addition there was a lack of Greek national identity. In other words: the new rulers of Greece ought to create a state as well as a nation.⁶⁵

One of the solutions that was proposed as an answer of this problem was *Megali Idea*, or the Great Idea. This concept expressed the goal of Greek nationalists to reunite historical and ethnic Greece, which encompassed the area still occupied by the Ottomans, but also the lands that once included ancient Greece. This ideal lingered in national and international politics until the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922), but diminished after.⁶⁶

One of the implications of the Greek independence from the Ottoman reign was that the opposition against the Turks was no longer a definer of identity. For obvious reasons, the lack of a common identity troubled the new nation-state. In addition, the new Greek state struggled with

⁶³ Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, 42-46, and: Huertley, W. A., (et. Al.), *A Short History of Greece: from Early Times to 1964* (Cambridge 1965) 94-97.

⁶⁴ Legg, et al., *Civilization on the Periphery*, 26-28, 29.

⁶⁵ Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, 47.

⁶⁶ Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, 48.

financial hardship, the absence of infrastructure, political strife and problematic external relationships with other European countries.⁶⁷

In order to boost the process of centralization, the new state of Greece needed to ensure internal homogeneity and cohesion. A central administration and bureaucratic apparatus was established, the adaption of (European) law codes and the imposition of *Katharevousa* as the new national language were all policies in the centralization process of the new nation-state.⁶⁸ However, the political-administrative measures were not enough to construct national identity.

Therefore, symbolic transformation of space added to the idea of cohesion and identity. One very clear example specifies the transition. In 1833, Athens replaced the much smaller Nafplio as capital of Greece. With this act it becomes clear how the Greek government appropriated the Greece ancient past. Right after the War of Independence, Athens was in ruins. With a new building program the classical glories of ancient Greece were recollected. In a few decades Athens was redesigned in a neoclassical style, with the acropolis functioning as a center. Also, the Ottoman place names were gradually removed and replaced with names from classical antiquity or from the War of Independence. The reconstruction and re-establishment of Athens became a symbol of Greece 'rebirth' and westernization.⁶⁹

The notion of regeneration became a mechanism in the connecting Classical Greece with present Greece. Hence, past and present seemed directly connected. However, a big part of history was not incorporated in this regeneration: Byzantine and Ottoman Greece were completely left out of this new image of Greece. The Byzantine Empire was a crumbling decadent power where political freedom had no place.⁷⁰ So in the new state of modern Greece the classical was valued over other historical ages. Moreover, Greece classical past (specifically the fifth, and fourth centuries BCE), was used to mobilize for the cause of centralization and national identity.

Admiration for the ancient Greeks strengthened in the Age of Enlightenment, first of all in the field of intellectuals. Later on, however, philhellenic ideas entered the world of arts and eventually became a political movement during the Greek War of independence. In this context, an ideal image

⁶⁷ S. Voutsaki, 'Archaeology and the Construction of the Past in Nineteenth Century Greece', in: Hokwerda, H. (eds.), *Constructions of the Greek Past: Identity and Historical Consciousness from Antiquity to the Present* (Groningen 2003) 239-240.

⁶⁸ Voutsaki 'Archaeology', 240-241. *Katharevousa* was a redefined form of Greek, by Adamantios Korais and was a compromise between ancient Greek and demotic Greek. The name refers to a 'pure' form of Greek, directly derived from ancient Greek.

⁶⁹ Voutsaki 'Archaeology', 241-242.

⁷⁰ Voutsaki 'Archaeology', 242-243.

of ancient Greece was constructed. This narrative of a glorious classical Greek past played a major role in national and international politics. In addition, there was no place in the history of Greece for either Byzantine or Ottoman history. During the nineteenth century, the traces and influences of philhellenism were still present, but in another degree than in the eighteenth century. The narrative of ancient Greece lives on, though in a different context. This is where chapter two sets off.

2. Modern Greece: The Struggle for Modernity and the Accession to the European Economic Community.

From the mid-nineteenth century until the restoration of democracy in 1973, Greece's history was characterized by instability and the struggle with creating a modern nation state. The new country faced internal and external difficulties, resulting in complex relationships with other European countries. Still, in 1981, Greece (since 1974, officially the Third Hellenic Republic) joined the EEC. The membership of this European institution was contested and debated, but in a sense interesting, considering the geo-political context and history of Greece. Before Greece became independent, she was considered as an eastern country and After the War of Independences she faced economic and political difficulties. However, Greece became part of 'Europe' or 'the West', when she entered the EC in 1981.

This chapter will provide an historical overview of the period between the War of Independence and the accession to the EEC in 1981. A focal point will be the complex relationship between Greece and Western Europe. Topics in this chapter include Greece's struggle for modernization, her international relations, the military dictatorship and subsequently the restoration of democracy. Also, the narrative of ancient Greece regarding the themes just mentioned will be addressed throughout the chapter in an attempt to understand Greece's accession to the European community.

2.1 Struggles for Modernization and International Developments (1833-1949)

In 1833, the Kingdom of Greece was established and its first king, Otto, ruled for 30 years, between 1833 and 1863. His reign, however, was characterized by political and cultural struggles. Otto ruled by absolute methods; yet this approach did not break with old Greek traditions as Otto failed to end factionalism and local administrative practices. The resulting tensions from this contradiction peaked in 1844 when the citizens of Athens and the military revolted against the king, demanding the installation of a constitution. This is how Greece officially became a constitutional monarchy in 1844.⁷¹

Yet, King Otto, who was driven by his absolute believes maintained the majority of his power as a monarch. As a result, he was eventually forced to leave his throne in 1862 under pressure of insurgent civilians and a rebellious army. In addition to his sympathies to an absolute reign, he failed to bring the still remaining Ottomans territories under Greek rule and lacked to realize the ideals of

⁷¹ Legg, et al., *Civilization on the Periphery*, 29.

the *Megali Idea*.⁷² When the Crimean War (1854-1856) broke out, Greece attempted to establish control over Ottoman lands in Thessaly and Epirus. In the years that followed, a growing intolerance towards the reign of Otto developed. When an unsuccessful attempt of murder on Queen Amalia resulted in a military revolt, Otto was overthrown, and retired in Bavaria.⁷³

King George of Denmark⁷⁴ succeeded the previous king, and under his rule the constitution of 1844 was revised and modernized. A powerful single parliamentary chamber was established and elected through universal male suffrage. However, a centralized state apparatus remained. Due to the agrarian character of Greece and the lack of a middle class, Greek oligarchs maintained their positions in governmental institutions, through political patronage. During George's rule, Charilaos Trikoupis fulfilled the function of Prime Minister of Greece several times, between 1875 and 1895. He was known for his progressive policies, which served to modernize the country.⁷⁵

The Great Idea was further developed and put into practice during the rule of George I. The Ionian Islands were (peacefully) ceded by Great-Britain and Thessaly was annexed from the Ottoman Empire, as a result of the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878). Even Macedon was retaken from the Ottomans after the First Balkan War (1912-1913) and Greece emerged as a significant Mediterranean power on the eve of the First World War.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, during the period before the outbreak of the First World War, Greece encountered a turbulent period in both international and national context.

In the year 1913, the Second Balkan War broke out, due to Bulgaria's unease on the partition of Macedon, which was a result from the first Balkan War. Furthermore, during the Balkan conflicts, King George was assassinated and as a result his son ascended the throne as Constantine I. Because of his role in the Greek army during the Balkan Wars and its successful results his popularity was enormous. However, his status was contested by Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos.⁷⁷ The competition between the head of state and the head of parliament ultimately clashed in the debate on whether to participate in the First World War. Venizelos aimed to side with the Allies in 1915, whereas the king preferred to remain neutral, which would favor the Central Powers.⁷⁸

⁷² Legg, et al., *Civilization on the Periphery*, 30.

⁷³ Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, 58-59.

⁷⁴ Original name: prince William of Denmark, however, installed as George I of Greece.

⁷⁵ Legg, et al., *Civilization on the Periphery*, 30-32.

⁷⁶ Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, 84-86.

⁷⁷ John S. Koliopoulos & Thanos M. Veremis, *Modern Greece: A History since 1821* (Oxford 2010) 77.

⁷⁸ Koliopoulos, et al., *Modern Greece*, 77, and Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, 89-99.

Over time, this conflict led to the National Schism which reflected the clash between conservatives and liberals. This political division eventually affected Greek society as well, and provided the context of the background for the outbreak of the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922).⁷⁹ The War resulted in what the Greeks call the 'Asia Minor catastrophe' which meant the end of Greek presence in Anatolia. Lots of Greeks lost their lives and many fled from Asia Minor (present Turkey) to Greece. For thousands of years, Greek presences in this area had been strong and this loss meant a deepening of the political crisis of Greece.⁸⁰ Two years after the Greco-Turkish War, a coup meant the end of the Kingdom of Greece (1833-1924) and this ultimately provided one of the reasons for the establishment of the military dictatorship in 1967. Nonetheless, the Second Hellenic Republic was proclaimed in 1924, but instability remained present during its ten years' existence.

During this decade, the partition of Greek politics and society continued along the line of the National Schism. The results of this polarization were reflected in cultural discussions on for example the Greek language. In addition, political opponents of the republic promoted the restoration of the monarchy. This, in combination with several military coups and the worldwide Great Depression shattered the economy.⁸¹

Eventually in 1935, King George II was able to return after his exile in Romania, which started in 1924 when he refused to abdicate. He restore his reign, and appoint Konstantinos Demertzis as Prime Minister. The latter was succeeded by Ioannis Metaxas, who established to 'Metaxas regime' (1936-1941) with support for the king. The regime was initially created to block the communists and prevent social conflict through an authoritarian rule. Metaxas' 'new state' used Greece's classical history as inspiration - in particular the values of ancient Sparta that contained elements as self-discipline, loyalty, militarisms and collective sacrifice.⁸²

Even though Greece managed to remain neutral during the first two years of the Second World War, in 1941 – due to Mussolini's expansionism (with the underlying aim to recreate the Roman Empire) – Greece entered the conflict and was eventually occupied by German forces until 1944.

⁷⁹ Without going into the details of the different causalities of this conflict, it is sufficient to state that the background of this war was mainly characterized by four different elements: The Schism, the geopolitical context, Greek irredentism, and the ghost of the *Megali Idea*

⁸⁰ Koliopoulos, et al., *Modern Greece*, 77-88.

⁸¹ Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, 100-109.

⁸² Hamilakis, *The Nation and its Ruins*, 177. The love for ancient Sparta is described in the idea of Laconism, or Laconophilia. This phenomenon originates in Antiquity and just like philhellenism resurfaced during the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. For more information, see for example: Hodkinson, Stephen, 'The Imaginary Spartan Politeia' in: Hansen, Mogens Herman *The Imaginary Polis* (Copenhagen 2005) 222-223, 229-227.

Shortly after the end of the Second World War, the Greek Civil War threw Greece in yet another, though internal, conflict that lasted until 1949. This two-stage clash consisted mainly out of two communist military attempts to gain control over Greece. The opposing parties were the national government and the communist party, of which the latter was backed by the Soviet Union. Ultimately, with the help of the United States and Great Britain, the nationalists were victorious.⁸³

This triumph was mainly enforced by the Truman Doctrine, in an attempt to stop Soviet communism and to support the spread of democracy.⁸⁴ As the examples of the Second World War, the Greek Civil War and eventually the Cold War show, it becomes clear that in the twentieth century a new way of engaging with Greek antiquity occurred. The narrative of ancient Greece once again resurfaced in a national and international perspective. Although this time it returned in another context, it was the first time since the Greek War of Independence that the narrative was used so strongly.⁸⁵

2.2 The Image of Ancient Greece in National and International relations

In the twentieth century, the narrative of ancient Greece becomes a dominant element in the national identity of the West. Especially the concept of democracy becomes an important mirror in which the classical past is reflected. However, this seems to be more applicable to international developments that took place rather than on a national level. Whereas other European countries center their values around the concept of democracy, Greece focuses on ideologies of ancient Greek societies and the idea of great empires, such as the Hellenic Empire of Alexander the Great or the Roman Empire during its most prosperous period.⁸⁶

Looking back at Metaxas authoritarian regime, it is clear that he attempted to make a connection with the glorious ancient Greece. He called his government the 'Third Hellenic Civilization' constructing a continuity with the empire of Alexander the Great (the First Hellenic Civilization) and the Byzantine Empire (the Second).⁸⁷ This creation of national identity stood in line with the attempt of Adolf Hitler to create his Third Reich and Mussolini's aspirations to resurrect the Roman Empire.⁸⁸ Apparently, creating a continuity with an ancient past became an important mechanism to reflect a nation's history.

⁸³ Hanink, *The Classical Debt*, 178-179.

⁸⁴ Close, David H., *Greece since 1945: Politics, Economy and Society* (Essex 2002) 31-32.

⁸⁵ Hanink, *The Classical Debt*, 176-177.

⁸⁶ Hanink, *The Classical Debt*, 176-177.

⁸⁷ Hamilakis, *The Nation and its Ruins*, 175-176.

⁸⁸ Hanink, *The Classical Debt*, 177.

From an internal point of view, Greece's ancient past became a mechanism in the creation of national identity. In addition, on an international specifically Western level, the concept of democracy became associated with 'Hellenism' and in a lesser extent ancient Greece. The modern Greek people were inheritors of democracy and Hellenism, which is why the latter concept helped to create the distinction between the democratic West and the communist East. When the United States decided to support the Greek national government, it was clear that their aid contained ideological motives. Furthermore, the victory of the national government over the communists during the Greek Civil War reflects the division between the communist East and the democratic West.⁸⁹

Despite the violent Civil War, the restored Kingdom of Greece managed to regain economic stability and aimed to join Western democracies through membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1961. Prior to her admittance, Prime Minister Konstantinos Karamanlis eagerly used the image of Classical Greece as a mechanism to prove to the United States and Great Britain that Greece had chosen the right direction. One example of this usage of the past is provided by a lightshow held at the acropolis to emphasize 'Periclean Athens', which reflected both Greece own continuity with ancient Greece, but also the ideal of Western democracy.⁹⁰ Consequently, the Acropolis in Athens became the reflection of Western democracy, which originated in ancient Greece. This image was received so well, due to its multi-interpretable character. For the French, the ideal of *fraternité* could be found in the symbolism of the Acropolis. In Germany the Athenian patriotic elements were valued and in Great Britain the idea of liberty and imperialistic ancient Athens appealed, which linked with the British Commonwealth.⁹¹

In the years after the Second World War, it seemed that ideologically, Greece became part of 'the West' and therefore was seen as a European country. Geopolitical reasons to intervene in the Greek conflicts during the 20th century were present, but the cultural legacy of ancient Greece seems to play a role in these motives as well. However, the process of Greece's entrance into the 'occident' (the West) was disturbed by the establishment of the Greek Military Junta in the period between 1967 and 1974, as a dictatorship does not fit into the image of a democratic Western Europe.

2.3 Military Dictatorship, Return to Democracy and Accession to the EEC (1967-1981)

In 1967, a military Junta was established taking advantage of a still very divided Greece. The polarization in society as well as in politics was a continuing result of the national schism and the Civil

⁸⁹ Hanink, *The Classical Debt*, 179.

⁹⁰ Hanink, *The Classical Debt*, 180. For more information on Karamanlis' international negotiations for NATO membership see: Woodhouse C.M., *Karamanlis the Restorer of Greek Democracy* (Oxford 1981) 108-114.

⁹¹ Hanink, *The Classical Debt*, 180-181.

War. Quickly after the *coup d'état* a dictatorship was formed and democracy dismantled. Freedom of press, liberty of thought and political freedom were immediately attacked and eventually abolished. The leaders of the Junta, Papadopoulos and his fellow colonels, presented the coup as a rescue from a supposed communistic takeover.⁹²

In the early years of the military regime, the Junta took control of many public and governmental institutions, such as universities, schools, churches, local authorities, trade unions and so on. At universities, academic staff was replaced, most often due to political criticism, and many international books were banished. Literature in *Katharevousa* was preferred over other, more international works.⁹³ Police presence effected everyday conduct throughout public life. Employees of the government were shadowed and an abundant amount of files of potential insurgents was kept. Moreover, discussions with a political content were considered threats to the regime and treated as such through a very active system of informants.⁹⁴

The main ideology of the Junta was an anti-communist one. This was, for example, signified in the censorship of new publications: no references to Russia or historical revolutions were ought to be made. Because of the regime's anti-communism policy, the United States supported Greece, despite their aversion towards military dictatorship. This support was first of all a consequence of the anti-communist sentiment, but later as a result of international events. The USSR created a naval power in the Mediterranean and due to tensions in Cyprus and a coup in Libya she was able to extend her influences in the Mediterranean area. Consequently, the Americans needed naval facilities and Greece granted the US to access those facilities in 1972.⁹⁵

Nevertheless, the Junta lacked legitimacy, ultimately leading to its fall in 1974. First, the promise of the restoration of democratic rule, as the Junta always promised, never became a reality. Second, because of the US's support it was impossible to create an ultra-nationalist movement, like fascist parties had done before. Hence, the lack of legitimation provided a context in which the regime could be contested and threatened. Internal resistance against the military regime came from an increasing group of students, which eventually occupied the Athens polytechnic university. In the aftermath, thousands of people were arrested or found dead. Exact numbers, however, were never published. In any case, this peak of protest against the regime resulted in a reduction of support for the regime.⁹⁶

⁹² Close, *Greece since 1945*, 115-122.

⁹³ Close, *Greece since 1945*, 115.

⁹⁴ Close, *Greece since 1945*, 115.

⁹⁵ Close, *Greece since 1945*, 117-118.

⁹⁶ Close, *Greece since 1945*, 122.

External forces eventually led up to the fall of the regime. In 1974 the planned *coup d'état* in Cyprus marked the physical collapse of the Junta regime. The end of the regime was marked by a meeting of military leaders and the old political establishment, where plans were made for the restoration of democracy under supervision of Konstantinos Karamanlis, who was established as Prime Minister at the 24th of July 1974.⁹⁷ However, the tensions with Turkey over Cyprus were still present and Karamanlis first priority was to ease the situation. Therefore Greece withdrew from NATO's military forces. Nevertheless, the period right after the fall of the Junta was characterized by an orientation towards the West and a democratization of Greek politics. The starting point for this *Metapolitefsi* were the elections which were held in November 1974. Karamanlis was democratically chosen as Prime Minister again and the Third Hellenic Republic became the new official name of Greece.⁹⁸

The first step towards the West was the official application of Greece to join the EEC. Karamanlis and his government continued the tradition of the western orientation of all Greek governments since 1944.⁹⁹ Before Greece could gain accession to the EEC, Karamanlis first needed to deal with post-Junta Greece. The first matter which required his attention was the Greek economy. The fall of the military regime caused a decrease in economic activity, but with Karamanlis' economic measures the country moved in a favorable direction by the end of 1975. In the following year, formal negotiations on Greece's accession to the EEC started.¹⁰⁰

Despite Karamanlis attempts to strengthen ties with Europe, some opponents of this policy expressed their discontent. For example, Papandreou and his PASOK movement emphasized that membership of the EEC would affirm Greece's role as a satellite of the capitalist system. Moreover, the KKE¹⁰¹ stated that accession to the EEC would harm national independence and serve capitalist interests.¹⁰² Unfazed, Karamanlis remained convinced that attention for Europe could distract public attention from the problems with Cyprus. Furthermore, he strongly believed in the reciprocal link between the restoration and consolidation of democracy and accession to the EEC.¹⁰³

⁹⁷ Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, 168.

⁹⁸ Close, *Greece since 1945*, 135, and: Koliopoulos, et al., *Modern Greece*, 153-154.

⁹⁹ Close, *Greece since 1945*,

¹⁰⁰ Koliopoulos, et al., *Modern Greece*, 159.

¹⁰¹ Communist party of Greece, legalized by Karamanlis, to boost his democratic policy right after the fall of the Junta.

¹⁰² Eirini Karamouzi, *Greece, the EEC and the Cold War, 1974–1979: The Second Enlargement* (New York 2014) 30.

¹⁰³ Karamouzi, *Greece, the EEC and the Cold War*, 30.

It was in this context of the Greek Transition, or *Metapolitefsi*, that the narrative of ancient Greece became a mechanism for framing accession negotiations to the EEC. This narrative was presented when Karamanlis visited several European countries during the negotiation period. He first visited France and Prime Minister Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and subsequently talked to Helmut Schmidt in West Germany.¹⁰⁴ One can wonder whether Karamanlis was aware of Greece's nineteenth-century history in relation to the external philhellenic movement which was especially active in France and Germany - and whether this had any influence on his decision for visiting those particular countries.

In conclusion: during the nineteenth century, the narrative of ancient Greece was constructed and romanticized into the ideal image connected with the foundation of democracy, ratio, and civilization. During the War of Independence, this narrative became a mechanism to shake off the Ottoman yoke. The Greek people fought for independence and autonomy. In the 20th century, however, the narrative of ancient Greece was put forward once again, but this time with another goal: becoming a member of the EEC, which eventually took place under leadership of Konstantinos Karamanlis in 1981.

The events which fill the gap between the War of Independence and the establishment of the Third Hellenic Republic are complex and troublesome. Greece was struggling with instable political situations and dealt with constant shifting between kingdom, republic and democracy. Furthermore, external conflicts weakened the economy and in addition, internal divisions provided the base for the Civil War. Nevertheless, Greece managed to stabilize the economy by joining Western democracies in NATO in 1961. During the same period, Karamanlis employed the narrative of ancient Greece, by linking modern Greece to ancient Greece.¹⁰⁵

After Karamanlis first period as Prime Minister and his turn toward a pro-European policy in the 1950s and early 1960s, democracy was dismantled through a military coup, resulting in a seven year during dictatorship. Due to problems involving the Juntas legitimacy, the regime fell, and democracy was restored. In this context, the returned and re-elected Prime Minister Karamanlis turned to Europe again by applying for the membership of the EEC. The negotiations that followed were relatively unproblematic, especially after economic renewals. Accession to the European community was in 1981 was partly the success of Karamanlis, who used the narrative of ancient Greece as a legitimation for membership.

In his memoirs, French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing later wrote, on the reason for Greece membership: 'Greece is the "mother of all democracies," and therefore could not be

¹⁰⁴ Karamouzi, *Greece, the EEC and the Cold War*, 31-32.

¹⁰⁵ Hanink, *The Classical Debt*, 180-181.

excluded'¹⁰⁶. As will become clear in the next chapter, this narrative is widespread and has been picked up by other European politicians as well. There seems to be a mechanism at work that engages with the dynamic relation between Greece herself in the appropriation of the ancient Greek narrative and on the other hand Europe, which embraces and appropriates this narrative as well. Chapter three will focus more on these dynamics of appropriation of the narrative of ancient Greece.

¹⁰⁶ Politico 'Why on earth is Greece in the EU?' (22-06-2015), <https://www.politico.eu/article/why-is-greece-in-the-eu-grexit/>. [retrieved 30-04-2018].

3. The use of the Narrative of Ancient Greece in Political Rhetoric's between 1979-2015

The relationship between Greece and Europe was ever problematic. Their dynamic relationship is characterized by paradoxes, reflected in mutual rejection and affection. However, by the first of January 1981, Greece became an official member of the EEC and therefore of 'Europe'. Nevertheless, some doubts about Greece's place among the other EEC members and to a further extent Greece's role in Europe rose during that time. As early as 1975, Nikos Dimou wrote *The Unhappiness of Being Greek*, in which he addresses Greek national identity.¹⁰⁷ The work consists out of aphorisms which reflect the domestic public debate. One of them in particular is exemplary for Greek sentiments towards Europe: 'Whenever a Greek talks of "Europe", he automatically excludes Greece. Whenever a foreigner talks of "Europe", it's unthinkable for us that he should not include Greece'¹⁰⁸.

The last statement is a prominent sentiment in the discourse on whether modern Greece is part of Europe. In any case, the road to accession to the EC was a long and complex one and besides geopolitical and economic motives, which I will not address in this thesis, the image of ancient Greece is selectively put forward in the debate on Greece's membership of the EC. The use of the narrative of ancient Greece becomes clearer when examining the political discourse in which the accession to the EC was embedded.

Politicians used a specific rhetoric in which they recalled the memory of ancient Greece. In this chapter, this phenomenon will be studied through a collection of statements of European politicians. This collection was obtained first through the study of references made in newspapers. However, in an attempt to get closer to the actual source, different online archives containing official documents of the EU were used.¹⁰⁹ Useful databases were the CVCE (Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance de l'Europe), the AEI (Archive of European Integration) and the Bulletin of the European Communities. The context in which these references occur will be scrutinized and subsequently the employment of

¹⁰⁷ David Conolly (trans.), *On the Unhappiness of being Greek* (Alresford 2012) Aphorism 61. Original title: *Δυστυχία του να είσαι Έλληνας* (1975).

¹⁰⁸ Conolly, 'On the Unhappiness', Aphorism 61.

¹⁰⁹ Official documentation of EU activities, events, and decisions are stored either physically in archives, such as the Historical Archives of the European Union, or are stored in a digital environment. However, access to the historical archives is only possible after 30 they are produced. In consequence, this means that I choose to use digital sources over archival source due to practical restrictions and limited resources. See for more information: European University Institute 'Historical Archives of the European Union' <https://www.eui.eu/Research/HistoricalArchivesOfEU>. [retrieved 31-05-2018].

Greece's past will be analyzed. The timeframe is deliberately chosen as the number of references to ancient Greece past peaks around two significant developments within the EC: during Greece's accession to the EC and after the Euro Crisis.

3.1 References to Ancient Greece and the Treaty of Accession 1979

On May 28th in 1979, Greece became the tenth member of the EEC. The ceremony was held in the Zappeion, Athens, close to the Acropolis. This neoclassical building was designed and constructed in the context of the reign of King Otto and the struggles he faced considering Greek national identity.¹¹⁰ The construction was funded by Evangelis Zappas, a prosperous businessman and patriot, who was involved in the Greek War of Independence. He convinced King Otto to revive the ancient Olympic Games with Zappas' financial support. Zappas died in 1865 and left instructions for the construction of a building which would serve the newly restored Olympic Games. Between 1874 and 1888, Theophil Hansen, a Danish architect, eventually designed the current Zappeion.¹¹¹

Inside this building, the representatives of the other nine member states signed the Treaty which granted Greece accession, together with Konstantinos Karamanlis, the (reelected) president of Greece.¹¹² A film fragment of the event can be watched on the official website of the EU.¹¹³ The ceremony was chaired by France because she held the presidency of the Council of the European Union. Her delegates were Valéry Giscard d'Estaing (president both of France and the European Council¹¹⁴), Jean François-Poncet (French minister of foreign affairs) and Luc de La Barre de Nanteuil (French permanent representative to the EC). Lastly, delegates for the EC were Roy Jenkins (president of the Ec), and Lorenzo Natali (Vice-president of the European Council).

Roy Jenkins at that time had been president of the European Commission, an institution of the EU, since 1958. The Commission was led by 'the College', a group of 28 commissioners who take

¹¹⁰ See for more information Chapter 1.3 Internal Philhellenism.

¹¹¹ George Margaritis, Mateusz Rozmiarek and Ewa Malchrowicz-Mosko, 'Tangible and Intangible Legacy of the 19th Century Zappas Olympics and their Implications for Contemporary Sport Tourism', *Physical Culture and Sport Studies and Research*, 74 (2017) 54-58.

¹¹² The New York Times, 'Greece Becomes 10th Member of Common Market' (29-05-1979), <https://www.nytimes.com/1979/05/29/archives/greece-becomes-10th-member-of-common-market-integration-in-effect.html>. [retrieved 25-05-2018].

¹¹³ European Commission Audiovisual Services, 'Signing of Greece's accession treaty to the EC', <https://ec.europa.eu/avservices/video/player.cfm?sitelang=en&ref=I002843>. [retrieved 27-05-2018].

¹¹⁴ The presidency of the Council of Europe rotates every six months between member states. Between January and June 1979 it was France's turn to chair the presidency. See for more information: Erik Jones, Anand Menon, and Stephen Weatherill (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the European Union* (Oxford 2012) 321-330.

decisions on the Commissions political and strategic direction. Moreover, the commission was involved in legislation and upholding European treaties.¹¹⁵ During Jenkins presidency, the EEC dealt with challenges such as the Cold War, European Enlargement and the question whether Greece should gain membership of the EEC.¹¹⁶

During the ceremony, the narrative of ancient Greece was addressed by the leading three delegates from France, Greece, and the EEC. Roy Jenkins directed the new member of the EEC as follows: ‘You (Greece) are at once the oldest and newest member of the community of Europe’¹¹⁷. With this, he seemed to emphasize the image of Greece as the origin of Europe. When he said ‘Greece is the newest member of the community of Europe’, he referred to Greece’s accession to the EEC which was made official that day. However, when he stated ‘Greece is the oldest member of the community of Europe’, he seems to point at ancient Greece, which was seen as the birthplace of democracy and civilization.

In addition to Jenkins, Valéry Giscard d’Estaing mentioned: ‘France has been a daughter of Greece, but now she becomes a sister’¹¹⁸. He saw Greece as a mother of France, where ancient Greece transmitted values like democracy and freedom. But, by signing the Treaty of Accession, Greece and France became equals, like siblings. Through this statement, he metaphorically presented the transition in which Greece became a member of the EC. D’Estaing’s foreign minister Jean François-Poncet added in the same discourse on Greece accession: ‘Greece entry will not just enlarge the community, it will make it more European’¹¹⁹. Especially this statement was substantial, considering the relation between Europe and the Greek ancient past. Apparently, there was a dominant view of Greece as the origin of Europe and therefore indirectly also of the EEC.

¹¹⁵ European Commission ‘How the Commission is organized’, https://ec.europa.eu/info/about-european-commission/organisational-structure/how-commission-organised_en. [retrieved 25-05-2018].

¹¹⁶ N. Piers Ludlow, *Roy Jenkins and the European Commission Presidency, 1976-1980: At the Heart of Europe* (London 2016) 114-115.

¹¹⁷ The New York Times, ‘Greece Becomes 10th Member of Common Market’, 29-05-1979, <https://www.nytimes.com/1979/05/29/archives/greece-becomes-10th-member-of-common-market-integration-in-effect.html>. [retrieved 25-05-2018].

¹¹⁸ The New York Times, ‘Greece Becomes 10th Member of Common Market’, 29-05-1979, <https://www.nytimes.com/1979/05/29/archives/greece-becomes-10th-member-of-common-market-integration-in-effect.html>. . [retrieved 25-05-2018].

¹¹⁹ The New York Times, ‘Greece Becomes 10th Member of Common Market’, 29-05-1979, <https://www.nytimes.com/1979/05/29/archives/greece-becomes-10th-member-of-common-market-integration-in-effect.html>. [retrieved 25-05-2018].

The signing of the Treaty of Accession was clearly a symbolic and in extension a public ceremony. Since the ceremony represented Greece's accession into the EC, the narrative of ancient Greece was deliberately put forward. For the ones who witnessed the ceremony, the memory of ancient Greece was invoked. This was done in two ways: by choosing the Zappeion as the venue for the ceremony and with the references which were made by political leaders in context of the ceremony.

The choice for the Zappeion was not a coincidence and deserves some further elaboration. It's creation was part of a wave of internal philhellenism, since the building was designed and built between 1865 and 1888. In this age, philhellenism as a movement slightly faded. However, King Otto dealt with the problem of creating not only a state but a national identity as well. With Athens as the new capital and a subsequent new building program he 're-Hellenized' the city over in the decades following 1834.¹²⁰ This indicated that the Greek government was turning towards Europe and breaking with the Ottoman and Byzantine past. In the aftermath of this period, the Zappeion was built, in neo-classical style. Choosing the Zappeion as a venue for the signing of the Treaty of 1979, not only reflects the ideal image of ancient Greece, but also the context in which it was built referred to a more pro-European sentiment which had come from within Greece.

The aforementioned references that were made during the ceremony seemed to reflect the love for ancient Greece from a European perspective. Roy Jenkins drew a line of historical continuity with his reference to ancient Greece as the cradle of democracy and birthplace of Europe. In addition, François-Poncet's statement on Greece accession followed the same idea of historical continuity. Greece's entry would make Europe more European. Both Jenkins' and François-Poncet's statements were mechanisms of appropriating Greece's ancient past, in order to emphasize the importance of modern Greece's membership of the EC. From this view, the accession of Greece seems like an ultimate destiny, which unavoidable needed to be fulfilled. The idea that Greece unconditionally seemed to be part of Europe, and hence allowed access to the EC, is presented in political rhetoric's as a rather finalistic and constructed image of European history.

3.2 References to Ancient Greece and the Greek Membership of the EC 1981

The Treaty of Accession entered into force on the first of January 1981 and from that moment on Greece was a member of the European community. Just before Greece's official accession to the EEC, Margaret Thatcher visited Greece, in September 1980, where she spoke about Greece's upcoming membership. In a speech which was delivered during a dinner at the Grand Bretagne Hotel in Athens, she said:

¹²⁰ See, chapter 1, p 8.

Greek civilization has been an inspiration to the whole of Europe since classical times. Although I am coming to your country for the first time, I feel that I am coming to a country I know well. And I am proud that, in return for your great gifts to us, my countrymen have made no mean contribution to the establishment of the modern Greek nation. The Philhellenes of the War of Independence — I need only mention Byron — were the forerunners of those who fought alongside the Greek people in the mountains in the last war¹²¹.

When official membership was finally there, several political leaders reacted to Greece's admission in the first few days after her association had become official. Outgoing president of the European Council, Roy Jenkins, and his successor, Gaston Thorne, both made statements in the Bulletin of the European Communities on Greece's membership of the EEC. The bulletin was released eleven times each year and it reported on the activities of the European Commission and other institutions of the community.¹²² It was translated into the languages spoken by official member states, as well as Spanish. Roy Jenkins stated that:

This is a great and historic day for Greece and for the European Community. The accession of Greece to our Community is a part of that gathering in of [sic] European civilization represented by the European idea. We could hardly be complete without the country where in the distant past so much that we now count as characteristically European had its origins. Not least of this is the very concept of democracy which is at the heart of the Community(...) ¹²³.

¹²¹ Margaret Thatcher Foundation 'Speech at Greek official dinner', (22-09-1980), <https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/104426>. [retrieved 28-05-2018].

¹²² Since the digitalization (around the year 2000), official documents of the EC are stored and can be retrieved through different websites. However, this does not make the process of going through official documents of the EU less complicated in any way. The following websites provide European Citizens and scholars with information. European Union 'Official Documents' https://europa.eu/european-union/documents-publications/official-documents_en. [retrieved 27-05-2018]. This is the official website, hence digital database of the EU, and University of Pittsburg 'Archive for European Integration', http://aei.pitt.edu/view/eusries/GENERAL=3ABulletin_of_the_EEC=2FEC=2FEuropean_Union.html#group_1981. [Retrieved 27-05-2018].

¹²³ 'Speeches of Welcome by President Jenkins and Thorne' *Bulletin of the European Communities* 1 (1981) 10.

In the same issue, on the same page, Gaston Thorn welcomed Greece in a similar way:

Greece's accession is a major political act which constitutes a turning point in the life of the Community: the southward extension of the Community is a key development in the long history of a European civilization in which Greece has played a prime role(...) ¹²⁴.

Besides official reactions from the European community, international statements were made as well. The *Bulletin der Bundesregierung* is the official journal of the German federal government and runs from 1952 up to now. Since the year 2000 the release of the bulletin is done online on the official website of the government. The bulletin contains speeches, official statements and statistics regarding affairs of the federal government. The second edition of 1981 was released in January. In this edition, Hans Dietrich Genscher commented on Greece's accession as well:

Ab 1. Januar 1981 ist Griechenland 10. Mitglied der Europäischen Gemeinschaft. Das ist ein historisches Datum für Europa. Griechenland wird zur Fortentwicklung der europäischen Integration und zur Einigung des demokratischen Europa beitragen können. Wir versprechen uns neue Impulse von diesem Land, dem Europa so viel verdankt ¹²⁵.

French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing addressed the Greek people by saying 'the Community is not only enlarged, but also returns to her origin. We should be grateful for this because Greece represented a model for our society and founded the democratic ideal on which our states are based' ¹²⁶.

After the accession of Greece, references to ancient Greece in political rhetoric became less prominent. However, in 1983 the ideal image of ancient Greece was once more addressed during a plenary session of the European Parliament (EP). A formal sitting was organized in honor of the visit of

¹²⁴ 'Speeches of Welcome by President Jenkins and Thorne' *Bulletin of the European Communities* 1 (1981) 10.

¹²⁵ CVCE, 'Erklärung von Hans-Dietrich Genscher zum Beitritt Griechenlands zu den EG', (01-01-1981), https://www.cvce.eu/en/collections/unit-content/-/unit/02bb76df-d066-4c08-a58a-d4686a3e68ff/4a6854b3-62e2-4e41-aba6-9ccf2cf5a859/Resources#8ff9d7a5-772b-4849-8d6e-991c001464b4_en&overlay. [Retrieved 27-05-2018]. I choose to not translate this statement, because this source derived from a German document, whereas the other sources are part of English documents, and articles.

¹²⁶ De Volkskrant 'Historische dag: Athene begroet als lid van EG' (02-01-1981), <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ABCDDD:010879123:mpeg21:a0096>. [retrieved 09-04-2018].

Konstantinos Karamanlis to the EP. The president of the European Parliament at the time, Piet Dankert, welcomed Karamanlis to the EP:

In extending a welcome to Mr. Konstantinos Karamanlis, President of the Hellenic Republic, I am welcoming among us today a man who deserves enormous credit for having corrected a serious deviation in the course of history. Mr. President, we appreciate the important role that you played in re-establishing democracy in Greece, and all of us, who as Europeans, have inherited the legacy of Greek thought, are grateful for the struggle which you led after choosing exile in order that right should prevail over the power of the dictators¹²⁷.

In response, Karamanlis said:

I feel this honour [sic] even more strongly because I know that it is not addressed only to me but also to my country, Greece, the country which has given Europe its name and offered to it for centuries its word and spirit¹²⁸.

Just as in the period of the Treaty of Accession, the narrative of ancient Greece was employed in political rhetoric right after Greece's accession to the EEC in 1981. Roy Jenkins continued to emphasize the cultural importance of Greece's entry into the EC, as he argues that without Greece the community would not be complete. Jenkins stressed that whatever characterized Europe, originated in Greece. Gaston Thorne spread the same message as his predecessor by focusing on the role Greece played in the history of European civilization. With this, they both used the narrative of ancient Greece in order to legitimate Greece's membership.

Genscher also expressed his joy over the accession of Greece, by emphasizing that democratic Europe owes a lot to Greece. Even though he did not hold a position in any European institution, he

¹²⁷ Multimedia Centre European Parliament, 'Formal sitting on the occasion of the visit of Konstantinos Karamanlis - President of the Hellenic Republic: extracts 15-09-1983', https://multimedia.europarl.europa.eu/en/formal-sitting-on-the-occasion-of-the-visit-of-konstatinos-karamanlis-president-of-the-hellenic-republic-extracts_ebs95589-V_v. [Retrieved 27-05-2018].

¹²⁸ Multimedia Centre European Parliament, 'Formal sitting on the occasion of the visit of Konstantinos Karamanlis - President of the Hellenic Republic: extracts 15-09-1983', https://multimedia.europarl.europa.eu/en/formal-sitting-on-the-occasion-of-the-visit-of-konstatinos-karamanlis-president-of-the-hellenic-republic-extracts_ebs95589-V_v. [Retrieved 27-05-2018].

was vice chancellor and minister of foreign affairs of Germany under Helmut Schmidt. The latter received a visit from Konstantinos Karamanlis when he was negotiating for Greece's accession into the communities in 1975.¹²⁹ Giscard d'Estaing was visited as well and this might have influenced the views and reactions of both men.

When Karamanlis paid an official visit to the EP, Piet Dankert thanked him for Greece's contribution to European thought and expressed his thanks for Karamanlis' efforts in restoring democracy in Greece. In return, Karamanlis thanked him and emphasized that Greece is the one to be acknowledged, it was the country that gave Europe its name. After the visit to the EP by Karamanlis, references to ancient Greece became less prominent in the European political discourse. No statements were made on Greece's ancient past, not even when in 1992 the EU was officially established.

In conclusion, the narrative of ancient Greece was employed first to legitimize Greece accession to the EC. Beyond this, the narrative of ancient Greece was put forward as a mediator for strengthening relationships between political leaders and European countries. Finally, in the period between 1979 and 1983, all references used the nineteenth-century construction of ancient Greece's narrative. This was done in political rhetoric by reminding the audience, whether European or national, of this narrative. As a result, it seemed that the EC implicitly provided a grand narrative for Europe, a story is presented in which Greece was depicted as the origin of Europe and the EC.

However, when the treaty of Maastricht in 1992 officially established the EU, the narrative of ancient Greece did not return that often in political rhetoric. Yet, when Greece's membership within the EU became contested, references to her ancient past were made again. The next paragraph will study this context and examine the differences and similarities of the employment of the narrative of ancient Greece.

3.3 References to Ancient Greece and the Euro Crisis (2008-2015)

In a visit to Spain on February 2017, Antonio Tajani (current president of the European Parliament at the time of writing) discussed austerity policies in the context of Brexit and the economic situation in the EU, and when he was asked about Greece's financial situation and the recurring economic problems of the country he replied that it is time to provide aid to Athens because 'Greece is a part of the Union's history. There is no Europe without Greece'¹³⁰. Even though Tajani's statement does not

¹²⁹ See for more information: Chapter 2, 7, and; C.M. Woodhouse, *Karamanlis Restorer of Greek Democracy* (Oxford 1982) 257-258.

¹³⁰ Euractiv 'Tajani: The UK will always be a European country' <https://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/news/tajani-the-uk-will-always-be-a-european-country/>. [Retrieved 27-05-2018].

cover the timeframe of this research, the sentiment he reflects does within the demarcation of this thesis.

In 2008, an international financial crisis broke out as a result of the banking crisis in America. After two years it became clear that several Southern European countries were financially unstable. Due to certain flaws in the design of the EMU¹³¹, the consequences which derived from the financial crisis not only affected individual member states of the EU, but the whole community. Everywhere in Europe, uncertainty about the future of the EMU casted a shadow over the EU as an institution. If the EMU is regarded as a mechanism for European integration, that means that if the first fails, integration might collapse as well. As a result, euroskepticism increased.¹³²

In this context, one member state of the EU stood out. Greece faced severe problems in controlling her own finances and was confronted with grave debts. This resulted in serious doubts in the EC about whether Greece would be able to pay these debts. In order to save Greece from dropping out of the Monetary Union and possibly the EU she received financial aid from the IMF. However, problems remained, due to an imbalance between EU monetary policies and national economic policies. Meanwhile, Greece's membership of the EU became contested in public and political debate.¹³³

With the Euro Crisis and thus Greek membership debated, the narrative of ancient Greece seems to reoccur in political rhetoric in the discourse on Greece's position within the EU. Pierre Bernard-Reymond, former MEP (1984-1986 and 1989-1999) and State Secretary to the French Foreign minister in 1981, was interviewed for CVCE's research purposes. During the questionnaire, he recalled his memories on Greece's accession to the EC and France's role in this process. He recalled the motives of Giscard d'Estaing for helping Greece during the process of accession:

We felt that the cradle of Europe, from the point of view of civilization and culture, was rejoining Europe, which in a way had overtaken its progenitor in creating it. And then there was certainly the joy felt by Democrats who saw Greece returning to democracy after the era of the colonels, and hence coming back into the democratic fold, and they

¹³¹ Since it is not my aim to examine the causes of the financial crisis that hit Europe around 2008, I will not address the matter any further.

¹³² Alicia Hinarejos, *The Euro Area Crisis in Constitutional Perspective* (Oxford 2015) 11-12.

¹³³ Hinarejos, *The Euro Area Crisis*, 12-14.

knew that it would not slide back into the errors of the past, since joining the European Union is a long-term pledge of democracy, in my view.¹³⁴.

References to ancient Greece in the context of the European Union occurred in various ways. For example, Jerzy Buzek stated in a speech, during his inauguration as president of the European Parliament:

The Ancient Greeks, who gave the world democracy, were accustomed to saying, in the words of Aristotle, that the measure of human maturity, and hence of citizenship, is the ability to resolve conflicts and opposing interests not by force but through debate and argument¹³⁵.

In his speech during the plenary session of the EP, he spoke of the challenges Europe faced, and how the European parliament stands in the tradition as presented by Aristotle.¹³⁶ Furthermore, when Buzek visited Athens during an official visit to Greece he spoke with Greece's president Papouplias, the president of the Greek parliament Petsalnikos and Prime Minister Papandreou. After the meeting he mentioned the economic problems of the country, but encouraged the Greek not to give up, by stating:

¹³⁴ CVCE 'Transcription of the interview with Pierre Bernard-Reymond', (11 March 2009), https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2016/8/12/d37d4d88-d70e-4e9d-a87e-f662ca455f8c/publishable_en.pdf. [retrieved 27-05-2018].

¹³⁵ President of the European Parliament Speeches 'Inaugural address by Jerzy Buzek, President of the European Parliament', (15-09-2009), <http://www.sitepres.europarl.europa.eu/president/en/press/speeches/sp-2009/sp-2009-September/speeches-2009-September-3.html;jsessionid=863A07C92F98731214CF6119982FE96F>. [retrieved 28-05-2018].

¹³⁶ President of the European Parliament Speeches 'Inaugural address by Jerzy Buzek, President of the European Parliament', (15-09-2009), <http://www.sitepres.europarl.europa.eu/president/en/press/speeches/sp-2009/sp-2009-September/speeches-2009-September-3.html;jsessionid=863A07C92F98731214CF6119982FE96F>. [retrieved 28-05-2018].

‘The challenges that Greece faces are of Herculean proportions, the brave people of Greece will succeed as Hercules did’^{137 138}.

Besides former presidents of the European parliament, the leaders of the European Commission referred to ancient Greece in their speeches. Like Roy Jenkins, and Gaston Thorne before him, Jose Manuel Barroso stressed the importance of the legacy of Classical Greece for the European community. From January until June 2014, Greece held the presidency of the council of the European Union and during the plenary session of the European Parliament, Barroso congratulated Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras with Greece’s presidency. He continued with:

Listening to you I thought that not only Europe owes a lot to ancient and classic Greece - without Greece, European civilization would simply not exist as such these days - but also that I'm sure we are going to owe a lot to you, to modern Greece, for the great example of courage, determination and commitment to Europe that you personally and the people of Greece are giving these days¹³⁹.

Despite these flattering words, the relationship between Greece and the EU became unstable when Greece economic troubles peaked. In 2015 unemployment in Greece almost hit 25 percent and in addition Greece had the highest debt to GDP ratio of all EU members. As a result, the EC, together with the IMF and the ECB, formulated a second bailout plan. However, Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras encouraged to Greek population to vote ‘no’ on this proposal in a referendum.¹⁴⁰ Tsipras frustration was reflected in his search for allies outside of the EU and he stated: ‘We are now in the middle of a great storm. But we are a seafaring nation that knows how to navigate through storms and is not afraid

¹³⁷ President of the European Parliament Speeches ‘Jerzy Buzek on official visit to Greece’, (02-06-2010), http://www.sitepres.europarl.europa.eu/former_ep_presidents/president-Buzek/en/press/press_release/2010/2010-June/press_release-2010-June-2.html?webaction=view.forcedefaultdevice. [retrieved 30-05-2018].

¹³⁸ Buzek’s successor, Antonio Tajani, referred several times to ancient Greece as well, during his speeches. However, due to the limited size of this thesis, Tajani’s references are not included.

¹³⁹ European Commission ‘Speech by President Barroso on the Greek Presidency’, (15-01-2015) http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-17_en.htm. [retrieved 30-05-2018].

¹⁴⁰ Megan E. Hansen, William F. Shughart II, and Ryan M. Yonk ‘Political Party Impacts on Direct Democracy: the 2015 Greek Austerity Referendum’ *Atlantic Economic Journal* 45 (2017) 5-6.

of heading to new seas and reaching new harbors'¹⁴¹. It seemed that Tsipras referred to the ancient Greece in the fifth century when Athens could be seen as a thalassocracy.¹⁴² Hence, Tsipras also referred to ancient Greece, but from a national perspective. To be more specific, he used the ancient past (and the ideal image of Greece) to legitimize certain strategies.

Jean-Claude Juncker, current president of the European Commission, reacted to these developments within Greece during a press conference held on the 29th of June 2015. He expressed his disappointment and stated that a Greek 'no' would be a rejection of Europe.¹⁴³ However, Juncker also emphasized how he was pleased when Greece embraced Europe in 1981.

I was pleased to see Greece joining what was then still known as the European Communities because, to quote Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, I did not want to see Plato playing in the second division. And I would not want to see Plato playing in the second division in the future either¹⁴⁴.

When the euro crisis started to have a negative effect on Greece membership of the EU, the narrative of ancient Greece became part of political rhetoric again. Buzek, Barroso and Juncker emphasized the importance of Greece's history in order to explain Greece membership of the European Union and the EMU. They stressed that the legacy of ancient Greece contributed to contemporary European civilization and democracy.

There are certain similarities between this period and the period between 1979 and 1983. First of all, prominent players of European institutions specifically referred to Greece, or more specifically to Athens of the fifth and fourth century BCE. During the plenary session of the EP, Aristotle was addressed, as well as Plato and the importance of ancient democracy. When the EU and Greece clashed over a second bailout agreement, Alexis Tsipras smartly engaged in this kind of rhetoric. In order to

¹⁴¹ Agencia EFE 'Greece has alternatives to EU Tsipras says in Russia', (20-06-2015), <https://www.efe.com/efe/english/world/greece-has-alternatives-to-eu-tsipras-says-in-russia/50000262-2644348>. [retrieved 29-05-2018].

¹⁴² David Abulafia, 'Thalassocracies', in P. Horden & S. Kinoshita (eds.), *A Companion to Mediterranean History* (Oxford 2014) 144-145. Thalassocracy in Greek means 'sea-power'. However, the concept of a thalassocracy is part of a debate in terms of definition, which is not the topic of this thesis.

¹⁴³ Euobserver 'Juncker: Greek No would be a rejection of Europe', (29-06-2015), <https://euobserver.com/economic/129363>. [retrieved 30-05-2018].

¹⁴⁴ European Commission Press Release Database 'Transcript of President Jean-Claude Juncker's press conference on Greece', (29-06-2015), http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-15-5274_en.htm. [retrieved 30-05-2018].

put pressure on the EU, he implied that Greece does not need the EU and could tighten her relationship with Russia as well.

Greece's financial struggles are 'the middle of a great storm', as Tsipras metaphorically phrased it. However, Greece was (and still is according to Tsipras) 'a seafaring nation'. With this statement he made a link with ancient Athens, the city that was once a great naval power, in the fifth century BCE. Furthermore, he implied that contemporary Greece was not afraid to establish new alliances, by 'navigating through storms, and reaching new harbors'.

Once again, the narrative of ancient Greece was employed to legitimize Greece's membership of the EU, hence the same romanticized version of the past was put forward. This image of the past was a construction from the nineteenth century, influenced by movements such as romanticism, humanism and philhellenism. However, there was a significant difference in the comparison between this usage of the Greek past around 1981 and in the period of 2008-2015. In the 1980s, Greece wanted to become a member of the EC. Therefore her ancient past was used to argue in favor of membership. Yet, after the Euro Crisis in 2008, the Greek ancient past became a mechanism in the debate on Greece's membership. This time, to remain in the EC – to maintain membership – rather than acquiring membership.

Examining the references to ancient Greece in political rhetoric provides the following insights. Statements of political leaders are made mostly in the context of the EC. However, the narrative of ancient Greece possibly reached a wider audience through newspapers. The narrative of ancient Greece is part of political rhetoric during two significant moments: Greece's entry into the community and the outbreak of the Euro Crisis and subsequently the possibility that Greece might lose her membership. In both situations, Greece's ancient past seemed to legitimize her membership of the EC, and her 'Europeanness' overall. The narrative of ancient Greece is appropriated by European politicians through their rhetoric, implicitly creating a grand narrative of the EC. However, during the foundation of the EU in 1992, the narrative of ancient Greece did not reoccur. Therefore, it seems that Greece's ancient past, which is to say her cultural and historical legacy, is employed in political rhetoric in times of tension considering her involvement in the EC.

Conclusion

During his farewell speech, Barack Obama reminds his audience of the legacy of ancient Greece, and the importance of ancient Greece's cultural heritage. In this speech, he expressed his admiration for the ancient Greeks and with this rhetoric he continues a long tradition. Ever since antiquity, European societies admired the ancient Greek civilization. The dominant image of this ancient culture holds the idea that ancient Greece was the cradle of civilization. This image tells the story of Greece, and more specifically of Athens in the fifth and fourth century, when democracy was born and ratio, philosophy and critical thinking flourished. This dominant view, however, is a construction which stems from eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century Europe.

The ideal image of ancient Greece was a construction, created by different influences. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Europe was under the influence of the Enlightenment. During this period, (neo)classicism, (neo)humanism and romanticism provided the conditions for the creation of an ideal image of ancient Greece. Furthermore, the classical and, ancient Greece became mechanisms in nation and identity building. This process becomes more explicit through the study of the concept of philhellenism.

This movement can be seen as a national Greek as well as an international European phenomenon, which occurred in roughly three phases during the nineteenth century. The first phase arose before the Greek War of Independence and has a national character. Under European, Enlightened influences, intellectual visions of a Greek rebirth through the glories of the classical past dominated philhellenism. This phase was followed up by a form of philhellenism which was more internationally orientated. When the War of Independence broke out, the ideal image of ancient Greece also persuaded other European countries to engage with the Greek fight for freedom against the Ottomans. Finally, the philhellenistic movement and the love for ancient Greece shaped identity-building policies during the reign of modern Greece first King, Otto.

Consequently, a grand narrative of ancient Greece was constructed in the nineteenth century and a dominant vision came into existence. This specific narrative, and in a broader scope the admiration for the classical, resurfaced during the twentieth century. For example, the classical provided new regimes and states with inspiration. Mussolini's fascist regime, Hitler's third *Reich* and on the Greek national level the Metaxas Regime all drew much of their inspiration from the classical.

After the Second World War, one specific element of Greece's ancient narrative became most important for Western ideology. Democracy became something to defend and something to advocate during the decades after the war, especially in opposition to communism. This seemed to be one of the reasons that the Greek military junta, which was established in 1967, was not directly attacked by

Western forces, because the Junta legitimized her coup as an anti-communist defense mechanism. However, democracy was dismantled and Greece, the country which was thought to be the birthplace of democracy, was now ruled by a dictatorial regime.

When in 1974 the Junta collapsed, mainly due to a lack of legitimation of the regime, Greece's newly established government once again turned towards Europe. With the exception of seven years of military dictatorship, the Greek governments have had a Europe-orientated character since the Second World War. The leading figure of this pro-western sentiment was Konstantinos Karamanlis and during the period of the *Metapolitefsi*, the first step toward Europe was an official application for Greek membership of the EEC. During those negotiations, Karamanlis made use of the grand narrative of ancient Greece, which reflected the glorious fifth and fourth century BCE.

In his attempt to lobby for Greek accession to the EC, he visited countries in which the practical influences of the second phase of philhellenism was strongly present: France, Great Britain and Germany. Eventually, Greece signed the Treaty of Accession, together with the nine other members, in 1979, which promised Greece official entry into the EC by the 1st of January 1981. During the process of application, negotiation and subsequent accession, the narrative of ancient Greece was put forward not only by Greece herself (especially by Karamanlis), but also by members of the EU – on both sides to legitimize Greece's upcoming membership.

Greece involvement in the EC was never seriously questioned until the financial crisis broke out in 2008. In the years that followed, Greece's own financial problems surfaced as a result of the subsequent Euro Crisis. From this moment on, Greece's membership of the EMU and her involvement in the EU have been highly contested and part of an international political discussion. Just like almost 30 years ago, the narrative of ancient Greece was employed, but this time to defend her membership of the EC. All of this ultimately helps in answering aforementioned research question: *How is the narrative of Greece's ancient past employed in her contested membership of the European Community (ECC & EU) between 1979 and 2015?*

Greece's ancient past is employed by recalling the memory of ancient Greece through references to ancient Greece in political rhetoric between 1979 and 2015. References to ancient Greece occur on two levels: a Greek and a European level. Greece employed her ancient past for internal consumption, for example in building her own identity. She also used the past for external consumption when she aspired membership of the EC. The EC used the narrative of ancient Greece for internal consumption as well, but especially in legitimizing why Greece should acquire, or later maintain, membership of the EC. However, the ancient past was also employed for external use. In particular when it came to Europe's own image, the EC constructed her own identity through the association with ancient democracy and civilization. These references also present an idealistic narrative of ancient Greece and are therefore part of European cultural memory.

Cultural memory is a type of memory which develops through collective historical experiences and notions from the past. Two phases in cultural memory can be distinguished between living memory as a type of memory which is directly experienced and communicated by participants and eyewitnesses on the one hand and proper cultural memory which is a form of memory that stretches beyond generations and across centuries on the other. This type of cultural memory has a vicarious character and this vicariousness increases with the passing of time. Subsequently, these indirect memories need to be communicated for their proliferation. Proper cultural memory is communicated and mediated through cultural representations. These cultural representations can be seen as a performance of the past in contemporary societies.

Public preformed stories can be seen as a cultural representation and are therefore a part of historical remembrance. As a consequence they shape common identity of different communities. A multitude of stories form a narrative or even a grand narrative. These narratives provide a mythical origin of a community, such as the newly formed Greek Kingdom or the EC and as such they construct a common past and subsequently a common identity. Moreover, a grand narrative provides meaning to, and legitimation of, a community's existence.

Therefore, the narrative of ancient Greece which occurs in political rhetoric in the 20th century is an example of a mechanisms which is at work in the construction of cultural memory. A selective part of Greece's ancient past is appropriated and employed in different times. The context in which the narrative of ancient Greece is put forward, however, is characterized by similarities. Greece's ancient past becomes important in times of tension. First during the Greek War of Independence, when Greece fights for freedom and subsequently struggles with her own national identity. In this context, the narrative of ancient Greece provides a legitimation for the new nation's existence. Second, when modern Greece faces the aftermath of the Second World War, she turns towards Europe and the EEC. In order to gain accession, her ancient past is used as an argument to be seen as a logical part of the EC. In return, the EC also used Greece's ancient past to legitimize her acceptance into the community. Lastly, when Greece's membership was at stake during the Euro Crisis, the same idealized narrative of ancient Greece is employed to legitimize her role as a member state of the EU.

When summarizing the above, it becomes clear that Greece's ancient past is a mechanism of legitimation in times of tension. The narrative of ancient Greece is an important factor for Greece in building her own identity. Later on, the narrative provides a legitimation for her membership of the EC. The EC reversely used this narrative to express her own ideals. Apparently, the idea of ancient Greece functions as a sort of primordial Europe, in which democracy, civilization and ratio were born. The continuity in this case is clear: the narrative of ancient Greece is a nineteenth-century construction, in which the ancient past is appropriated. Both Greece and the EC look for ties and similarities with the world of the ancient Greeks, explicitly and implicitly shaping their own identities. This narrative of

similarities and gloriousness is extensively employed in the legitimatization process of modern Greece as part of the Western, European World.

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